

DE GRUYTER

TRACING THE JERUSALEM CODE

VOLUME 2: THE CHOSEN PEOPLE
CHRISTIAN CULTURES IN EARLY MODERN SCANDINAVIA
(1536 – ca. 1750)

Edited by Eivor Andersen Oftestad and Joar Haga



Tracing the Jerusalem Code 2

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Volume 2: The Chosen People
Christian Cultures in Early Modern Scandinavia
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In memory of Erling Sverdrup Sandmo (1963–2020)

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List of Abbreviations

- AM *Arnemagnæan Manuscript Collection*, University of Copenhagen.
- BBKL *Biographisch-Bibliographisches Kirchenlexikon*. Hamburg: Verlag Traugott Bautz, 1975–. <https://www.bbkl.de/public/index.php/frontend/lexicon>.
- CCSL *Corpus Christianorum Series Latina*. Turnholti: Brepols, 1953–.
- CR *Corpus Reformatorum*, 101 vols. Halle: Schwetschke, 1834–1959.
- DN *Diplomatarium Norvegicum*, 23 vols. Christiania/Oslo, 1847–2011.
- EdN *Enzyklopädie der Neuzeit*, 16 vols. Stuttgart: J.B. Metzler, 2005–12.
- GR *Konung Gustaf den förstes registratur*, eds. Johan Axel Almquist et. al., 29 vols. Stockholm, 1861–1916.
- HH *Historiska handlingar*, 20 vols. Stockholm: Kungl. Samfundet för utgivande af handskrifter rörande Skandinaviens historia, 1861–1908.
- HSB *Handlingar rörande Skandinaviens historia*, 40 vols. Stockholm: Hörbergiska Boktryckeriet, 1816–60.
- KB The Royal Danish Library, Copenhagen.
- NL-H Hannover Niedersächsisches Landesarchiv, Hannover.
- NStA Wolfenbüttel Niedersächsisches Staatsarchiv Wolfenbüttel.
- PL *Patrologia Cursus Completus, Series Latina*, ed. J.P. Migne, 221 vols. Paris, 1844–64.
- PR *Pontificale Romanum summorum pontificum jussu editum a Benedecto XIV et Leone XIII recognitum et castigatum*. 3 vols. Mechelen, 1855.
- RGG *Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, 9 vols. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck Verlag, 1998–2007.
- RHC Occ *Recueil des historiens des croisades, Historiens occidentaux*. Paris, 1844–95.
- SRA *Svenska riksdagsakter jämte andra handlingar som höra till statsförfatningens historia under tidevarfvet 1521–1718*, ed. Emil Hildebrand, 4 vols. Stockholm, 1887–88, 1894.
- TRE *Theologische Realenzyklopädie*, ed. Gerhard Müller, 36 vols. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1976–2004.
- UUB Uppsala University Library.
- VD 16 Verzeichnis der im deutschen Sprachbereich erschienenen Drucke des 16. Jahrhunderts. Bayerische Staatsbibliothek.
- WA *D. Martin Luthers Werke. Kritische Gesamtausgabe*, eds. Joachim K.F. Knaake et al., 77 vols. Weimar: Hermann Böhlau, 1883–2009.

Editorial comments for all three volumes

The research behind this book and the two others making up this mini-series was funded by the Norwegian Research Council (RCN, project no. 240448/F10). The three books trace the reception of Jerusalem and the Holy Land in Scandinavia through a millenium. The geographical term Scandinavia originates from the classical Roman author Pliny (*Naturalis historia*, book IV), who applied it to an island beyond the Baltic, probably identifiable with the peninsula of Sweden and Norway. In modern usage, the term is conventionally understood as the three kingdoms Denmark, Norway, and Sweden; whereas the wider term *Norden* (the Nordic countries) also includes Finland, Iceland, the Faroes, Greenland, and the Baltic states. Historically, there are tight cultural connections between all these countries. Their borders and mutual political constellation have changed many times during the millennium that is covered by these three books. We therefore tend to have the horizon of *Norden* in mind, although most of the source material discussed is Danish, Norwegian, and Swedish, and we have chosen to apply the term Scandinavia consistently. For the Middle Ages (vol. 1), we have also chosen to include Iceland and Orkney in Scandinavia because of the very tight administrative, ecclesiastical, and cultural connections with Norway.

The periodization of the three books is worth commenting on. The first volume covers the medieval period from the Christianization in the tenth and eleventh centuries, until the Protestant Reformation in the early sixteenth century. In Scandinavian historiography, the reformation (1536–37 in Denmark-Norway and 1527–1600 in Sweden) marks the watershed between the medieval and early modern periods. We have chosen to stick to this conventional periodization, as the introduction of Lutheranism significantly affected the understanding of Jerusalem. The second volume, then, covers the early modern period from the Reformation until around 1750, when Enlightenment ideas became widespread among key figures. Although it is difficult to draw a sharp line between the early modern and modern periods, Enlightenment thought, and subsequently Romanticism, engendered a second transformation of Christian cultures in general and the understanding of Jerusalem in particular. This is investigated in the third volume, which covers the period from c.1750 to c.1920. These dates are approximations, and the delimitation is further explained in the introduction to volume 3.

For references to the spoken and written vernacular of Scandinavia in the medieval period, we have chosen the term Old Norse, regardless of the authors' land of origin. Old Norse names appear slightly modernized, except from in chapters written from a philological point of view.

A note about the Norwegian capital Oslo, which is referred to in all three volumes: The city was moved a little westwards and renamed in 1624 after a great fire, and for almost three centuries its name remained Christiania (or Kristiania) after the Danish king Christian IV (r. 1588–1648). In 1925 the city's medieval name Oslo was introduced again. To avoid anachronistic uses of the city's name, we refer to

Christiana/Kristiania in the period between 1624 and 1925. The city of Trondheim is variably referred to as Nidaros, the city's medieval name. Both these names, however, have been in continuous use since the Middle Ages.

The territory that covers today's Israel and Palestine has had multiple names through the centuries. The authors shift between Palestine, The Holy Land, etc, etc, dependant on the terms used in source material. Our aim has been to avoid anachronisms. For the many illustrations, the editors have worked diligently to obtain necessary permissions to reproduce them (cf. List of Maps and Illustrations, XI-XVI). Should there still be concerns regarding image permissions, please contact the editors responsible for the respective volume.

Kristin B. Aavitsland, Eivor Andersen Oftestad, and
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Prelude

Why Jerusalem in Scandinavia?

Jerusalem has been invested with thicker layers of meaning than most places in the world. In the history of Judaism, Christianity, and Islam, Jerusalem is a significant place, a *topos* in the most fundamental sense of the word. For the Jews, it is the ancient capital of Judea, where King Solomon had the first Temple erected for the God of Israel; for the Christians, it is the centre of Jesus of Nazareth's life, death, and resurrection; and for the Muslims, it is the site of the first *qibla* (praying direction), from which the Prophet Muhammad journeyed to the heavens. Within the Christian tradition, the city became a rhetorical and poetical *locus communis*, a commonplace, drawing on a cluster of biblical metaphors from which a whole set of ideas about human society, divine revelation, eschatological expectation, and the connection between these, could be drawn. In conflict with Jewish and Muslim traditions, the Christians have claimed to be the legitimate heir to, and interpreter of, Jerusalem.

In cultures influenced by Christianity, the idea of Jerusalem, earthly and celestial, has engendered a certain structure of literary and visual religious language, applied time and again throughout the last two millennia. In Scandinavia, however, the time span is only half the length, as the Christian faith arrived late to the Nordic shores. Still, a well of sources indicate that Jerusalem has been significant also to the inhabitants of this part of the world. Scandinavian sources are understudied in international scholarship on Jerusalem interpretations, so consequently the current book series fills an important gap. We have investigated the image – or rather the imagination – of Jerusalem in religious, political, and artistic sources in a *longue durée* perspective, in order to describe the history of Christianity in Scandinavia through the lens of Jerusalem.

The impact of Jerusalem on Christian European culture has been extensively explored during the last decade, above all by scholars from the fields of art history,

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architecture, and liturgy.¹ These research efforts have concentrated on material from the medieval and early modern periods. The present three books on Jerusalem in Scandinavia have, however, a wider chronological scope, as they follow Jerusalem interpretations all the way up to the twentieth century.

Two historical processes have been of extraordinary significance for the reception of the idea of Jerusalem in the Scandinavian countries. The first one is the late conversion to Christianity (tenth to eleventh centuries) and the subsequent formation of church and state in the twelfth century, largely coinciding with the emergence of crusade ideology. When Scandinavians articulated and interpreted their own cosmographic position within the scheme of Christian salvation history, an urgent issue seems to be that of connecting to Jerusalem, the moral and eschatological centre of the world, by translations of Jerusalem's holiness and authority.

The second formative process is the Lutheran reformation in the first half of the sixteenth century and the following efforts to transform the Scandinavian monarchies into confessional, monocultural states. This process implied a reinterpretation of Jerusalem's significance. The early modern Protestant legitimations of God's chosen people were based on a paradigm of justification by faith, and no longer on physical transfer of holiness or authority. Nevertheless, the idea of Jerusalem continued to legitimate secular and religious authorities and to construct a Lutheran identity.

The understanding of Jerusalem founded in premodern Christianity was inherently paradoxical and transcendent. It remained intact, although transformed, in early modern Protestantism. To pursue its manifestations into the modern paradigm, dominated by science, nationalism, increased secularisation, and individualization of religion has proved more complex and challenging. Still, Jerusalem remains a vital point of reference in nineteenth and twentieth century Scandinavian sources.

In this book series, we trace the impact of Jerusalem through a millennium of Scandinavian history. We argue that the models of understanding and the varied metaphorical repertoire connected to Jerusalem may be conceived as a *cultural code*. How this is done and what the implications of that have been are explained in the following introductory pages.

¹ See for instance the rich and varied material presented in the following collected volumes: Annette Hoffmann and Gerhard Wolf, eds., *Jerusalem as Narrative Space / Erzählraum Jerusalem* (Leiden – Boston: Brill, 2012); Lucy Donkin and Hanna Vorholt, eds., *Imagining Jerusalem in the Medieval West*, Proceedings of the British Academy (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012); Bianca Kühnel, Galit Noga-Banai, and Hanna Vorholt, eds., *Visual Constructs of Jerusalem*, CELAMA (Turnhout: Brepols, 2014); Renata Bartal, Neta Bodner, and Bianca Kühnel, eds., *Natural Materials of the Holy Land and the Visual Translation of Place, 500–1500* (London – New York: Routledge, 2017).

Foundation: The Biblical Jerusalem Cluster

The foundation of the Christian idea of Jerusalem with its spectrum of connotations is obviously found in the Bible. In order to recognize the structure of literary and visual Jerusalem references in the sources we investigate, it is necessary to briefly recapture how biblical language describes Jerusalem.

In the Bible, Jerusalem functions within the framework of a special linguistic mode, according to the Canadian literary critic Northrop Frye (1912–1991). This linguistic mode is *poetic* in its essence, and it is constituted by metaphorical speech. It hence avoids precise linguistic specification and encourages productive multivalence.² Hence, biblical Jerusalem came to constitute a flexible, almost elastic linguistic framework for talking and thinking about human community and its relation to the Godhead. This is why biblical language is suited to verbalize the transcendent, Frye claims.³

Guidelines for metaphorical thinking are explicitly given in the Christian Bible itself. One of the fundamental premises is the distinction between the earthly and heavenly Jerusalem, between the earthly and heavenly sanctuary. According to the Bible, God had dwelled in the Garden of Eden. After the Fall of Man and the expulsion from the garden, God dwelled in sanctuaries built on his command by his chosen people: first in the transportable tabernacle, carried by the children of Israel as they wandered in the wilderness, designed after divine instruction and considered to be a replica of God's heavenly abode (Exod 26–27). Later, God dwelled in the temple in Jerusalem, erected under King Solomon (1 Kgs 5–8) as a stable place for God to abide for ever (1 Kgs 8:13). It was built on Mount Moriah, the place of Abraham's sacrifice, of Jacob's dream, and where God had shown himself to David (2 Chr 3:1). The Christian interpretation of the biblical temple(s) rests on the conviction that Christ is the new Temple, according to his own words (John 2:19–22). Ultimately, the Christian salvation history ends with the vision of the New Jerusalem (Rev 21:9–27), descending out of heaven from God. This eschatological city, the goal of history, has in contrast to the earthly Jerusalem no need for any temple, as "Lord God Almighty and the Lamb are the temple of it" (Rev 21:22).

In Galatians 4, Paul applies this multivalent Jerusalem interpretation when he comments on the two women who carried Abraham's children:

For it is written that Abraham had two sons, one by a slave and one by a free woman. But the son of the slave was born according to the flesh, the son of the free woman through promise. Now this is an allegory: these women are two covenants. One is from Mount Sinai, bearing

² "It seems that the Bible belongs to an area of language in which metaphor is functional, and where we have to surrender precision for flexibility," Northrop Frye, *The Great Code: The Bible and Literature* (New York – London: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich Publishers, 1982), 56.

³ Frye 1982, *The Great Code*, 56.

children for slavery; she is Hagar. Now Hagar is Mount Sinai in Arabia; she corresponds to the present Jerusalem, for she is in slavery with her children. But the Jerusalem above is free, and she is our mother. (Gal 4:22–26)

Paul construes Hagar and Sarah as specific sites: Hagar is the Mount Sinai in Arabia, where Moses received the law, and she also corresponds to Jerusalem of the Jews: Her children will forever be slaves under the law and have no right to inherit from the patriarch. The “free woman” Sarah, on her side, is Heavenly Jerusalem, the city of God, and her children will inherit his kingdom according to the promise God gave Abraham. Thus Heavenly Jerusalem is the foremother of God’s people. This connection between the city of Jerusalem, motherhood, God’s promise to the legitimate children of Abraham, and freedom from the Law represents a lasting metaphorical correlation of huge theological, cultural, and political consequence.

When Paul construed Heavenly Jerusalem as *mother*, he drew on a strong tradition in Jewish exegesis, included that of Jesus himself (Matt 23:37; Luke 13:34), which associated Jerusalem with female roles. Repeatedly, we hear about the *Daughter of Zion* (for instance Isa 62:11), and in the book of the Apocalypse, John sees “the holy city, new Jerusalem, coming down out of heaven from God, made ready as a *bride* adorned for her husband” (Rev 21:2). But Jerusalem is also “the city of the great king” (Matt 5:35), situated “on the high hill” (Matt. 5:14). Hence, Jerusalem in her female roles as mother, daughter, and bride connects closely to the son, father, and groom who resides in her: the living God. The expectations of God the groom’s joyous union with his bride Jerusalem connects another line of biblical metaphors to the same cluster: that of fertility and abundance. The metaphorical repertoire of lush gardens (Eden), sprouting green vegetation, fertile land, and trees abundant with fruit, is ubiquitous in biblical language. Linked to the Jerusalem *topos*, it is contrasted by the equally ubiquitous images of barrenness, wasteland, ruin, and desolation. In this network of metaphors, Jerusalem the bride is contrasted with Babylon the whore.

As mother and bride, housing the king, Jerusalem is distinguished from every other city built by human hands. The temple of Yahweh, abode of the one and true God, is situated within her walls. The sacred architectural structure of the Temple, often blurred with the city itself, becomes the node in this biblical cluster of metaphors, gaining significance because it is set in the midst of God’s chosen people. The biblical Jerusalem cluster involves a dynamic relationship between God and this people, served by a priestly hierarchy and ruled by a lineage of legitimate kings, anointed by God. In Old Testament narrative, however, Jerusalem the Bride does not meet the measures expected from her and hence is abandoned by her groom. The wickedness of the children of Israel causes her to be deserted and abandoned. *Jerusalem desolata* (Isa 64:10) mourns her loss, longs for the reunion with her groom, and anticipates the consummation of their alliance.

This poetic narrative, with multiple archetypal features also found in folktales, has considerable potential for ideological interpretations. As such, it has

permeated the entire history of Christianity. Through the ages, there are repeated examples of how the biblical Jerusalem cluster is applied in strife for legitimation of political and religious structures. A key question has been who represents the true Jerusalem and constitutes its legitimate heir, the chosen people of God. Different answers to this question have elicited schisms, reforms, revolutions, wars, and agonizing polemics, and they continue to do so.

The Insider Perspective: Jerusalem as Allegorical Structure in the History of Salvation

Political and cultural uses of the Biblical Jerusalem metaphors are conditioned by a certain perspective on human history, namely that of transcendent teleology: history has a direction, and mankind navigates towards its transcendent destination. The Christian Master Narrative about humankind is a kind of travelogue framed by the Bible. From man's creation, fall, and increasing alienation from the creator, he finds his long and winding way back to a state of bliss in the countenance of God with the help of his redeemer Jesus Christ. This journey begins in the Garden of Eden in the book of Genesis, and ends in the Heavenly Jerusalem in the Book of the Apocalypse. The narrative of salvation history thus unfolds between a rural and an urban vision of Paradise. At the end of history, God's abode is societal and civilizational: it is set in a city, in an architectural structure and a political entity. Through the centuries, the prophecy of the heavenly Jerusalem has not only articulated the Christian hope for eternal life, but also equipped Christians with a potent, poetic language suitable to describe the ideal political state or utopian community.

Early Christianity made Jerusalem the focal point of salvation history, as the point to which everything converges – like in the premodern *mappaemundi* (world maps), where Jerusalem was the physical, mental, and conceptual centre, “the navel of the world.” This designation originates from Jerome's commentary on the prophet Ezekiel.⁴ According to Ezekiel, God claims that “this is Jerusalem, I have set her in the midst of the nations, and the countries round about her” [Ista est Jerusalem, in medio gentium posui eam, et in circuitu eius terras] (Ezek 5:5). This understanding of Jerusalem as the focal point for salvation history was systematically codified in the epistemological model of the *quadriga*, the fourfold interpretation of Scripture.⁵ This scheme of interpretation first appeared in John Cassian (360–435), and

⁴ Alessandro Scafi, *Mapping Paradise. A History of Heaven on Earth* (London: The British Library, 2006), 145.

⁵ See Henri de Lubac, *Exégèse médiévale, les quatre sens de l'Écriture*, 4 vols. ([Paris]: Aubier, 1959–1964).

came to have paramount impact on medieval exegesis. In a comment about Psalm 147, in which Jerusalem is called to praise her Lord, John Cassian states:

One and the same Jerusalem can be taken in four senses: historically as the city of the Jews, allegorically as the Church of Christ, anagogically as the heavenly city of God “which is the mother of us all,” tropologically, as the soul of man, which is frequently subject to praise or blame from the Lord under this title.⁶

To medieval theologians, this functioned as a holistic and dynamic model of understanding. On the *historical* level, Jerusalem denotes the physical city, capital of David’s kingdom and the Children of Israel, the place where Solomon erected his temple and Christ suffered death on the cross. Because of the transcendent implications of these events, this denotation also contained other layers of meaning. *Allegorically*, Jerusalem signified the Christian Church, *eschatologically* (“anagogically” in John Cassian’s terminology) it pointed to the heavenly city for which humanity was bound, and *morally* (“tropologically”) it represented the individual Christian soul. This model thus facilitated an understanding that combined past, present, and future, time and eternity, the singular and the universal, and the human and divine into one single rhetorical figure – and onto one single spot: Jerusalem.

This hermeneutical model, further developed and applied in the medieval Christian world, was Christianity’s take on society. In post-medieval Christian cultures, it has undergone transformation and even fragmentation according to shifting religious paradigms. However, its fundamental components – the biblical metaphors – have remained stable and interconnected, and continue to inform Christianity’s conceptions about itself and the world.

The Outsider Perspective: The Jerusalem Code Operating in Christian Storyworlds

Our object of research is the historical application of the biblical Jerusalem cluster, the structuring principle derived from its interconnected metaphors, and its potential for cultural production and meaning-making. To describe these phenomena through shifting historical periods, we needed analytical terms that capture the pervasiveness and complexity of the Jerusalem connotations, their recurrent and manifold applications, and the shifting preconditions for their impact. Our attempt is to consider Jerusalem a cultural *code*.

The term “code” has a range of applications in different fields, from genetics and biochemistry (“genetic code”) to information technology (“programming code”) and popular culture (Dan Brown’s *Da Vinci Code*). In everyday usage, “code” may also refer

⁶ John Cassian, *Conferences*, trans. by Edgar C. S. Gibson, CCEL 438.

to a selected arrangement of digits, like pin codes, bar codes, and QR codes. Diverse as these usages indeed are, they still have certain features in common. All of them concern transmission of messages communicated in languages enigmatic to other than the addressees, and they thus require decoding or translation in order to be understood. So, in all these cases, the term “code” is conceived of as a communicative key: it is a (hidden) script or formula that is applied to make things happen.

All these usages of “code” have a common root in the early stages of telegraphy during the Napoleonic wars, which necessitated military communication across long distances. In the process of developing new signal systems, the commander Arthur Wellesley, Duke of Wellington (1769–1852) required what he called “a code of signals for the army.”⁷ This usage of “code,” designating a set of symbols agreed upon by a specific group, was in common use with the Morse code at the end of the nineteenth century.

In the twentieth century, especially in the 1960s, the practically applied concept of “code” was adopted as a descriptive, analytical term in several scholarly fields. It became a key term in structuralist linguistics, anthropology, and sociology, but first and foremost it proved fertile in modern semiotics and communication theory. Here, “code” came to be understood as a framework of conventions within which singular signs make sense in a certain way. Although the repertory of signs may change over time, the communicative potential of such codes presupposes a certain semantic stability. The spoken language, as well as the body language, religious rituals, and cultural preferences belonging to a given social group, are obvious examples of semiotic codes. Such codes are means by which meaning is produced, hence they shape the world of their practitioners.

According to this understanding, Jerusalem is the organizing principle of a semiotic “code” because it connotes with a set of signs (established metaphors, see above) that stand in relation to each other and thereby enable meaning production. In Christian cultures, Jerusalem brings together a host of poetically potent images, applicable to express ideas of the sacred and of the relationships between God, man, and society. This code has proven to have a remarkable power to structure a variety of Christian outlooks on the world, and to articulate them in different media. To investigate the applications of Jerusalem-related metaphors in texts, images, buildings, and rituals, and to explore how they interconnect and produce meaning is, then, to trace the Jerusalem code.

⁷ Quoted after Eric Ziolkowski, “Great Gode or Great Codex? Northrop Frye, William Blake, and Construals of the Bible,” *Journal of the Bible and its Reception* 1, no. 1 (2014): 18.

The Jerusalem code operates both within time and space, and hence in what we define as a *storyworld*. This concept, borrowed from narrative theory and applied in the design of computer games, may elucidate how the Jerusalem code works. The *Routledge Encyclopedia of Narrative Theory* defines storyworld this way:

Storyworlds can be defined as the class of discourse models used for understanding narratively organized discourse [. . .] Storyworlds are mentally and emotionally projected environments in which interpreters are called upon to live out complex blends of cognitive and imaginative response.⁸

The storyworld thus defines the limits of individual agency within the storyline. Individuals (historical or fictitious) may move freely around in its universe, but beyond it there is a void. Their horizon is defined by the master narrative, and they perceive everyone they meet and everything that happens to them in light of it, just like in a computer game: the master narrative shapes the world.

A series of binary categories serves as navigation marks for movements in the Christian storyworld and informs all efforts to answer the question of who has the heavenly legitimation as true heirs to Jerusalem. The good city or state always has its wicked opponent: Jerusalem opposed to Babylon. This is a recurrent theme in biblical exegesis, famously systematized in St Augustine's vast narrative of the two contrasting cities. Legitimate authority is contrasted with illegitimate rule, and true devotion with idolatry or false religion. Hence, Jews and Muslims, for example, are part of the Christian storyworld on the premises of that world. If they inhabit competing storyworlds framed by their own master narratives, this is beyond the boundaries of the game. The Christian storyworld is also regulated by moral guidelines: virtue is the opposite of vice – hence every injustice has to be atoned for. Protagonists are either the children of God or the children of the world. Love of God is contrasted with love of self, and ultimately life is contrasted with death.

A Continued Jerusalem Code?

In 1827 the English poet, artist, and eccentric mythographer William Blake (1757–1827) made an engraving of the famous Hellenistic sculpture group *Laocoön*, surrounded by a swarm of graffiti-like aphorisms, most of them about the nature of art. Among them is a statement that “The Old & the New Testament are the great code of art.” Scholars have discussed how this statement is to be interpreted. Blake, who made this engraving

⁸ David Herman, Manfred Jahn, and Marie-Laure Ryan, eds., *Routledge Encyclopedia of Narrative Theory* (London – New York: Routledge, 2005).

a few months before his death, had for a lifetime constantly reflected, interpreted, and reinterpreted biblical history, or biblical myth, in his literary and artistic works, shaping his own peculiar mythological universe. As cryptic or esoteric this universe may be, Blake still draws on the storyworld of salvation history in which Jerusalem is the eschatological centre.⁹ The literary scholar Eric Ziolkowski suggests in his study on William Blake's aphorism on "the great code of art" that the code is the productive poetical language "float(ing) in a multivalent sea of biblical and classical reception."¹⁰ If this is an operative understanding of the concept, we could add that this code, productive not only in the field of art but also in religion and politics, is working as long as that sea has not dried up. The cluster of metaphors that informs the Jerusalem code is productive in a culture as long as the framework of salvation history is regarded as a relevant scheme of understanding. In contemporary Western culture – and perhaps most significantly in Scandinavia – this is probably not the case anymore.¹¹ The storyworld is scattered, and competing storyworlds that also gravitate around Jerusalem are readily available in our neighbourhoods, or in the media. Perhaps Jerusalem is about to be a forgotten code, increasingly hidden and inaccessible, to the given interpretative space. Ironically enough this happens in a world in which Jerusalem, the material Middle Eastern city, continues to represent a pivotal point of tension and conflict. In contemporary society, we claim that the Jerusalem code still lingers underneath cultural, religious, and political discourses.

⁹ As is well known, Blake's literary works abound with "mythological," nationalist Jerusalem references, the hymn "O did those feet in ancient times" and his tale of Jerusalem being the daughter of the giant Albion being the most famous examples. See Morris Eaves, ed. *The Cambridge Companion to William Blake* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003).

¹⁰ Ziolkowski, 2014, "Great Gode or Great Codex?" 4.

¹¹ This is probably the case for Scandinavia more than any other parts of the globe. See Pippa Norris and Ronald Inglehart, "Uneven Secularization in the United States and Western Europe," in *Democracy and the New Religious Pluralism*, ed. Thomas Banchoff (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007).



Fig. 1.0: World map by Nicola van Sype, 1581. The map shows a portrait of Sir Francis Drake (1577–1580) and his circumnavigation as a dotted line.



**Introductions:
Jerusalem in Early Modern Protestantism**

Eivor Andersen Oftestad

Chapter 1

The Reformation of the Jerusalem Code in the Sixteenth Century

The multivalent interpretation of Jerusalem, earthly and celestial, constitutes a code to Scandinavian Christian Culture since its integration into Latin Christendom (ninth–twelfth century). Tracing this code through its Early Modern Period provides a fruitful perspective on vital changes in Church and Society. The process of reformation questioned the medieval perception of holiness and authority, and how this was transferred – from the first beginning of the Church and throughout history, and from Jerusalem to the ends of the world. The paradigm of justification by faith now legitimated both holiness and authority, and hence also the chosen people of God. Nevertheless, in order to legitimate secular and religious authorities, Danish-Norwegian and Swedish theologians, closely connected to the political regimes, testify to the pervasiveness of the multivalent employment of Jerusalem by visual sources, poetry, hymns, historiography, and other writings.

From the Holy City of Jerusalem to the Holy City of Wittenberg:

The Story of Johan Rantzau (1492–1565)

In the constant transformations of the Jerusalem Code throughout history, the central question is: Who represents the true Jerusalem, and hence the heavenly legitimation? By taking the example of a Danish nobleman – Johan Rantzau (Fig. 1.2), who first knelt as a Catholic pilgrim in Jerusalem in 1517 and later became a supporter of Martin Luther – as a starting point, we ask how the sixteenth-century Reformation was based on an altered concept of representation, and hence qualified the Christian storyworld anew both in respect to time and space.

In 1517, Johan Rantzau knelt down in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem in the knighting ceremony of the Order of the Holy Sepulchre. As a young nobleman Rantzau travelled “around the whole world,” both for religious and



Fig. 1.2: Johan Rantzau (1492–1565). Engraving from Trap's collection, 1867.

educational reasons.¹ His journey ranged through England, Spain, Germany, Italy, Greece, Asia, and Syria, before he arrived at Jerusalem during wintertime. In the Holy Land, Rantzau and the other pilgrims were probably escorted by the Franciscans who had resided at Mount Zion in Jerusalem since the fourteenth century.² The Muslim Mamluks had governed the city since the middle of the thirteenth century, and by their permission Christian pilgrims were allowed entrance to the shrines.³

Like Rantzau himself, most of the pilgrims to Palestine in the late Middle Ages were aristocrats, and one of their goals was to receive the knight stroke on their shoulders by the Guardian of the Holy Land.⁴ Perhaps Rantzau had feelings similar to those of Felix Fabri,

a pilgrim who had visited the tomb guarded by the local Muslim authorities one generation earlier: “It is a great confusion that Christ’s faithful worshippers should be let into Christ’s church by Christ’s blasphemers [. . .] I confess that while I was passing between them into the church I was filled with confusion and covered with blushes, nor could I look them straight in the face by reason of the shame which I felt.”⁵ The situation was to become even worse. During Rantzau’s stay in Jerusalem, on 20 March 1517

1 Martinus Coroneus, *Vita et res gestæ . . . Johannis Rantzovii* (Wittenberg: Hans Krafft, 1567), B.

2 Oded Peri, *Christianity under Islam in Jerusalem: The Question of the Holy Sites in Early Ottoman Times*, *Ottoman Empire and its Heritage* 23 (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 43–44. For the history of the Franciscans in the Holy Land, see Beatrice Saletti, *I Francescani in Terrasanta (1291–1517)* (Padova: Libreria Universitaria, 2016); and M. P. Ritsema van Eck, “Custodians of Sacred Space: Constructing the Franciscan Holy Land through Texts and Sacri Monti (ca. 1480–1650)” (PhD diss., Faculteit der Geesteswetenschappen, University of Amsterdam, 2017). This convent was where the pilgrims lodged, see also Chapter 11 in this volume (Janus Møller Jensen), 197.

3 At the end of the fifteenth century, it was reported that the Muslim custodian opened the church of the Holy Sepulchre only three times a year for the pilgrims, cf. Colin Morris, *The Sepulchre of Christ and the Medieval West from the Beginning to 1600* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 313.

4 Henny Glarbo, “Danske palæstinafarere i det 16. og 17. aarhundrede,” *Kirkehistoriske Samlinger* 6, no. 2 (1936–38): 5.

5 Felix Fabri, *The Book of the Wanderings of Brother Felix Fabri*, vol. 7–8. (London: Palestine Pilgrims’ Text Society, 1887–97; repr. New York: AMS Press, 1971), 341. Translation according to Morris, *The Sepulchre of Christ*, 301.

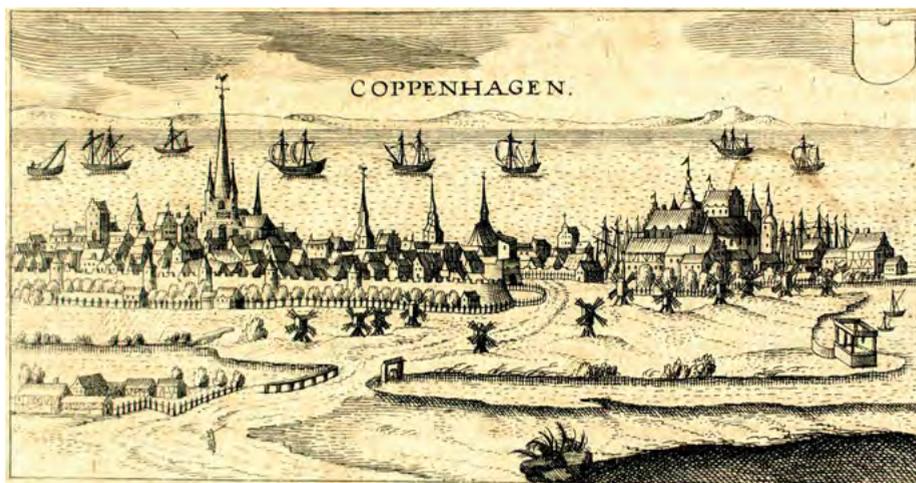


Fig. 1.3: View of Copenhagen, 1587. The Royal Danish Library (Det Kongelige Biblioteks billedsamling).

the Ottoman Sultan Selim entered the gates and the previous Mamluk city became part of the expanding Ottoman Empire (Fig. 1.1).⁶ At this point Rantzau and his company were in great danger and had to escape from the Turks. They managed to flee to Naples in Italy, and from there Rantzau later arrived in Rome where he was received at the Vatican by Pope Leo X. Rantzau was honoured by the permission to kiss the pope's foot, as was the ritual of reverence.

Rantzau fled from Jerusalem to Rome in 1517, and in this year, two events which both had immense implication on the significance of Jerusalem in Christian cultures took place – the Ottoman invasion in Jerusalem which prompted Rantzau's flight, and the beginning of the Lutheran reformation in Wittenberg. Both events impacted Rantzau's life.

A few years after his reverence for the pope, Rantzau rejected the holiness of both the pope and the city of Rome. Rantzau had by then experienced Martin Luther's message at the diet of Worms when he, as *hofmeister* appointed to the young Danish prince Christian III, escorted the prince to the German courts in 1521. Both Rantzau and Prince Christian III were excited by what they heard and became devoted Lutherans. From now on, it was neither Jerusalem nor Rome that was described as the Holy City, but Wittenberg, the city of the Lutheran reformers, as noted by Martin Schwarz Lausten in this volume.⁷ Thus, kissing the papal slipper in reverence they now regarded as nothing more than blasphemy. In 1536, Rantzau

⁶ The decisive battle between the Mamluks and the Ottoman Turks took place at Marj Dabiq, near Aleppo in Syria, in August 1516.

⁷ See Chapter 9 in this volume (Martin Schwarz Lausten), 170–77.

led Christian III's forces to victory in the so-called Count's Feud, and at the same time he participated in securing the Lutheran Reformation in Denmark–Norway.

Transformation of the Jerusalem Code

The short summary of Rantzau's life shows his journey from a devout Catholic to an eager Protestant. His personal path also encompasses a certain changed perception of representation of Jerusalem in his own time. He leaves the place where the feet of the Saviour had trodden, Jerusalem in the Levant, and goes to Rome where the papal church had for centuries claimed to be the true continuity of Jerusalem. He later travels to Worms and to Wittenberg, where Martin Luther rejects the traditional continuity of the Church and claims continuity through the true Word of God, and finally to Copenhagen which becomes yet another centre of the preaching of the true Word. The movement along this route presupposed a changed mediation of holiness. The tangible mediation of holiness at the Sepulchre of the Lord which people could seek and find in Palestine, and which was also physically transferred by relics, replicas, and representations all over the Christian world, was replaced by an aural mediation of Law and Gospel as it reached out from the true teachers in Wittenberg. This resulted in a transformation of the Jerusalem Code in the cultures that became defined by the Lutheran Reformation in the sixteenth century. The transformation of the code was most clearly expressed by Martin Luther himself in his 1525 sermon on the destruction of Jerusalem:

It is true that God himself has established the temple at Jerusalem, not because it consisted of beautiful stones and costly buildings, or because it was consecrated by bishops, as at present men employ such foolery and juggling tricks; but God himself had consecrated and sanctified it with his Word, when he said: This house is my house! for his Word was preached in it. Now, wherever God's Word is preached, there is God's own true house, there God most certainly dwells with his grace.⁸

According to the Lutherans, the continuity that secured the presence of God was not the true priesthood transferred from the Temple to the Church, neither the transfer of material holiness, relics, or representations. The presence of God, which the Temple of Jerusalem once had signified – or embodied – was, however, transferred by the true preaching of the Word of God, and the continuity of the Church consisted of the response to this preaching: the true worship of the congregation.

⁸ Luther 1525, translation according to: Martin Luther, *Sermons of Martin Luther: Vol. 4: Sermons on Gospel Texts for the 1st to 12th Sundays after Trinity* (Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1983), 327.

This is one way to explain the transformation of the Jerusalem Code during the Reformation. The ensuing question is: What did this redefinition of the Jerusalem code mean to the Protestant cultures in Scandinavia?

Denmark–Norway: Royal Legitimation and Disciplination

The twist of the Jerusalem Code described a continuity that enabled a certain *legitimation* of the Protestant kingdoms⁹. The coronation and anointing of King Christian III (1503–1559) on 12 August 1537 was the first coronation of a Lutheran prince (see Arne Bugge Amundsen in Chapter 5). The new Danish Church Ordinance of 1537 was a royal attempt to establish the true Word of Christ, or rather, the Lutheran interpretation of the Word, as the basis of the new order in Denmark–Norway.¹⁰ With the new Church Ordinance, the King was the head of the Church, and his duty was, according to Christian III’s preface, to manifest and safeguard the pure evangelical teaching.

In his preface the king described how people previously had been led astray by the lies of the devil. But now, he says, we have the pure Gospel. We have the true faith and have become the children of God. In accordance with the Lutheran principle of how the two regiments ruled the society, it was the king’s duty to uphold the pure Gospel and to punish those who opposed the ordinance. The royal attempt at uniformity and discipline, which meant repentance and conversion to avoid the wrath of God, was characteristic throughout the period, and Denmark–Norway was highly praised by the reformers, not least by the German reformer and Martin Luther’s friend, Philip Melanchthon (1497–1560), who described Denmark as a shelter for the true faith and the Protestant King Christian III as its eminent defender.¹¹

⁹ I focus on Denmark–Norway in this introduction. For Sweden see the chapters by Martin Berntson (Chapter 8), 147–67; Niels Ekedahl (Chapter 7), 119–45; and Otfried Czaika (Chapter 16), 298–313 in this volume.

¹⁰ See preface (*Kongens kundgjørelse*) by King Christian III in *Ordinatio Ecclesiastica 1537*, Terje Ellingsen and Helge Fæhn, *Kirkeordinansen 1537/39 “Den Rette Ordinants” etter Hans Wingaards førsteutgave fra 1542* (Oslo: Verbum, 1988), A–Aviii., cf. Terje Ellingsen, *Kirkeordinansen av 1537* (Oslo: Cappelen Damm Akademisk, 2017), 25–32.

¹¹ Melanchthon’s preface to Laetus 1560, cf. Karen Skovgaard-Petersen, “A Safe Haven for the Church – on Melanchthon’s Influence on Historical Discourse in Sixteenth-Century Denmark,” in *Philipp Melanchthon und seine Rezeption in Skandinavien*, ed. Birgit Stolt (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1998); See Philip Melanchthon, foreword to *Operum Lutheri Germanicorum*, vol. 12 (1559), cf: CR, vol. 9, no. 6794.

The University as a Tool in God's Hands

In the city of Copenhagen, the history of the Reformation was closely linked to the royal University as a central place for the new teaching of the Gospel. *Universitas Hafniensis* was first established by permission of Pope Sixtus IV in 1479, two years after the first university in Scandinavia, the University of Uppsala. In 1531, during the outbreak of the Reformation, it was closed to prevent the spread of Protestant teaching. When it was re-opened by King Christian III in 1537, the whole institution in general and the theological faculty in particular became a key factor in the attempt to reform Denmark–Norway. The new charter of the university, elaborated on the model of University of Wittenberg, was not merely intended to continue the tradition of scholarly training and supply the church with servants. It should rather be seen in light of the attempt “to stabilize the new and vulnerable Lutheran state and church regime.”¹² Sections of the foundational charter were written by Johann Bugenhagen who came from Wittenberg to Copenhagen and who had also constructed the new Church Ordinance of the Lutheran Church in Denmark–Norway.

Different laudatory descriptions express how the University could serve the Word of God and the presence of God in another way than the Church did. Its purpose was described as a place of God's dwelling, as an anticipation of the heavenly Jerusalem. According to Professor Hans Høine, who in a funeral sermon described the “Schola” in Copenhagen in 1554, the academic ideal society was instituted by the king as a place where Christ himself resided among the students.¹³ Christ had promised not only to communicate through his doctrines, but also to live himself among his disciples until the end of days in such a way that places like the University became God's gymnasiums.¹⁴ Høine inscribed the academic society at the end of time, the *vespera mundi*, where they expected Christ to return and transfer them from the earthly school to the heavenly school. In the heavenly school, he asserted, they could understand perfectly without books what they here learned by the works of books.¹⁵

Despite the praises expressed in the honouring sermons, the poor condition of the University after the Reformation was reflected in many complaints from bishops

¹² Morten Fink-Jensen, “Medicine, Natural Philosophy, and the Influence of Melanchthon in Reformation Denmark and Norway,” in *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 80 (2006): 443.

¹³ Hans Madsen Høine, *Oratio Funebris, Scripta in Memoriam Piissimi & Doctissimi Viri M. Christierni Morsiani, Qui Obiit Haffniæ Die 24 Aprilis, 1554. Et Recitata in Schola Haffniensi* (Wittenberg, 1554). For Morsing, see Leif Grane, ed., *Det teologiske fakultet, Københavns Universitet 1479–1979* (Copenhagen: Gad, 1980), 14. Holger Fr. Rørdam, *Kjøbenhavns Universitets historie fra 1537–1621*, vol. 1 (Copenhagen: Danske historiske Forening, 1868–69), 619–22.

¹⁴ Høine, *Oratio Funebris*, A4.

¹⁵ Høine, *Oratio Funebris*, A5v.

and professors alike. Funding for students was not easy to find. A large amount of the church property that was transferred to the king was used to pay war debt. In addition, King Christian III took no pride in Danish scholarship and regarded scholarly outcome of the homeland as inferior to his own German erudition.¹⁶ Therefore, Copenhagen University was more or less merely a seminar for educating pastors. A situation on par with Lutheran universities elsewhere came about more than thirty years later, when Christian III's successor Frederick II donated a large amount of money to the institution, which accordingly was praised by the Danish historian Anders Sørensen Vedel (1542–1616) as establishing the presence of God in the Kingdom of Denmark–Norway.¹⁷



Fig. 1.4: Predella (1575–1600) of the altarpiece in Tinglev Church, Denmark, inspired by Lucas Cranach's predella of the altarpiece in Marienkirche, Wittenberg (Sermon of Martin Luther).

The pastors educated at the university should secure the true worship. When the new fulcrum of the Jerusalem Code was established as the true preaching of the Gospel, the new centre moved to where this true preaching was conceived, namely to Wittenberg. It was transferred from Wittenberg to the theological faculties in the Protestant world by theological teaching, and as the Word was the media, it was transferred by the pastors' preaching to the remote churches of the realms. In this way, the radiance from Jerusalem could enlighten even the dark North. This is how Peder Palladius introduces the Reformation in Iceland, in his instruction to the pastors living there: Christ, the true sun, has let his radiance, the light of the true Gospel, reach Denmark so that they should not perish in the darkness of night – and now even to Iceland, because he also wants Iceland to be a true Christian country. Christ wants them to give up all delusion that stems

¹⁶ Rørdam, *Kjøbenhavns Universitets historie fra 1537–1621*, 1: 144.

¹⁷ Anders Sørensen Vedel, *Den Danske krønike som Saxo Grammaticus screff, halffierde hundrede Aar forleden* (Copenhagen: Hans Støckelman oc Andream Gutteruitz, 1575), B.

from Rome, and return to the true salvific teaching which derives from Jerusalem and Zion.¹⁸

According to Lutheran theology the pastors thus established the continuity of the true teaching to the remote churches of the kingdom, and what is more, what they communicated was the eternal message from Eden. The Law was first preached in the prohibition of the eating from the famous tree in Paradise, and the Gospel was first preached when God consoled Eve after the transgression, and promised the birth of the Saviour. In this construction of continuity, the city of Jerusalem also played a certain role, as we will see below.

The First and Second Paradise

According to Martin Luther's lecture on Genesis (1535), the Word of God was an eternal message, preached to Man already on the seventh day of creation, in the Garden of Eden. This day, the first Sabbath, was henceforth designed from the beginning as a day of receiving the word of God, and to worship God, as Adam and Eve were meant to do. This worship was from the outset connected to the Temple:

We have heard how heaven and earth were created, the sea and everything in them; how Paradise was established by God to be a palace for man, the lord of creation; how in Paradise God founded for man a temple intended for divine worship, namely the tree of the knowledge of good and evil, in which he was to give evidence of his obedience to God.¹⁹

The obedience and the true worship was what was to be continued, both in this earthly life, as well as in the next.²⁰ Paradise was thus no certain time or place, but a state, Luther says. This state of paradise, "abounding in peace, in freedom from fear, and in all gifts which exist where there is no sin"²¹ is enjoyed in true worship, and will be restored in the afterlife.

What was Jerusalem in this new construction of continuity? Luther explains that Jerusalem has something to do with the Garden of Eden, the place for true preaching and where true worship was first established. In fact, Jerusalem was the second paradise in Luther's arrangement of the Christian storyworld. To

18 Peder Palladius, "Fortale og Efterskrift til En kort Katekismeudlæggelse" (1546), in *Peder Palladius' Danske Skrifter*, ed. by Lis Jacobsen (Copenhagen: H. H. Thieles Bogtykkeri), 1: 329–40, 331, 39.

19 Martin Luther, *Lectures on Genesis Chapters 1–5*, ed. Jaroslav Pelikan, LW 1 (Saint Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1958), 231. See: WA 42,173.

20 Luther, *Lectures on Genesis Chapters 1–5*, 79–82. See: WA 42,59–62.

21 Luther, *Lectures on Genesis Chapters 1–5*, 89. See: WA 42,67.

understand this, it is necessary to look at the geographical approach to Eden in Luther's explanation.²²

According to medieval opinion Adam was created in the region of Damascus. Luther agrees with this, but states that the centre of Paradise was where Jerusalem, Bethlehem, and Jericho were later located, that is the places where Christ had spent the greater part of his life. It is possible, he says, that Calvary, where Christ offered Himself for the sins of the world, was located where the tree of the knowledge of good and evil had been while Paradise was still in existence. Thus, so far as the place is concerned, death and destruction through Satan would be matched by life and salvation won through Christ. The fact that the present topography did not well agree with this was due to the devastation by the Great Flood, by which mountains, rivers, and fountainheads were changed. After the original sin and the Flood, the Garden no longer had any existence or trace of former existence. The Flood was the reason that it was impossible to identify the landscape of Eden according to the geographical descriptions in Genesis. With this statement Martin Luther presented a new approach to the old problem of pinpointing Eden on a map – Eden had been washed away. In the illustration of the Luther Bible from Wittenberg (Fig. 1.5), we see that Paradise is immense, and in a way it covers it all. Nevertheless it cannot be situated in relation to ordinary geography because the landscape depicted therein no longer exists. In contrast to medieval maps, and other contemporary maps, Luther could not place Paradise within mundane geography. Paradise had been lost because of sin.

Likewise, Jerusalem as the second Paradise had also been lost because of sin, Luther explains with reference to the prophet Daniel. The prophet employed an unusual expression, Luther says, when he predicted the destruction of Jerusalem in year AD 70 (Dan 9:26): "And its end will be in a flood," as if he, Luther proceeds, intended to say: "The first Paradise was ruined and laid waste by the Flood; the other Paradise, in which our redemption was achieved, will be laid waste by the flood of the Romans."²³

To describe the destruction of Jerusalem Luther also uses the likeness to the cosmic chaos before creation. In the explanation of the second verse of Genesis: "The earth was empty and void," he describes chaos, confusion and disorder, and adds: "this is how Jerusalem was later laid waste by the Romans, and Rome by the Goths, to such an extent that the traces of the very famous ancient cities cannot be pointed out." By these analogies the destructions are confirmed as part of a divine plan. The hourglass was empty both for Jerusalem, and for Rome.

Regarding Jerusalem, he sums up – in a way that resembles his critique of the Roman Catholic Church: "The nation of Israel was God's possession, and the Holy

²² The following refers to Luther's comments to Gen 4, 16. See: WA 42,228–29. Translation according to Luther, *Lectures on Genesis Chapters 1–5*, 310.

²³ Luther, *Lectures on Genesis Chapters 1–5*, 310. See: WA 42,228–29.



Fig. 1.5: Lucas Cranach the Younger, *The Creation: Adam and Eve in Paradise*. Woodcut from the second edition of Martin Luther's complete Bible, printed by Hans Lufft, Wittenberg, 1535.

City of Jerusalem was God’s dwelling place. But when the people had given up their fear of God and, relying on their gifts, were becoming proud, the nation was destroyed, and their city was laid waste by the heathen.”²⁴

Based on Luther’s explanations of the status of Jerusalem, it is clear that the *earthly* Jerusalem had no privileged place in early modern Protestant theology, other than being an intermediary and elapsed stage on the way to the heavenly Jerusalem. The *spiritual significance* of Jerusalem, on the other hand, and the Temple, as the place of true worship and the “paradise state,” could be transferred to Wittenberg, to Copenhagen, and, for that matter to Christiania (the new name of Oslo when it was rebuilt after a fire in 1628). As explained in a contribution later in this volume, the Norwegian theologian Christen Staffensen Bang described Christiania according to the topography of Jerusalem. In his description from 1651, he pointed to the Cathedral of Christiania as similar to the Temple because of the regular worship performed by the congregation.²⁵ Bang clearly states that it is true worship as a response to true preaching of the Gospel – in the cathedral and among the citizens – that constitutes the continuity with the Temple. But to describe the presence of God, through his Gospel, Bang refers to one of the main objects from the Temple – the golden lampstand. With evangelical preaching, God has chosen to erect his golden lampstand even in Christiania. The ever possible threat is that God may decide to remove his lampstand and with it his protection of the community.²⁶

The Fruitfulness of the North

The true Word of God was transferred to the North, along with natural signs that testified to this movement, that is the fruitfulness of the countries. This point brings us back to the Jerusalem Code and Eden.

According to Genesis, the earth had been cursed by God because of the sin of Adam. “[. . .] before sin all parts of the earth was amazingly fertile and productive. After sin the earth is not only barren in many places; but even the fertile areas are defaced by darnel, weeds, thorns, and thistle,” Luther explained in his Genesis Lecture.²⁷ According to this view, God still exacted punishment upon lands where the sins of humans were great, while fruitfulness followed the true Gospel and the paradise state. In

²⁴ Translation according to Luther, *Lectures on Genesis Chapters 1–5*, 244. See: WA 42,181–82.

²⁵ See Chapter 13 (Eivor Andersen Oftestad), 258–65.

²⁶ Christen Staphensøn Bang, *Descriptio Civitatis Christianensis* (Christiania: Valentin Kuhn, 1651), 45. (“Derfaare er ded os fornøden/ ad wi høyt æstimere saadan vor HÆRRIS store Velgierning/ ad hand endocsaah hos os haffuer siin gyldene Liusestage/ som er sit hellige Ords Prædicken/ hos huilket oc udi huilcket Christus altid er nærværendis tilstæde. Men dersom hand flytter siin gyldene Liusestage/ ded er/ sit hellige Ord fra os/ saa vil ded gaa os ilde i haand.”)

²⁷ Luther, *Lectures on Genesis Chapters 1–5*, 205. See: WA 42,153.

his own time, Luther almost exclusively associated cursed and barren land with Jews, Turks, Catholics, and his opponents, the rebellious peasants who often experienced failed harvests. In contrast, Thüringen for example, was especially fruitful.²⁸

What then was the situation in the Holy Land? Paradise was lost, but God had indeed promised another land, fruitful and flowing with milk and honey, the land of Canaan. Nowadays, Luther could report, this land was barren: “Those who have seen the Promised Land in our time declare that it in no way resembles the favourable description which appears in Holy Scripture,” he said. He relied on eyewitnesses, those who had been there and had explored it preferred their own lands in Germany. Luther explains the change from fruitfulness to barrenness by the Jews’ refusal of Christ. Once the Jews rejected Christ, thereby losing God’s favour, their people were destroyed and their land became desolate and no longer supported or harboured them. Within the same logic it followed that the presence of the Jews, “the most detestable sinners of all,” would cause barrenness in every country they inhabited.²⁹

In the middle of the sixteenth century the Danish Lutheran reformer and the first superintendent/bishop of Sealand, Peder Palladius, wrote about the barren fields of Palestine and the fruitful fields of Europe, not least Germany, the land from which the Gospel had sprung forth anew. Abundance and fertility were the blessings of God and followed God’s pleasure with a people just as cursedness and barrenness followed sin and God’s wrath. In 1595 the Danish-Norwegian theologian Christen Linved described how the Holy Land, which had previously overflowed with milk and honey, was now unfertile and bitterly waste. The Nordic kingdoms, on the other hand – Sweden, Norway, and Denmark, which had previously suffered penury and barrenness – had been blessed by all kinds of gifts: gold, silver, grain, all kinds of food, the most lovely sheep and cattle, fish, and other things.³⁰

A hundred years later, in the middle of the seventeenth century, there is no limit to the riches of Denmark–Norway. The Norwegian author Arent Berntsen from Bergen (1610–1680) published a huge description of all the riches of the twin-realm (Fig. 1.6).³¹ The reason for the abundance, not only of crops and fishes and cattle, but also of a number of minerals beneath the surface³² which were used to produce money, was that God has visited the kingdoms. The inhabitants of Denmark–Norway had as much reason as the inhabitants of Canaan, the Promised Land overflowing with milk and

28 Luther, *Lectures on Isaiah Chap. 40–60*, ed. Hilton C. Oswald, LW 17 (Saint Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1972), 382. See: WA 31/2,557.

29 P. Stephenson and SP Bratton, “Martin Luther’s Understanding of Sin’s Impact on Nature and the Unlanding of the Jews,” *Ecotheology* 9 (2000): 92. For this reason, among others, Luther wants the Jews expelled from Germany, see Martin Luther, “On the Jews and Their Lies,” in *The Christian in Society IV*, ed. Franklin Sherman, LW 47 (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1971), 265.

30 Christen Lauritsen Linved, *Cronica Carionis* (Copenhagen: Laurents Benedict, 1595), a iii–a iiiv.

31 Arent Berntsen, *Danmarckis oc Norgis fructbar Herlighed* (Copenhagen: Selskabet for udgivelse af kilder til dansk historie, 1656).

32 Berntsen, *Danmarckis oc Norgis fructbar Herlighed*, a iiiv.

honey, to praise the Lord because of his grace towards the people.³³ In accordance with the myth of the Reformation, the visitation of the Lord to the kingdoms is identified with the arrival of the shining Word of God through true and righteous preachers, and the replacement of darkness, lies, and superstition. Towards the end of his panegyrics of the righteous nations, Berntsen poses the rhetorical question of where does a people exist who are more confident and secure in their consciousness and knowledge of the pure salvific word of God taught according to the true meaning of the Scripture. He concludes with the words of Moses: “Where are a people that the Lord is closer to than to us?”³⁴

Berntsen not only transferred the fruitfulness of the Holy Land and Jerusalem to the North, but he also rewrote psalm 135, where Israel is speaking, into the new context:

Denmark and Norway/ praise the Lord
 Praise the Lord you evangelical Christians/
 You who loveth his servants/praise the Lord
 You who loveth the true faith/ praise the Lord:
 Praised be the Lord from Zion/ Halleluja.³⁵

The Jewish People and the Northern Nations: Continuity or Replacement?

Berntsen’s text actualizes a question that has been important to the Jerusalem project: how to understand the perception of the Scandinavian countries as counterparts to the Israelite people, the people of God. Central to this discussion is how to understand the continuity between the Jewish people and the northern nations. The authors of both Sweden and Denmark–Norway portrayed their kingdoms according to God’s chosen Kingdom of Israel. The sources reveal a strategy of social discipline. As the “true Israelites,” the people of the Protestant kingdoms, conceived of as the chosen people of God, were addressed with a religious and political language similar to that with which the Jews of the Old Testament had been addressed. The kings ruled the elect and modelled their rulership on ideal Old Testament kings, and they prescribed collective penitential rituals based on patterns from the Old Testament. Niels Ekedahl discusses this Israelite identification in his chapter in this volume, and

³³ Berntsen, *Danmarckis oc Norgis fructbar Herlighed*, a iiiv.

³⁴ Berntsen, *Danmarckis oc Norgis fructbar Herlighed*, b ii.

³⁵ “Danmark og Norge/lovpris Herren Lovpris Herren Dere Evangeliske kristne/ Dere som elsker hans tjenere/lovpris Herren Dere som elsker den sanne Tro/lovpris Herren Lovpris Herren fra Zion/ Halleluja.” Berntsen, *Danmarckis oc Norgis fructbar Herlighed*, b ii.



Fig. 1.6: Title page of Arent Berntsen, *Danmarckis oc Norgis Fructbar Hærlighed* [The fruitful delights of Denmark and Norway], Copenhagen 1650–55.

points to the flexibility of the code. The aim of the authors is to build a confessional Lutheran identity, and not to claim an exclusive continuity of Israelite privileges.³⁶

Restructuring the Storyworld: Mediations of Holiness

When Arent Berntsen praised Denmark–Norway as a substitute for the Holy Land and Zion, it was based on an early modern understanding of representation. Since the christening of Scandinavia, the representation of the true Jerusalem had provided a moral authority and legitimated social, political, and religious institutions as well as architectural structures, as described in volume 1 of this series. In the sixteenth-century reformations, it was, as we have seen above, no longer the physical sacraments and representations that mattered in securing true continuity to the Temple and heavenly worship, but the proclamation and reception of the true Word of God. It is thus reasonable to suggest that a new paradigm of mediation of holiness, finally expressed by the Protestant reformers, caused the transformation of the Jerusalem Code in the sixteenth century. The fulcrum of the code changed when the cultural concept of representation changed.

To late medieval culture, it was a premise that holiness permeated nature, life, and society, radiating from a continued material presence of Christ, as expressed for example by Miri Rubin in her study *Corpus Christi: The Eucharist in Late Medieval Culture*.³⁷ At the same time, the period saw a complex and paradoxical attitude towards materiality, as Caroline Walker Bynum has pointed to in her seminal study, *Christian Materiality*.³⁸ In her perspective, the Protestant rejection of holy matter can be analysed along with a multitude of responses to a crisis of confidence in material representation. According to Bynum this was caused by the diverse attitudes toward the material that had been present in the western Church since the twelfth century. The new responses cannot be analysed according to rejections of earlier “corruption” or “superstition”. Bynum claims, on the other hand, that an awareness of the radically paradoxical nature of late medieval religion frees us from the sterile debates of the past about whether the sixteenth century is a growth from or a break with earlier Christianity.³⁹ The Lutheran answer to the paradox of materiality was to point from the material to the spiritual, to the salvific word of God.

³⁶ See Chapter 7 in this volume (Niels Ekedahl), 119–45.

³⁷ Miri Rubin, *Corpus Christi: The Eucharist in Late Medieval Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991).

³⁸ Caroline Walker Bynum, *Christian Materiality: An Essay on Religion in Late Medieval Europe* (New York: Zone Books, 2011).

³⁹ Bynum, *Christian Materiality*, 269–73.

A significant example of the shifting concept of representation can be the attitude to the relic of the Cross, which was a central object in late medieval culture, also in Scandinavia, as seen in Lena Liepe's contribution in volume 1 of this series.⁴⁰ The first book ever printed in Denmark was Guillaume Caoursin's description of the siege of the Turks at Rhodes in 1480, where this relic had a decisive function (Odense 1482).⁴¹ In Caoursin's account, a reliquary with the Cross miraculously led the Christians to defeat the enemies. The Latin text was rewritten and printed in Danish in 1508.⁴² Forty years later, however, it is possible to observe a transformed view on this material trace from Jerusalem when the Danish Lutheran reformer and first superintendent/bishop of Sealand, Peder Palladius, comments on the relic of the cross. His introduction to the Danish translation of the passion story of Christ is addressed to the noble woman Eline Gøye, and Palladius assures her that she in this text will find even more than the other *Eline*, the mother of Emperor Constantine, found in Jerusalem:

You will also find in this a precious pearl and more costly treasure (if you want to search for it) than Saint Eline, the mother of Emperor Constantine, allegedly should have found in Jerusalem/ if it could be true/ what is written about her/ and which the impious people of the pope held to be true/ how she should have sought and found the cross that Christ hung on/ in the way that they instituted an ungodly feast of it/ and fasted a three-day fast/ which they then called etc. But here you don't find wood or rod which is not worth searching for in that way/ but the crucified Jesus Christ/ who hung on the Cross/ died and poured his red blood/ with which he wiped out all our sins/ and rose to our Justice.⁴³

Palladius states that it is not the tree of the Cross, but the fact that Christ died for your sins and rose again, which creates salvation. This argument characterizes the rejection of relics, and the physical traces of Jerusalem changed their significance from objects of devotion to objects of curiosity and documentation.

40 Chapter 9, volume I (Lena Liepe), 166–87.

41 G. Caoursin, *Guillelmi Caoursin descriptio obsidionis urbis Rhodie per Johannem Snel in Ottonia impressa anno dni 1482* (Odense: Johannes Snel, 1482).

42 Gotfred af Ghemen, *Hær begynnnes then strijdh aff Rodijs* (Copenhagen: Gotfred af Ghemen, 1508).

43 "I finde ocsaa her udi en dyrbar perle oc kaasteligere liggendesæ (der som I ville ellers lede der effer) end Sanct Eline Keyser Constantini moder skulde haffue fundet i Jerusalem/ om det kunde findis sant at vere/ som er screffuet om hende/ Huilket dog det wgudelige Paffuens folck hulde saa vist at vere/ huorlunde hun skulde haffue søgt oc fundet det kaarss som Christus hengde paa/ at de stiftede en wgudelig fest der aff/ oc fastede en Træ afftens faste/ som de saa kaldede etc. Men her finde i icke Træ eller staack som er icke vært at lede effer i den maade/ men den kaarsfeste Jesum Christum/ som hengde paa kaarsset/ døde og udgaff sit rosens Blod/ huor met hand toede oss aff alle vore synder/ oc opstod til vor Retfærdighed." (The preface is dated 1556). Peder Palladius, *Vor Herris Jhesu Christi Pinis, Døds oc ærefulde Opstandelsis historie* (Copenhagen: Mads Vingaard, 1575), Aiiiv–Aiii.

The True Pilgrimages in Faith

With new premises of mediation of holiness, the earthly Jerusalem was no longer a necessary pilgrimage goal. In 1517, the same year that Johan Rantzau had bowed his head and knees before the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem, Martin Luther had rejected the special merits of pilgrimages and holy places. In the first of his 95 Theses on the power of indulgences, he proclaimed “When our Lord and Master Jesus Christ said, ‘Repent’ (Matt 4:17), he willed the entire life of believers to be one of repentance.” Those who made pilgrimages for the sake of indulgences, merited nothing at all:

Those people are to be justifiably ridiculed who neglect Christ and neighbor at home, in order to spend ten times as much money away from home without having any results and merit to show for it . . . Therefore he who would remain at home . . . would be doing far better – indeed, he would be doing the only right thing – than if he were to bring home all the indulgences of Jerusalem and Rome.⁴⁴

The representation of holiness was not guaranteed by material causes, and Luther thus claimed that God was “as little concerned with the grave in which our Lord lay [. . .], as with all the cows in Switzerland.”⁴⁵ The best pilgrimages could, on the other hand, be made through the Holy Scriptures: “Now we can behold and visit the true Promised Land, the true Jerusalem, yes, the true Paradise and kingdom of heaven, making our way, not through tombs and the physical places of the saints but rather through their hearts, thoughts, and spirits,”⁴⁶ and finally through faith:

In former times saints made many pilgrimages to Rome, Jerusalem and Compostella in order to make satisfaction for sins. Now, however, we can go on true pilgrimages in faith, namely, when we diligently read the psalms, prophets, gospel etc. Rather than walk about holy places we can thus pause at our thoughts, examine our heart, and visit the real promised land and paradise of eternal life.⁴⁷

44 LW 31 (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1957), 198. See: *Disputatio pro declaratione virtutis indulgentiarum 1517* WA 1,229–38.

45 “Denn nach dem grab, do der herr ynn gelegen hatt, [. . .] fragt got gleych ßo vill, als nach allen kwen von schweytz.” Martin Luther, *Word and Sacrament II*, ed. Adel Ross Wentz, vol. 36, LW (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1959), 228. WA 8,562.

46 In the preface to Luther’s 1530 commentary on Psalm 117, addressed to the nobleman Hans von Steinberg: “Nu aber, Gott gelobt, haben wir die Euangelia, Psalmen und ander heilige schrift, darinnen wir wallen muegen mit nutz und seligkeit und das rechte gelobte land, das rechte Jerusalem, Ja, das rechte Paradis und himelreich beschawen und besuchen und nicht durch greber und leibliche stete der heiligen, sondern durch jhre hertzen, gedancken und geist spacieren.” Martin Luther, *Selected Psalms III*, ed. Jaroslav Pelikan, vol. 14, LW (Saint Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1958), 6. WA 31/1,226.

47 Table Talk no. 3588. Martin Luther, *Table Talk*, ed. Theodore G. Tappert, vol. 54, LW (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1967), 238.

Medieval Latin Christianity had centred on Jerusalem, conceptually, devotionally, and often politically, as discussed in volume 1. Within a few years, however, the perception of Jerusalem in the Protestant world changed. What the medieval authors could refer to as the jewel in God's Diadem that had to be reconquered from the Muslims,⁴⁸ the early modern Protestant authors could describe as abandoned. While the Holy Land earlier was described as overflowing with milk and honey, it could now be described like the deserts in Norway and Iceland, a barren and waste land. There was, however, a certain resistance towards the consequences of this new paradigm. The Danish nobility still travelled to Jerusalem and the Holy Land, as seen in the chapter by Janus Møller Jensen in this book.⁴⁹ Pilgrimage was not prohibited in Denmark and Norway as it was in Sweden.⁵⁰ Møller Jensen argues that the travel accounts of Danish nobles of the sixteenth century do not differ substantially from those of their Catholic peers, and the sense of awe at being near the holiest places is genuinely expressed.

Restructuring Time

For medieval historians and, later, the Roman Catholic historians, the history of the Church was a relatively straightforward matter in the sense that it was the history of a divinely ordained institution. According to their view, the institution had a continuous history from its pre-existence as a shadow in the Jewish priesthood serving at the Temple of Jerusalem, and was transferred by several means to the Church of Rome. Protestant reformers could not adopt this view. They were therefore faced with the urgent task of offering another history of the (true) Church. Rather than a genealogical descendant of the visible church, they proposed a continuity of loyal stronghold of the Law and Gospel.

When the continuity of the true Church had to be defined anew according to the true preaching of Law and Gospel, history had to be reinterpreted and rewritten. Luther redefines not only the mediation – from physical to spiritual – but also the timeline in this transformation of the Jerusalem Code. What counts is no longer primarily the chronology of tradition, but the breakthrough of the Word and the time to come.

An early Danish example of this new model can be found in Jens Peerszøn's introduction to the translation of Urbanus Rhegius and Benedictus Gretzinger, *Ein trostliche disputation/ auff frag vn antwurt gestellet . . .* (1524), from 1531.⁵¹ At this

⁴⁸ Eivor Andersen Oftestad, *The Lateran Church in Rome and the Ark of the Covenant: Housing the Holy Relics of Jerusalem* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2019), 78.

⁴⁹ See Chapter 11 in this volume (Janus Møller Jensen), 197–231.

⁵⁰ See Chapter 11 in this volume (Janus Møller Jensen), 197–231.

⁵¹ Jens Peerszøn, *En merkelig grundfest disputatz* (Copenhagen: Einar Munksgaard, 1952).

point the reformatory message was welcomed within some of the Danish cities. It was, however, several years before the Reformation was constitutionally introduced in 1537. The ecclesiological consequence of the Reformation paradigm was thus not yet institutionally established. Nevertheless, Peerszøn addresses the contemporary situation as an opportunity to embrace gratefully the pure word of God which once again – as during the first time of the apostles – has been revealed to the bewildered world. To describe the unique situation Peerszøn uses the history of the Israelites and the reforms at the Temple in Jerusalem as a model. Thus the history of decay, punishment, and reform in the Old Testament becomes a *topos* or mirror for the history of Christendom and the contemporary movement of reform. The analogous event that turns the history of the Israelites into a suitable mirror in this particular contemporary situation is the finding of the Book of Law in the Temple of Jerusalem during King Josiah's reign, referred in 2 Kings 22.⁵² The finding of the Law occurred before God punished his stubborn people, and in this way, according to Jens Peerszøn, God let his word once more spring forth and be proclaimed so that one could escape the wrath of God and no one could be without an excuse.

With the description of King Josiah's religious reform, based on the Law and the word of God, Peerszøn turns to the parallel history of Christendom. In the time of Christ and the apostles, the Church gathered on the Word of God, and was commanded by God to be nourished, sustained and governed by this Word. But as time went on, people forgot about God and his word and didn't even pay attention to sin. Hence, the prophecy of 2 Thess 2⁵³ came true, as God sent such a severe delusion and heresies that people believed the lie. This, says Peerszøn, has been the situation for some hundred years now. And now the world is unmistakably in front of the soon approaching penalty. Nevertheless, before this punishment, God has again let the true evangelical light, his word, shine through. Peerszøn referred to the reform established by King Josiah, and thus encouraged the Danish King Fredrik I to a similar act.

In the minds of early sixteenth-century Protestant theologians, the timeline of salvation history was dramatically tightening in their own time. The situation was described according to the apocalyptic end of time. The breakthrough of the World of God initiated the last phase of history, and in this phase, Martin Luther was the last prophet as described by the Danish reformer Nicolai Palladius. When he presented the death of Martin Luther (18 February 1546) to the Danish Church, he thus presented the story of the death of the holy Prophet of the end of times.⁵⁴ After referring to Luther's last confession, Palladius concluded that our father and true

⁵² Peerszøn, *En merkelig grundfest disputatz*, Aiv.

⁵³ 2 Thess 2:11.

⁵⁴ Niels Palladius, *En almindelig form, som bruges i Wittembergs kircke efter alle Predicken, til at formane folcket at bede for alle aandelig oc legomlig Nøttøffthgedt* (Wittenberg, 1546).

prophet, Dr Martin Luther without doubt was the angel in the Book of Revelation, chapter 14, he who proclaimed the eternal Gospel:

Then I saw another angel flying in midair, and he had the eternal gospel to proclaim to those who live on the earth – to every nation, tribe, language and people. He said in a loud voice, ‘Fear God and give him glory, because the hour of his judgment has come. Worship him who made the heavens, the earth, the sea and the springs of water.’ (Rev 14:6–7)

According to the early Protestant’s chronology of the world, Martin Luther was announcing the end of times in the final universal drama of salvation. He was the last true prophet of the Word of God in a continuous fight between God and the gates of hell.

The condition for Palladius’s treatise was that there had been a *translatio* of the Gospel through time and space: from the Creation to his own time – which was the end of the world; and from Paradise to Wittenberg to his Danish congregations.

New Historiography

In light of what was considered to be the breakthrough of the Word of God, the history of Christian Scandinavia had to be written anew. In the 1570s the Danish historian and court preacher Anders Sørensen Vedel took the task of re-interpreting the past when he introduced the Danish translation of Saxo’s Danish Chronicle, *Gesta Danorum*, written in Latin around 1200.⁵⁵ At first Vedel’s description of the Christening of the Danes accords with descriptions written by medieval historians. The Danes had practiced horrible idolatry and lived in a long night and through times of darkness during the period of heathendom.⁵⁶ The heathens were stubborn and blinded. They loved the darkness, but God had pushed his way through – and “pulled us all into his Christian Church and society”.⁵⁷ The newly converted Danes were at first obedient to the Word, and kept it not only by mouth and heart, Vedel asserts, but also by deeds. They built churches and schools and sustained the preachers who proclaimed the Word. But this eagerness was soon followed by laziness, Vedel explains. When Vedel then describes the subsequent history, it is adjusted to the new fulcrum, the Word of God:

⁵⁵ Vedel, *Den Danske Krønike*. See Karen Skovgaard-Petersen, *Historiography at the Court of Christian IV (1588–1648): Studies in the Latin Histories of Denmark by Johannes Pontanus and Johannes Meursius* (Copenhagen: Museum Tusulanum Press, 2002), 104–10.

⁵⁶ Vedel, *Den Danske Krønike*, A):(iiv).

⁵⁷ The entire paragraph is: “Saa at Gud haffuer saa gaat som trengd sig self ind paa oss fattige hedninge/ oc draget oss udi hals oc haar/ ind udi sin Christne kirckis Menighed oc Samfund. Saa langt haffuer veret fra/ at wi self enten kunde uide eller giøre noget/ som oss nyttigt oc gaffnligt kunde vere/ til Sandheds oc Saligheds rette kundskaff.” Vedel, *Den Danske Krønike*, A9):(iii).

In the way that both the preachers and the listeners/ have neglected to remain by the clear and written Word of God. They had reluctance against it/as Israel expressed disgust at the food/which God gave them from heaven, in the desert. They are fallen into a new Blindness and Delusion/ and have lent the poisoned Antichrist house and shelter by themselves. While they were sure/ according to their good reputation/ that they have improved/ they have aggravated/ and are punished by God/ that they believed in lie and forceful delusion/ because they did not want to remain faithful to the first confession of Truth.⁵⁸

The continuity of the true church was maintained by the secret few during the age of papacy, Vedel explains, as he compares the history with the Babylonian Captivity of the Jews. There were always a number of Danes who remained faithful despite their leaders. And finally, piety was restored by the adoption of Luther's teaching. In this way, with the words of Karen Skovgaard-Petersen, "[t]he real significance of the religious development told by Saxo, from heathendom to Christianity, only becomes clear when we bear in mind how the following Catholic abuse was finally replaced by the Lutheran Reformation".⁵⁹ After generations of both severe delusion and scarce faith, God had, according to Vedel, in the last times of the world, let the bright light of his word shine through. God had provided both faithful preachers and a God-fearing authority, "which had opened the gates to His Son, the King of glory".⁶⁰ According to Vedel, the Danish Kingdom is praised more than all other kingdoms and realms in the entire world because of the pious King Christian III, who expelled the Antichrist from the realm, and prescribed a good order in both Church and schools.⁶¹ According to the idea of *translatio*, the presence of God in the Kingdom of Denmark is, however, described as a grace that can be withdrawn and moved to another place whenever God wills it. The history reminds us of God's mercy, and exhorts "those Lands and Kingdoms/ that have received the bright light of his blessed word/ to love it/ and behave according to it/ in the way that God gains no reason/ because of their ingratitude/ to wander from this place to another place".⁶²

58 "Saa at baade de som skulde predicke oc tilhøre/ haffue begge veret forsommelige til at bliffue ved det reene oc scriftelige udtrycte Guds Ord. De haffue keddis der ued/ som Israel vemmedis offer den Spise/ huilcken Gud gaff dennem ned aff himmelen udi Ørcken. De ere henfaldene udi ny Blindhed oc Vildfarelse/ oc haffue laant den forgiffelige Antichristen hus oc herbere hos sig. Der de meente / effter deris eget gode tycke/ at de forbedrede sig/ da haffue de foruerret sig/ oc ere strafede aff Gud/ at de trode Løgn oc kraftelig Vildfarelse/ efferdi de vilde icke bliffue ved den første Sandheds bekiendelse." Vedel, *Den Danske krønike*, A):(iiiv).

59 Karen Skovgaard-Petersen, "Carion's Chronicle in Sixteenth-Century Danish Historiography," *Symbolae Osloenses* 73, no. 1 (1998): 166.

60 "hand haffver icke alleniste sent oss tro Lærere/ men giffuet oss ocsaa gudfryctig Øffrighed/ som haffue obnet Portene/ for hans Søn/ærens Koning." Vedel, *Den Danske krønike*, A):(viv).

61 Vedel, *Den Danske Krønike*, A):(viv).

62 "Oc at de Land oc Rige/ som haffue hans salige Ords klare lius/ skulle elske det/ oc skicke sig saaledis der effter/ at hand faar icke Aarsage/ for deris Utacknemmeligheds skyld/ at vandre fra dennem hen til en anden stæd." Vedel, *Den Danske krønike*, A):(iiiv).

The Pedagogical Jerusalem Code: Chronicon Carionis

While Vedel wrote his Danish version of Saxo in a national-scale perspective as presented above, *Chronicon Carionis* was written in world-scale perspectives.⁶³ This historiography, written by Johannes Carion and Philip Melanchton in 1531–32, was soon presented to all the Danish university students.⁶⁴ The Danish translation of *Chronicon* appeared in 1554, translated by John Tursson, eighteen years before what later became the standard version, totally rewritten by Philip Melanchthon, appeared in 1572, a version that enjoyed immense popularity in the Protestant world. At the small university in Copenhagen, according to Skovgaard-Petersen, *Chronicon* was to be read at the evening meal at the university college, which had been founded by the king in 1569.⁶⁵

The *Chronicon* tells the history of the world from the Creation up to the sixteenth century. The storyline is the continuity of the true worship. The constructions of time are explained explicitly, and Jerusalem plays a certain role which will be commented on below.

In its construction of a Christian storyworld, the chronicle combines two medieval chronological schemes: The first is the *traditio domus Eliah* (the prophecies of Eliah) derived from Talmud.⁶⁶ It allots a fixed span of years to the world, six thousand altogether, divided into three periods of 2000 years: the period before the giving of the Law (up to Abraham); the period subject to the Law (from Abraham to Jesus); and the period of grace – the reign of Christ. As each period was calculated to two thousand years, it meant that the world in the sixteenth century was approaching its end. The last period was actually shortened because sin was increasing according to the text.

The other chronological scheme was the translation of the word empire, *the translatio imperii*.⁶⁷ It was based on the prophet Daniel's interpretation of Nebuchadnezzar's dream in the Book of Daniel. Four world Monarchies would succeed each other in the course of history. These were identified as the Assyrian, Persian, Greek or Macedonian, and the Roman Empire. The latter was still alive, represented by the German Habsburg

⁶³ Skovgaard-Petersen has shown how Vedel's account of the history of Denmark seems to be an adaption to national proportions of the worldscale perspective of Melanchthon's *Chronicon Carionis*. Vedel is influenced by Melanchton's *Chronicon Charionis*, cf. Skovgaard-Petersen, "Carion's Chronicle in Sixteenth-Century Danish Historiography," 164. See also Skovgaard-Petersen, *Historiography at the Court of Christian IV (1588–1648)*, 104–10.

⁶⁴ Skovgaard-Petersen, "Carion's Chronicle in Sixteenth-Century Danish Historiography," 158.

⁶⁵ Skovgaard-Petersen, "Carion's Chronicle in Sixteenth-Century Danish Historiography," 158.

⁶⁶ On Melanchthon's use of this Jewish tradition, see Asaph Ben-Tov, *Lutheran Humanists and Greek Antiquity: Melanchthonian Scholarship between Universal History and Pedagogy*, Brill's Studies in Intellectual History 183 (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 43–46.

⁶⁷ See also Chapter 3 in volume I (Eivor Andersen Oftestad), 49–55. On Melanchton's use of *translatio imperii*, see Ben-Tov, *Lutheran Humanists*, 216.

Empire. As is well known, this model was one of the most important historico-philosophical works of the Middle Ages.⁶⁸

In the *Chronicon* the purpose of the history is to learn how God maintains both regiments – the spiritual and secular, both established from the beginning of time – and how he punishes sin by transferring his grace, his mandate, from one political reign to another. The will of God, his recognition of virtue and punishment of sin, are thus determinants in the course of history. In this perspective, *translationes imperii* are caused by moral decline in the expiring empires.

When Danish Tursson translated and rewrote the *Chronicon*, the Roman Empire still reigned, through Emperor Charles V. The German nation had been more worthy than all other nations of the world, Tursson claimed. Nevertheless, the sky was about to darken. According to the model of history, the subsequent empires – until judgement day – had to be a continuation of the Roman one. The chronicle emphasized the prophecy, and the consequence was that Judgement Day would come when this Roman Empire was ruined and the emperor – or rather the prince-electors – no longer managed to protect religion and maintain peace and unity. The political and religious disagreements were a clear sign of the apocalypse – and the final change in history.⁶⁹

An important point in the *Chronicon* is: How to postpone the deserved punishment, the transfer of God's presence, and the apocalypse? This was the task of the ruler and what he had to practice through the disciplining of his citizens. And here is – finally – where Jerusalem becomes a model and the Jerusalem Code becomes a pedagogical tool.

68 This built on earlier interpretations, not least by Jerome (347/48–419/20) and Orisius (c.385–420), and had been systematically applied to the history of the world in the chronicle of Frutolf of Michelsberg (1100), cf. H. Thomas, “Translatio Imperii,” in *Lexicon des Mittelalters* (1977–99). The French historian, Jean Bodin (1530–1596) later commented on the use of this tradition: “A long-established, but mistaken, idea about four empires, made famous by the prestige of great men, has sent its roots down so far that it seems difficult to eradicate. It has won over countless interpreters of the Bible; it includes among modern writers Martin Luther, Melanchton, Sleidan, Lucidus, Funck, and Panvinio – men well read in ancient history and things divine.” Jean Bodin, *Method for the Easy Comprehension of History*, Records of Civilization, Sources and Studies 37 (New York: Octagon, 1966), 291.

69 Johan Carion, *Chronica M. Johan Carion paa thet flittigste sammen dragen, huer mand nyttelig att læse oc er nu fordansket aff M. Joenn Tursson: Medt een skøn oc herlig Register som indholder alle fornemste handel oc Historier som seg fraa Verdens begyndelse ind til Carolum V begiffuit haffue* (Wittenberg: Jurgen Rhauues arffuinger, 1554), 13, 124v; 269–70.

The “Demo” of God

To teach how to maintain the grace of God, the author of *Chronicon* uses sacred history as an analogy, just as we saw in the texts by Peerszøn and Vedel above. Sacred history tells how a particular governance was constituted among the people of Israel. It consisted of both priestly office and secular regiment, and according to *Chronicon* it was established as the oldest “people” and oldest “nation” on earth.⁷⁰ As such, the people of Israel were the “demo” of God: a people where the just worship existed (until the death of Christ, when it was transferred to the gentiles) and from whom the Son of God was to be born, while the other nations all worshipped false Gods.⁷¹

The dynamics of the history was the constant struggle to maintain the right worship. There were three important actors in these dynamics who all played important roles in the storyworld of the Jerusalem code: the king – whose duty was to protect the right worship; the prophets, whose duty was to warn the kings and lead the ruler back on track; and the foreign nations, not least the empire, which God used to punish his people.

On this premise, the *Chronicon* lists all the Old Testament kings and their affairs: how they destroyed false worship, or how they interfered with and built altars to foreign Gods and misused religion – and how God consequently rewarded them or punished them by using other nations to attack Jerusalem or by letting the king lose wars.

Achas and Ezechias are examples of a bad king and a good king:

Achas ruled 16 years and ordained false worship. He erected chapels and altars all over the country [. . .], and it was pure and simple disbelief and abuse of the true worship. For this reason God arranged that the entire kingdom because of him was attacked and tormented.⁷²

Ezechias ruled for 29 years. He was pious and he destroyed the false worship and ordained reward and a tenth to the priests. Such are proper princely good deeds. For this reason God gave him a remarkable victory against his enemy: at the time when the King of Assyria besieged Jerusalem, and he cried to God for help, God let his angel beat the Assyrians and save Jerualem.⁷³

⁷⁰ Carion, *Chronica M. Johan Carion*, 40v.

⁷¹ Carion, *Chronica M. Johan Carion*, 30.

⁷² “Achas regerede 16. Aar/ oc anrichtede falsk Guds dyrckelse/ hand lod opbygge Capel oc Altere alle vegne I landet/ [. . .] oc vor doch idel vantro oc misbrug emod den rette Guds tieniste/ herfore haffuer Gud tilstedt/ att thet ganske kongeriige bleff med hannom offuerfallet oc suarligen plaget.” Carion, *Chronica M. Johan Carion*, 35.

⁷³ “Ezechias regerede 29. Aar/ oc vor from oc haffuer ødelagt then falske Guds dyrckelse/ oc beskickedede presterne theris underholning oc tiende/ Sodan ere the rette førstelige gode gierninger. Herfore haffuer Gud giffuet hannom merckelige seyer emod hans fiende. Fordi att den tiid at then

Another example of a good king is King Josias, who initiated reform at the Temple. The author of the *Chronicon* interprets this according to the program of the Protestant Reformation, and recognizes the analogy in his own time:

Josias ruled for 31 years, and again the king destroyed the false worship, the chapels and the idolatry, and he burned the bones of the false prophets. During this kingship they rediscovered the books of Moses, which had been lost for a long time. Yes, this is a remarkable example which we should recognize, of how people regarded idolatry and human ideas and doctrines as good in this period. And the Holy Scripture had a bad reputation in the same period, in the way that they had lost the books and didn't know where they could be. Over time God revealed them. This history is doubtless a figure and a comment about this last time in the holy church, where the Word of God again should be revealed and the Holy Scripture again be well known.⁷⁴

The examples from the sacred history showed how God brought up his people. He punished and rewarded them according to their worship and fear of God. The history of Jerusalem was an example of the circle of true worship, rejection, repentance, and once again true worship, and then later of disbelief in God and disagreement among the citizens which consequently led to the final penalty when God destroyed the city through the Romans. The pedagogical example of Jerusalem according to this history was referred to repeatedly in the literature of the sixteenth and seventeenth century.⁷⁵ The important pedagogical point was to learn that when God did not spare his own people, and the Kingdom of Judea, which He himself had ordained, then He would neither spare other nations or kingdoms, but be harsh and awful, and punish sin everywhere.⁷⁶

This is the Jerusalem Code as it was presented by the Protestant universal history in Denmark in 1554 – the purpose was to motivate the king to fear of God and to just ruling, and to ensure that sin would not increase. The increase of sin would mean the shortening of time, and the coming of the apocalypse.

Koning aff Assyria haffde belagt Hierusalem/ Tha paa kallede hand Gud om hielp/ oc Gud lod tha Engelen slaa the Assyrier oc frelse Jerusalem.” Carion, *Chronica M. Johan Carion*, 35.

74 “Josias rgerede [sic] 31. Aar/ oc haffuer atter ødelagt then falske Guds dyrckelse oc nederslaget Capel oc affguderii oc lod forbrende the falske propheterss been. Wti thenne koninges tiid haffuer mand igen fundet the bøger Moisi/ huilcke tha vore borte oc forlorne i long tiid/ Ja sandeligen dette er ocsaa ett mectigt exempel som oss bør vel att mercke/ huorledes all wgudelighedt oc menniskens paafund oc lerdom/ haffuer tha so møgit fonget offuer honden / oc vor tha aller mest anseet hoss alle mand/ Oc then hellige skriffth vor saa ringe achtet paa same tiid/ oc aldelis forsmadt/ saa att mand haffde tha forlorett bøkerne oc viste ei huor the vore/ men Gud haffuer thennom att ligeuel om siher igen skicket. Thenne historia er for uthan tuil en figur oc bemerckelse om thenne siiste tiid i then hellige Kircke/ huor som Guds ord skulle clarligere obenbaris emod enden/ oc then hellige skrifftht bliffuue bedre bekendt.” Carion, *Chronica M. Johan Carion*, 36v–37.

75 See Chapter 12 in this volume (Eivor Andersen Oftestad), 235–57.

76 This moral is stated in several different versions in the Danish literature of the time. Carion, *Chronica M. Johan Carion*, 35v–36.

The Temple of Jerusalem

The duty of the rulers was to maintain the true worship. In the Old Testament, the place for this worship was first and foremost the Temple of Jerusalem. Hence, the destiny of the Temple became a mirror and a pedagogical tool in the disciplinatio of piety of the early Protestant government. The temple was also the place for reform, for cleansing and for destruction, different acts that were used to describe actual situations.

As explained above, both Peerszøn's description of the reformatory movement, as well as *Chronicon Carionis* pointed to the *topos* of King Josiah as a particular figure. He had cleansed the Temple to restore the cult and thus establishing the reform of the Israelites. Accordingly, he was a suitable model for the secular rulers who embraced the various concepts of religious reform in early modern Europe. The *topos* of King Josiah was used most intensely by the Calvinists, but also by Anglicans and Lutherans, and Luther himself had employed the text of 2 Kings 22 in his funeral sermon for Elector Friedrich the Wise in 1525.⁷⁷ The cleansing of the Temple was also regarded according to the act of Jesus when he overthrew the Temple. At the establishment of the Reformation, the first Danish superintendent, Peder Palladius, saw himself continuing Jesus's cleansing. In his instruction to the pastors and congregations in Sjælland around 1540, Palladius instructed his parishioners to preserve the high altar and abolish all side-altars, as Palladius regarded the side-altars as "cabins and shops" like those overthrown by Jesus in the Temple.⁷⁸

Another possible fate than cleansing and reform, was the destruction of the Temple and of Jerusalem. According to theological interpretation this was God's punishment when his people refused to listen and receive his Word, Jesus. The history of the destruction of Jerusalem, performed by the Romans in AD 70, gained renewed importance in the Early Modern period as explained by Beatrice Groves in her chapter in this volume.⁷⁹

Throughout the Middle Ages, the destruction of Jerusalem and the destruction of the Temple had first and foremost been regarded as a sign of God which marked the end of the Old Covenant and the beginning of the New. While the Temple was rebuilt after the first destruction by King Nebuchadnezzar in 586 BC, it was never again rebuilt after the Romans' plundered it in AD 70. According to medieval interpreters, this second destruction followed the translation of grace from the Jewish nation to

⁷⁷ On this topic, see Graeme Murdock, "The Importance of Being Josiah: An Image of Calvinist Identity," *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 29, no. 4 (1998), 1043–59; Cornelia Niekus Moore, *Patterned Lives: The Lutheran Funeral Biography in Early Modern Germany* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2006), 218ff.; Sivert Angel, *The Confessionalist Homiletics of Lucas Osiander (1534–1604)* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2014), 92–94. See also Chapter 6 in this volume (Sivert Angel), 97–117.

⁷⁸ Kåre Støylen, *Peder Palladius Visitasbok* (Oslo: Tanum, 1945), 33.

⁷⁹ See Chapter 3 in this volume (Beatrice Groves), 54–61.



Fig. 1.7: Panel commemorating the rebuilding of Kvernes Church, Norway, 1633, evoking the building of the Temple of Solomon.

the Christians. Since then the Jewish Temple had been an abomination to God. The victory of the Romans confirmed that it was the Christians, and no longer the Jews, who were God's Chosen People. With the destruction of Jerusalem and the Temple, the earthly Jerusalem lost its religious significance (later restored by pilgrimages and the crusades) and Christian discourse concentrated on the Heavenly Jerusalem.

In the early Protestant texts, however, the destruction of Jerusalem was not primarily understood according to the chronology of the triumphant Church replacing the defeated synagogue. With their new premises, the reformers redefined the storyline and thus distributed the roles of the *storyworld* anew. What was at stake was not the fate or continuity of a people, but a true religious practice based on the Word of God, which meant the distinction between Law and Gospel. In this perspective, the destruction was understood as a response to a certain continuous human status before God. This was in line with the premises of the new Protestant historiography based on the true worship, as demonstrated above. According to these premises, Jews and Christians shared the same miserable status before God and deserved the same punishment. The main sin was not in crucifying Christ, but in despising his preaching, a sin which continuously performed by Jews and Christians alike. Hence, the Protestant interpretations could refer to the destruction of Jerusalem as the final transfer of holiness from the Jewish religion to the Christian Church as a comforting fact, but the siege of Jerusalem played a lesser role as a transition between stages in the history of salvation.

According to this redefined storyline, the Catholics were already acting as Jews, with their outward religion based on the Law,⁸⁰ and the Protestants were also always in danger of falling into the same miserable sins. Hence, the destruction of Jerusalem was no singular moment, but first of all a warning example and a call to continuous conversion in the sixteenth century as well. As a warning example it was a reminder that the grace of God could also be removed from the chosen people of the Protestant north. The sources examined in Chapter 12 later in this volume (“Who can approach our Jerusalem without crying?” The Destruction of Jerusalem in Danish Sources,

80 The Catholic Church had perverted the Temple and the priesthood into the doctrine of monks and works, Luther explained, and referred to the Roman practice of indulgences, “so that with such offerings one merited the grace of God.” The peak of this perversion was the office of the pope, the “great rat king at Rome with his Judas purse, which is the great money gulch that in the name of Christ and the church has appropriated to itself all the possessions of the world”. This practice exclaims Luther, is a “much more infamous and barefaced perversion of the temple of God into a house of merchandise, than was perpetrated by the Jews at Jerusalem,” “Eyn Sermon von der Zerstörung Jerusalem. Das teutsch landt auch also zerstört werd/ wo es die Zeyt seiner heymsuchung nicht erkent. Was der tempel Gottis sey” (Wittenberg, 1525). Translation according to Martin Luther, *Sermons of Martin Luther: vol. 4: Sermons on Gospel Texts for the 1st to 12th Sundays after Trinity* (Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1983), 332–33.

1515–1729”) suggest that the destruction of Jerusalem and the Temple in the year AD 70, was a primary model and a mirror by which the inhabitants and preachers of early modern Denmark–Norway interpreted their own times and the lives of the citizens.

The Earthly Jerusalem: From Centre to Periphery

Alongside new theological interpretations of the earthly Jerusalem, several geopolitical and religious incidents influenced the early modern perception of Jerusalem. Within a period of two hundred years, the Ottoman Turks had conquered an area extending from the borders of India to the African shores of the Atlantic Ocean. After the conquest of 1517, Palestine remained under Ottoman rule for four hundred years. As Colin Morris has emphasized, any successful military action of the European powers at Jerusalem was regarded as a sheer implausibility and “[t]he recovery of Jerusalem increasingly belonged to the world of prophecy.”⁸¹

From a geopolitical perspective, Jerusalem played a more peripheral role during the Ottoman rule than under the previous Mamluk rule when the city had been centrally placed in an empire stretching from the full line of the Levantine seaboard and encompassing Egypt and Western Arabia. When the Ottomans took over the city in the sixteenth century, Palestine became a province of a large empire whose centre of gravity lay in Anatolia and the Balkans. On the larger scale, it was the period of drawing new geographical maps. Columbus’s discovery of the New World in 1492 relativized Jerusalem’s central position at the junction between Africa, Europe, and Asia – the known continents. The long-term effect, both because of altered geography, as well as restricted availability, gave Jerusalem a different place in geographical imagination.

Over time the new political situation in the Levant contributed decisively to changing the status of Jerusalem. The Ottoman siege caused severe problems for all Christian pilgrims, not only for the Danish Johan Rantzau as described at the beginning of this chapter, and thus affected the religious practice. The new regime made the earthly city less available to western Christians and an immediate consequence of the siege was the decline in pilgrimage. In 1519 there were 190 pilgrims gathered from different nationalities who set out from Venice. Only a couple of years later, in 1522, there were about forty.

⁸¹ Morris, *The Sepulchre of Christ*, 378.

Jerusalem in the Eyes of the Christians

Even though the pilgrimages were strongly restricted by the new regime, the pilgrims' gaze towards Jerusalem nevertheless had the same focus as it had had for centuries: "In western eyes, Ottoman Jerusalem did not exist."⁸²

In the western Pilgrimage accounts from early modern Europe, it was the biblical Jerusalem and the Christian Jerusalem that was described, as can be seen in, for example, the travel description by the Dane Otto Skram from 1661.⁸³ His intention was to see with his own eyes the holy places from the story of Christ and other biblical histories. He did not go to Jerusalem to see what was there, but to imagine what had been there.

Otto Skram's description of the city is a detailed reckoning of the sites which are shown to him and the other pilgrims by their Franciscan guides, from the first sight from the roof of the monastery of St Saviour⁸⁴ – probably bathed in what must have been experienced as a magical sunset – to their departure from Jerusalem and finally from the Holy Land by passing over Jordan on a bridge allegedly built by the Patriarch Jacob. The description of the Ottoman city itself is brief:

What concerns the city, it is situated in Length on three small hills. Forty years ago the Turkish emperor built a wall around the city because of the Arabians, as those from Arabia often came from the Mountains, robbed the City and kidnapped the Turks, the Turks thus have to do with them all the time, because those Arabians really don't want to be subject to the Turkish emperor. In the City is quite a strong Castle, inhabited entirely by Turks, and it is said that this Castle, in the times of Titus and Vespasian, when the City was ruined, was the only one to remain. The City is quite large, but few People are in it and mostly poor People, and because they don't engage in any trade, many places in the City are desolated. Above the Streets in the City there are several Archs, because, as it is said, in old Times when the City was still small, and there were a great many people there, they had houses built over the Streets, so almost all Streets have been covered by arches. There are Six Gates to the City, four large and two small.⁸⁵

82 Ernst Axel Knauf, "Ottoman Jerusalem in Western Eyes," in *Ottoman Jerusalem: The Living City, 1517–1917*, ed. Robert Hillenbrand and Yusuf Natsheh Sylvia Auld (London: Altajir World of Islam Trust, 2000), 73.

83 For manuscripts, see Møller Jensen in Chapter 11 in this volume, 208, n. 40. Skram's travel account is partially published by Glarbo, "Danske palæstinafarere i det 16. og 17. aarhundrede," 21–32.

84 The monastery of St Saviour was where the pilgrims used to stay.

85 "Hvad staden i sig self belanger, daa ligger den i Lengden paa tre Smaabierge. For 40 år siden har den tyrchische Keyser bygged en Muur omkring Staden for de Arabier Schyld, thi de aff Arabia komme tit fra Biergene, udplyndrede Staden och bortførde Tyrcherne, saa Tyrcherne har endnu alle Dage fast med dem at gjøre, thi de Arabier vill gandsche inted vere den tyrchische Keyser underdanig. I Staden er en temlig fast Castel, som er med lutter Tyrcher besat, och siges dette Castel i Titi Vespasiani Tider, daa Staden bleff forstyrred, allene at vere bestanden. Staden er temlig stoer, men faa Folch ere der udi och mesten Deel fattig Folch, thi de bruger gandsche ingen Handell, saa der

The descriptions of the city of Jerusalem by western pilgrims confirm the non-importance of the Storyworld of the others, and the importance of the Christian Storyworld.⁸⁶ In this world, the local Turks, Arabs, and Jews had only one role to fulfil, “that of a *massa perditionis*”.⁸⁷ Their function was to “illustrate the divine justice which inflicted utter desolation upon those who strayed from the path of the true believer.”⁸⁸

With respect to the Ottoman administration, the pilgrims rarely noted that it policed the country, provided security, and dispensed justice. In Skram’s description, the Turks are present as a constant obstacle. At the entrance to the city and to the important sites, the pilgrims have to pay money to the Turkish guards.⁸⁹ The obstacles did not, however, concern payment only, as Skram’s description often returns to various difficulties caused by the Turks. One example is connected to the tomb of Lazarus in Bethany – the tomb had twenty-three steps, which the monks themselves had chopped, Skram explains, because the Turks had built a construction at the very entrance.⁹⁰ Another difficulty is connected to the Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem:

The Church in itself had earlier been a very beautiful Church. The Walls as well as the Floor had been of sheer Marble, which those Turks have torn down and transported away. In the Church there are 48 red Marble pillars, each one similar to the other. There had also been beautiful pictures in this Church, at which the Turks and Moors, when they arrive there, shoot arrows and spoil them.⁹¹

One of these damaged columns was the one with the picture of the Norwegian patron saint Olaf on it, which can still be seen with arrow holes from this period.

At the Holy Sepulchre, the Ottoman administration was an obstacle to the maintenance of the building:

The Door, through which one enters the Tomb, is very mean, inside and outside it is sheer Marble, but the decay is strong, because one does not dare to improve it, the Christians gave

staar mange Steder øde i Staden. Offver Gaderne i Staden ere mange Hvelninger, thi, som der siges, i gammel Tid daa Staden var endnu liden, och der var gandsche meged Folch der inde, har de haft Huse bygt offver Gaderne, saa Gaderne fast alle har vere offverhvelted. Sex Porte ere der till Staden, fire store och tu smaa.” Glarbo, “Danske palæstinafarere i det 16. og 17. aarhundrede,” 30–31.

86 See *Prelude* in this volume, 8.

87 Knauf, “Ottoman Jerusalem in Western Eyes,” 74.

88 Knauf, “Ottoman Jerusalem in Western Eyes,” 74.

89 For example Glarbo, “Danske palæstinafarere i det 16. og 17. aarhundrede,” 22–23.

90 Glarbo, “Danske palæstinafarere i det 16. og 17. aarhundrede,” 23.

91 “Kirchen i sig self har tilforn vered en meged schön Kirche. Murerne saa vell som och Gulled har vered aff lutter Marmor, som de Tyrcher har nedbrudet och bortfurt. I Kirchen ere 48 røde Marmorstøtter, en som den anden. Skøne Billeder har der och vered i den Kirche, till hvilche de Tyrcher och Morer, nar de der hen komme, schyder med dere Buer och dennem forderffver.” Glarbo, “Danske palæstinafarere i det 16. og 17. aarhundrede,” 27.

the Turks a lot of Money, in the way that he should allow them to repair something on it, but he surely does not want this. Yes, in the entire City neither Christian nor Jew dares to build anything because of the Turk, nor even whitewash a wall.⁹²

Otto Skram, as well as other contemporary pilgrims, both Protestants and Catholics, described the brutality of the Turks. This not only affected the monks and other Christian inhabitants of Jerusalem, but also the safety of the pilgrims who were prevented from visiting the holy places. This brutal side of Ottoman Jerusalem resulted in consequences for Christian Europe as they needed to seek other means, both physically and metaphorically, to reach what was perceived as an important goal of man: the true Jerusalem.

An Epilogue: Searching for the True Jerusalem

When the earthly city was far less accessible, there were several ways to reach Jerusalem other than travelling to the physical city in Palestine, as has been explained above. For the perspective of this introduction, it is relevant to compare Martin Luther and his finding of the true Jerusalem in true worship with another influential man and his approach – Luther’s contemporary, Ignatius of Loyola (1491–1556). Their differing destinies mirror two different religious responses to the challenges of early modern Europe.

After his religious conversion in 1522, Ignatius’s desire was to go to Jerusalem as a penitent pilgrim, and to remain in the Holy City for the rest of his life. He went to Jerusalem in 1523 but was not allowed to stay – the militancy of the Ottoman Turks made it too difficult, and the Franciscan Provincial in Jerusalem refused his desire. After yet another attempt in 1537, he was persuaded to put himself, together with his brethren, at the disposition of Pope Paul III in Rome. This had been their second choice if it became apparent that a physical pilgrimage to Jerusalem was impossible. His desire was here realized in another way: “Italy is a good and true Jerusalem,” Pope Paul III told Ignatius and his companions.⁹³

It is far-fetched to say that the lacking of accessibility to Jerusalem prompted the Protestant Reformation, but it surely laid some important premises concerning where to search for the true Jerusalem. Also the Jesuits, established in the first half of the sixteenth century, embody a response to the difficulty in accessing Jerusalem. The Jesuits’ response was more direct: “His original notion of a chivalrous pilgrimage to

⁹² Glarbo, “Danske palæstinafarere i det 16. og 17. aarhundrede,” 29.

⁹³ John C. Olin, “The Idea of Pilgrimage in the Experience of Ignatius Loyola,” *Church History* 48, no. 4 (1979): 387–97.



Fig. 1.8: The Raising of Lazarus and the New Jerusalem. Detail of epitaph, c.1695, Ringkøbing Church, Denmark.

the East had evolved into a religious order”, John C. Olin states.⁹⁴ Olin identifies St Ignatius’s vision of Jerusalem as the determining *raison d’être* of the new order. This vision was not the geographical pilgrimage goal, Jerusalem, but rather the place where Christ gathered his disciples and gave them their mission. This place could thus be transferred to Rome. The establishment of the Jesuit order could therefore be interpreted as a significant historical path derived from the Ottoman regulation of Jerusalem. Compared to Ignatius of Loyola, Martin Luther evolves another response and another paradigm. The inculturation of this Lutheran paradigm in the early modern Scandinavian kingdoms is the main focus of this volume.

The Outline of the Book

This book explores the transformation of the Jerusalem Code after the Protestant Reformation in sixteenth-century Scandinavia through four main themes. These are legitimation of political authorities, the perception of holiness and sacred space, the interpretation of Jerusalem in Salvation history, and finally the interiorization of the Jerusalem Code. These themes largely correspond to the four parts of the book.

Chapters come in two forms: as brief, explicatory comments on key concepts or short presentations of source material offering illustrative cases for such concepts, or as more comprehensive research papers. Together, the chapters present textual, visual, and material sources from the twin realms of Denmark–Norway, and Sweden, and cover a time span from the establishment of the Reformation at the beginning of the sixteenth century up to the middle of the eighteenth century. There is, however,

⁹⁴ Olin, “The Idea of Pilgrimage in the Experience of Ignatius Loyola,” 392.

an emphasis on the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and a majority of the chapters centre on Denmark–Norway.

Following this introduction are three shorter introductory texts. In Chapter 2, Volker Leppin briefly presents the transformation of a key concept in the Jerusalem Code, namely the People of God. The Reformation theologians continued – and transformed – the common medieval conviction that Christians (the Protestants) had succeeded and replaced Israel as the people of God. In Chapter 3, Beatrice Groves presents a fundamental change of perspective in respect to early modern Protestant interpretation of the destruction of Jerusalem in AD 70. The implied audience was no longer expected to identify with the victorious Romans but with the suffering Jews, and the narrative of the destruction changed from romance to tragedy. In the final short introductory chapter, Thomas Kaufman comments on the role of the Jews in the Lutheran conception. When the dominant view was that the church had inherited the election of ancient Israel, this led to particular views on the role of the Jews in the history extending towards the anticipated Judgement Day.

The main theme in Part I (Chapters 5–8) is the legitimization of political power by means of what we have described as the Jerusalem Code. Two articles consider Denmark–Norway, and two articles comment on Sweden. Arne Bugge Amundsen analyses the first coronation of a Lutheran sovereign, King Christian III (1503–1559), king of Denmark–Norway, in 1537. Sivert Angel investigates the rhetorical use of Jerusalem in the funeral orations for the same king. Both authors discuss the relevance of the Jerusalem Code as political legitimization strategy at the introduction of the Reformation in Denmark and Norway. Martin Berntson analyses the legitimization strategy of the Vasa-regime that seized royal power in the Kingdom of Sweden during the early sixteenth century. Through the construed connection to the Old Testament kings and leaders, the Jerusalem Code was transformed and adjusted to early modern Lutheran political culture. Niels Ekedahl continues the story through the seventeenth and eighteenth century, when the perception of Sweden as a counterpart to the Israelite people in the Old Testament played an important part in the construction of Swedish nationhood.

Part II (Chapters 9–11) considers transformed perspectives on holiness and the Holy City of Jerusalem. Martin Schwarz Lausten introduces this part with his short chapter on how the Danish kings, Christian II and Christian III, perceived Wittenberg, rather than Jerusalem or Rome, as the Holy City from which authority sprang. From quite another angle, Erling Sandmo investigates the transformation of sacred geography when he discusses cartography of the early modern period. He argues that while Jerusalem, with the new geography and cartography, lost its importance as the axis of the world map, maps of the Holy Land remained connected to sacred geography. Janus Møller Jensen investigates some of the motives of the Danish nobles who visited Jerusalem after the Reformation, despite the city's loss of significance. Through his analysis of travel accounts, crusade literature, knightly orders, and expressions of national crusading ideology, he demonstrates how several elements of the medieval

crusade continued as part of royal and national ideology, as well as part of the ideals and religious life of Protestant knighthood.

Part III (Chapters 12–16) investigates the rhetorical use of the destruction of Jerusalem in Protestant preaching in Denmark–Norway, as well as the transformation and use of the motive of the two rival cities, Jerusalem and Babel, in Lutheran propaganda. Eivor Andersen Oftestad investigates nine Danish sermons written for the tenth Sunday after *Trinitatis*, from 1515 to 1762. Through this survey of sermons with a span of almost two hundred years, she demonstrates how the preachers adapted their warning message to new historical situations. Andersen Oftestad also presents, in a short chapter, Christen Staffensen Bang’s description of Christiania (Oslo) from 1651, written according to a model of the city of Jerusalem. The ever threatening catastrophe, a new fire in the city, is the backdrop that recalls Jerusalem as a moral example. Arne Bugge Amundsen continues the discussion of Christiania as an off-print of Jerusalem. In his chapter he discusses an inner ambivalence of the Jerusalem Code as he compares Bang and his description with another theologian, Niels Svendsen Chronich, who argued that the true Jerusalem was to be found in the hearts of the believers and their conventicles. The two last chapters in Part III turn to the image of the antagonistic city, Babel, and to the Antichrist, as rhetorical tools. Marius Timmann Mjaaland presents an important frame of the Lutheran Reformation, with a broader discussion of Rome as the New Jerusalem or the New Babel. Otfried Czaika demonstrates with his study of a Swedish collection of songs about the Antichrist, how the same discussion was implemented in Sweden.

The last part, Part IV (Chapters 17–22), is entitled *Heavenly Jerusalem: Between Promise and Reality*. This part presents different forms in which the heavenly Jerusalem was represented in Early Modern Denmark–Norway. Martin Wangsgaard Jürgensen investigates the transformation of the visual arts and Church interiors when the already existing medieval images were to be inserted into a new evangelical frame. Eystein M. Andersen explores the Baroque city plan of Trondheim in central Norway from 1681, and how the urban prophesy of the Heavenly Jerusalem was integrated. This contribution presents what can be conceived of as Catholic influence in the confessional Denmark–Norway. In his case-study of the influential Danish hymn writer, Thomas Kingo, Joar Haga investigates one of the most important aspects of Jerusalem-representation in Lutheran culture of piety in seventeenth-century Denmark–Norway. While Haga focuses on the culture of piety which involved and informed the people, Beate Schmidt focuses on elite culture in her chapter on the Wolffenbüttel composer and court master Michael Praetorius and his vision of a New Jerusalem of sound. Schmidt presents the cultural exchange between German courts and Denmark at the beginning of the seventeenth century. The last contribution in this publication is Joar Haga’s chapter on the New Jerusalem in Trankebar. Haga widens the perspective to the Danish colonies, as well as to the new missionary endeavour. This chapter introduces the pietistic movement and new hopes for a concrete realization of the Kingdom of God, perspectives that came to flourish in the following period. This chapter thus

creates a bridge to be followed to volume III of this publication. At last, as part of this bridge to volume III, Walter Sparr presents the German theologian Johan Valentin Andrea's utopian vision of a Christian society, the *Christianopolis* of 1619. This was the first Protestant model of a perfect Christian society, and influenced the effort of to realize the heavenly Jerusalem, not least in the Scandinavian countries in the time to come.

Volker Leppin

Chapter 2

The Transformation of the Concept “People of God” in the Reformation Era

This chapter presents the transformation of the “People of God,” a key concept in the Jerusalem Code. The Reformation theologians continued – and transformed – the common medieval conviction that the Christians (the Protestants) had succeeded and replaced Israel as the people of God.

“People of God” in the Reformation era is an entirely theological concept. The Latin word *populus*, meaning people, has no ethnic connotation, as the word *natio*, nation, has. “People of God” means those who are elected by God as his followers and believers on earth and the heirs of his kingdom in heaven. Additionally, “people of God” not only renders *populus Dei*, but also *civitas Dei*, “God’s citizenship.” This concept, introduced by Augustine (354–430) into Christian thinking had a strong ecclesiastical interpretation since the Early Middle Ages, identifying the history of the *civitas Dei* in the world with the history of the Church. Thus, in the Middle Ages one might see an understanding of people or citizenship of God as a social group, namely the orthodox Church in the Latin World. Applying the Old Testament term of “people of God” to it implied that Christianity had taken over the promises given to Israel and Judaism (“theory of substitution”).

Most reformers agreed with the common medieval conviction that Christians had replaced Jews as the true people of God. As early as in his *Dictata super Psalterium* (1513–1515), for example, Martin Luther understood Ps 65 (64 Vg.) *De Ecclesiae profectu et gloria amplianda per euangelium* “of the Church’s success and glory to be broadened by the Gospel.”¹ In fact, the Psalm itself spoke about Mount Zion and the temple in Jerusalem. But for Luther it spoke “against the envy of the Jews who alone want to be the people of God.”²

Against this background the question is not whether the church of their own days would constitute the true people of God, but how this would be understood. It is here that the difference to medieval ideas began, as all reformers tried to avoid direct identification of the people of God with any external institution like the

1 “contra Iudeorum Inuidiam, qui soli volunt esse populus Dei,” WA 55/1,462.

2 WA 55/1,462.

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Fig. 2.1: Moses with the law tablets. Illustration to *Decem praecepta Vuitenbergensi predicata populo per. P. Martinum Luther Augustinianum*. (Leipzig: Valentin Schumann, 1518).

earthly Church. Basically, reformers understood the *ecclesia* differently to that which the medieval church had taught them. Nevertheless, they knew about the common understanding of the church as an institution. Thus, at no point in his translation of the New Testament did Luther use the word *Kirche* (“church”), but spoke instead of *gemeine* (“congregation”).³ In addition to the term “congregation,” he also preferred the words “people of God.”

In contrast to the “blind word” *ecclesia*⁴ misused in the history of the church, the term “people of God,” in Luther’s view, was capable of giving a non-hierarchical image of the church, and the possibility of concentrating on the Word of God instead of on any human holders of an office. To Luther, the people of God on the one hand was created by God’s Word and on the other hand made this Word vivid: “The word of God cannot be without the people of God, the other way round, the people of God cannot be without the word of God.”⁵

Therefore, the preaching of the Word is a sign for the church, as the right use of the sacraments is as well.⁶ Even if Luther in his later texts mentioned many more signs of the church, he never lost the conviction that the people of God is hidden in this world. There is no special place for it, as Luther explains, mocking himself in respect to the concept of a “Roman Church.”⁷ To identify the people of God within this world would mean understanding faith as something visible. Thus, the concept of the people of God is in no way a purely social one. Here, Luther lays down a sharp contradiction to the Old Testament understanding of the people of God, identifying it with a homogenous nation. In his concept of the people of God – in contrast to the later Lutheran use of it – there is no identification like this with any group within the world. The unification of the people of God lays in the view of God, not in human understanding.

Thus, the people of God is spread over the world, unified by the love of the Holy Spirit which sanctifies it⁸ and makes it enduring from the apostles’ time to the end of the world according to Christ’s promise in Matt 28:20.⁹ Even if Luther insisted on the hiddenness of the people of God, there is a tendency to find it, at least to a great part, in the communion of Lutheran believers. Here, the signs of the Church find their place: In *Wider Hans Worst*, Luther lists ten signs, by which the reader should be able to under-

3 Paul Althaus, *Die Theologie Martin Luthers*, 2nd revised ed. (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 1963), 249, n. 6.

4 WA 50,625,32.

5 “Denn Gottes wort kan nicht on Gottes Volck sein, widerumb Gottes Volck kan nicht on Gottes wort sein,” WA 50,629,34.

6 WA 6,301,4.

7 WA 50,625,33.

8 WA 50,625,25f.

9 WA 50,625,21–23.

stand, “that we stay with the right Old Church,”¹⁰ which means: there is a visible true Church and accordingly, a visible true people of God – and we may see it in the Old Church even as in the Lutheran one. Even if Luther himself did not say this directly, later generations could draw from this the inference that the true and right people of God was the Lutheran Church. Yet, they could not do this in terms of theology: theology, following *Confessio Augustana* 7, quite clearly confirmed that the true church as *congregatio fidelium* could not be grasped in any external groups.

This situation was different in the Reformed Church, where the tendency towards the visibility of the people of God was stronger – interestingly enough, the Zurich pastor Heinrich Bullinger (1504–75) dealt with the question of who the people of God are in his *Decades* when he addressed the question of who should be baptized.¹¹ Obviously his aim was to argue, against the Anabaptists, why children’s baptism should be allowed. He admitted that the people of God was constituted by the confession to God, meaning by something only an adult would be able to give. However, the basis for that was God’s election – even if human beings could not ascertain who was actually elected by God, they were not allowed to exclude anyone possibly elected from the church and so from the possibility of being a member of the people of God by means of the sacraments. Here, again the relationship to the Jews comes in: in Bullinger’s concept of “federal theology,” Christians are heirs to the promise given to Abraham in the First Covenant, and thus they are the true successors of Abraham. Therefore, being a member of the Christian community at least meant being disposed to benefit from the Covenant. Even as the circumcision had given the heritage of Abraham to his children, baptism should also give this to the young children of Christians. This explanation gave a strong reason for the baptism of children, but at the same time it also made the people of God more visible than a strong Augustinian theory of predestination would have done. There was a tendency at least to identify the social community of a Swiss town constituted by baptism with the true people of God and so to make it more of a social phenomenon than it had been in Luther. This was the consequence of a theology that had its background in the community of a city. The duty of the city – in Zurich, as well as in Geneva with Calvin – was to maintain the honour of God in the behaviour of the people of the city. Even if the citizens were never identified with the people of God, as all Reformed theology understood the discrepancy between God’s election and human visibility, the intersection between society and a theological understanding of the people of God was powerful, and the population had to live according the rules made for the people of God.

¹⁰ “das wir bey der rechten alten kirchen blieben (. . .) sind,” WA 51,478,17–479,1.

¹¹ Heinrich Bullinger, “Sermonum Decades quinque de potissimis Christiane religionis capitibus (1552),” in *Theologische Schriften*, ed. Peter Optitz (Zürich: Theologischer Verlag Zürich, 2008), 983.

In general, one sees in reformation theology the common conviction that (Protestant) Christians had succeeded and replaced Israel as the people of God. All of them agreed that, in the final sense, this people could only be identified by God Himself. But in reformed tradition a social representation of the people of God was more clearly shaped than in Lutheran theology.



Fig. 3.1: Nicolas Poussin, *The Destruction of the Temple at Jerusalem* (1638), oil on canvas. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum.

Beatrice Groves

Chapter 3

The Destruction of Jerusalem in Early Modern Europe

In the centre of the Christian Storyworld stands the city of Jerusalem. The destruction of Jerusalem in AD 70 played an important role for the navigation within this storyworld in medieval as well as the early modern period. There was, however, a fundamental change of perspective when it comes to the early modern Protestant interpretation of this event. The implied audience was no longer expected to identify with the victorious Romans, but rather with the suffering Jews. Beatrice Groves introduces this shift which became decisive not least in respect to the formation of Lutheran Scandinavia.

This short introduction argues that there was a fundamental shift in the way the destruction of Jerusalem was understood between Catholic and Protestant cultures in the early modern period. Throughout medieval Catholic Europe the highly popular treatments of this subject, in prose and verse, were romances. The plays performed in early modern France and Spain continued in this tradition of viewing the fall of Jerusalem as a providential event. In early modern England, Germany, and the Netherlands, however, the history of Jerusalem no longer belonged to the providential world of romance: the plays performed in these countries after the Reformation are tragedies. This change from romance to tragedy encodes a fundamental change of perspective: the implied audience is no longer expected to identify with the victorious Romans, but rather with the suffering Jews. The destruction of Jerusalem is no longer read as a narrative celebrating the military and ideological triumph of Christianity, but as a warning about the consequences of sin.

The Ubiquity of the Fall of Jerusalem in Early Modern England

The early seventeenth-century diarist John Manningham (1575–1622) was an enthusiastic consumer of sermons (as well as, more famously, a keen attender of Shakespeare's plays). In February 1603 he records hearing Henoah Clapham preach on Matthew 24

in which “He said this chapter is not to be understood of doomesday, but of the destruction of Jerusalem . . . And the 29 v[erse]. ‘The sunne shall be darkened, and the moone shall not give hir light, and the stares shall fall from heaven,’ he expounded thus, That the temporall, and ecclesiasticall state of the Jewes in Jerusalem, and the stares, *i.e.* their magistrates, shall loose their authority.”¹

The story of the Roman fall of Jerusalem – a long war culminating in the destruction of the Temple, during which Vespasian became emperor and the city fell, after a long, painful siege, to his son – is told in Josephus’s *Jewish War* (c.AD 75). It was also understood to be prophesied in a number of New Testament passages in which Jesus’s prophecies of the fall of the Temple and the end of the world are entwined together. Clapham’s reading of a passage about stars falling from heaven to symbolize Jewish magistrates losing their authority in AD 70, however, is clearly willing to put some strain on the biblical text in order to make it relate to Titus and Vespasian’s sack of Jerusalem.

Clapham’s surprising interpretation, as well as Manningham’s decision to record it unquestioningly, is a simple illustration of the way in which the destruction of Jerusalem was a dominant cultural trope in the early modern period. Preachers and their audience were keen to find it foretold even in biblical passages where it clearly does not belong.

Sources for the Fall of Jerusalem: Josephus and the Josippon

Josephus’s *Jewish War* was one of the most popular historical texts of the European Renaissance: in the period 1400–1750 it was surpassed in the number of printings in all languages only by his own *Jewish Antiquities* (AD 93/94).² The Protestant shift in attitude to the fall of Jerusalem, however, is well illustrated by the growing importance and popularity of a related text known as the *Josippon*. The *Josippon* is a Hebrew adaptation of the *Jewish War* – probably written by a tenth-century Italian Jew – but in the early modern period it was believed to be, as it claims, Josephus’s own Hebrew version of his history. The text – printed under the unwieldy title of *A Compendious and most Marueilous History of the latter tymes of the Iewes commune weale, beginnyng where the Bible or Scriptures leaue, and continuing to the vtter subuersion and laste destruction of that countrey and people* – was particularly popular in

¹ John Manningham, “Diary of John Manningham, of the Middle Temple and of Bradbourne, Kent, Barrister-at-Law, 1602–03,” ed. John Bruce & William Tite (London, 1868), 127–28.

² Peter Burke, “A Survey of the Popularity of Ancient Historians, 1450–1700,” *History and Theory* 5, no. 2 (1966), 136–37.

Elizabethan England. It was translated into English in 1558, the year Elizabeth ascended the throne, and was reprinted twenty-five times during the following century.

The frontispiece of the *Josippon*

One reason for Josephus's popularity in Christian culture was a passage concerning Jesus in Josephus's *Antiquities* – known as the “Testimony of Josephus” – which was believed to be a non-scriptural witness to Christ's life and resurrection.³ The English translation of the *Josippon* was a text that was at once a continuation of Jewish history beyond the end of the New Testament and a witness to the life of Christ, for Peter Morwyn's translation silently incorporated the “Testimony of Josephus” into the *Josippon*. The long title of the English translation of the *Josippon* – [. . .] *of the latter tymes of the Iewes commune weale, beginnyng where the Bible or Scriptures leaue* – presents it as a continuation of scriptural history, and expresses the way in which its English audience was expected to be inherently interested in post-biblical Jewish history. As James Shapiro argues, the popularity of the *Josippon* was part of a far-reaching change of emphasis in which “a sense of Jewish history as discontinuous (and in which the experience of the Israelites was viewed as separate from that of modern Jews) was slowly being displaced by a more fluid, continuous narrative of the fate of the Jewish people.”⁴ But, in its silent inclusion of the “Testimony of Josephus,” the English *Josippon* was also a text that implicitly linked the history of post-biblical Jews with that of early modern Christians.

The Destruction of Jerusalem and the Reformation

Prior to the Reformation, the fall of Jerusalem had been understood by Christians as a narrative about God's vengeance for the Crucifixion and Rome's glory. The Roman Catholic Church fostered belief in the continuity between the authority of pagan and Christian Rome and in the many popular medieval Catholic accounts of the fall of Jerusalem – such as Jacobus de Voragine's *Legenda Aurea* (thirteenth century) – Christian Rome was projected back two hundred years prior to the conversion of Constantine. Vespasian became a Christian convert who besieged Jerusalem as an act of retribution for the Crucifixion. The accreted version – in which Josephus's account was embellished with entirely fictitious stories of Vespasian's cure by a relic

³ Alice Whealey, *Josephus on Jesus: The Testimonium Flavianum Controversy from Late Antiquity to Modern Times* (New York: Peter Lang, 2003).

⁴ James S. Shapiro, *Shakespeare and the Jews* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996), 174.

from Jerusalem, his baptism and conversion, and the punishment of Pilate after the fall of the city – remained popular throughout Europe until the sixteenth century (Henry VIII (r.1509–47), for example, owned a magnificent seven-tapestry cycle on the subject).

This accreted tradition circulated throughout Europe in prose, verse, and in plays which remained popular into the early modern period. Their first known appearance was in mid-fourteenth-century Germany and they were at their most popular in France where performances of Eustache Mercadé's *La Vengeance Jhesuchrist* (which could take up to three hundred actors and four days to perform) continued well into the sixteenth century.⁵ Stephen K. Wright has traced plays performed on Jerusalem's fall in German, Dutch, French, English, Latin, Cornish, Breton, Italian, Spanish, and, most strikingly, in Nahuatl: "by the mid-sixteenth century, vernacular plays on this subject were staged not only by pious Castilians, but also by their colonial subjects in New Spain, the recently conquered Aztecs."⁶ The story was very popular in the Iberian Peninsula and in 1515 a Portuguese embassy to the ruler of Ethiopia (whom they identified as Prester John) included a gift of one hundred copies of the *Destruição de Jerusalem*. As David Hook has suggested, this present was perhaps intended "to motivate 'Prester John' to undertake a war for the recovery of Jerusalem."⁷ This extraordinary gift illustrates the way in which the medieval association between Jerusalem's fall and crusading fervour continued into the early modern period.⁸

Catholic monarchs cast themselves in the role of the victorious Titus – as Francis I (r.1515–47) did after his military success at Mézières in 1521.⁹ This tradition of flattering leaders with allusions to the Roman victory at Jerusalem continued into the seventeenth century and complimentary connections between Titus and Louis XIV (r.1643–1715) have been detected in both Racine's *Bérénice* (1670) and Corneille's *Tite et Bérénice* (1671).¹⁰ These seventeenth-century plays continue the French tradition of taking a Roman perspective on Jerusalem's fall: Racine and Corneille set their plays

⁵ Stephen K. Wright, *The Vengeance of Our Lord: Medieval Dramatisations of the Destruction of Jerusalem* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1989), 125–26.

⁶ Stephen K. Wright, "The Destruction of Jerusalem: An Annotated Checklist of Plays and Performances, ca. 1350–1620," *Research Opportunities in Renaissance Drama* 41 (2002), 131–32.

⁷ David Hook, *The Destruction of Jerusalem: Catalan and Castilian Texts* (Exeter: King's College London, Centre for Late Antique & Medieval Studies, 2001), 122–23.

⁸ Beatrice Groves, *The Destruction of Jerusalem in Early Modern English Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 30–31, 128–29.

⁹ L. Petit de Julleville, *Histoire de théâtre en France: Les mystères*, 2 Vols. (Paris: Hachette, 1880), 1. 229.

¹⁰ Gordon Pocock, *Corneille and Racine: Problems of Tragic Form* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1973), 212–13.

in Rome and treat the destruction of Jerusalem merely as a back story to the relationship between Titus and Berenice (the sister of Agrippa II, who falls in love with her city's conqueror).

Catholic identification with Rome fostered an interpretation of Titus and Vespasian as heroic avatars of Christian crusaders and, as the Reformation progressed, victors against Protestant heresy. Cardinal Francesco Barberini (1597–1679), secretary of state to Pope Urban VIII (r.1623–44), for example, twice commissioned Nicholas Poussin (1594–1665) to paint *The Capture of Jerusalem by Titus*.

In Poussin's treatment of the 'capture' (not 'destruction') of Jerusalem (Fig. 3.1) it is the Roman emperor Titus, on his striking white horse, who dominates the picture. His exemplary response of horror and pity is the conduit for the way the viewer is intended to approach the subject from a 'Roman' perspective. Both of Poussin's paintings on this subject were given to foreign ambassadors in celebration of their countries' victories against Protestants.¹¹ In Catholic engagement with the fall of Jerusalem, from the medieval period to the seventeenth-century, an identification with Rome's military victory over Judea was part of an apologetic which wished to include Rome in salvation history from the beginning of the Christian era. While medieval texts desired to read the first-century Roman victory as presaging the success of contemporary crusades and Jerusalem's return to Christian dominion, later texts saw it as prefiguring Rome's suppression of the Protestant schism.

In contrast to this triumphalist reading of the fall of Jerusalem, in which the reader identifies with Rome, both Jean Calvin (1509–64) and Martin Luther approach the event from a Jewish perspective. They invoke the fall of Jerusalem as a warning to Christians: "nowe let the cruelty of the punishments which they suffered terrifie vs."¹² Hans Sachs, the last of the great Meistersängers, wrote a Lutheran Destruction of Jerusalem play (*Die Zerstörung zu Jerusalem* [1555]) in which the relevance of the story for the contemporary audience is made explicit: "Numerous Jews suffered such punishment because they did not listen to the name of Christ and his Evangelium, but remained godless and unclean. Let this, Germany, be a warning to you!"¹³ Likewise Joost van den Vondel's *Hierusalem verwoest* (published in Amsterdam in 1620) is a five-act tragedy set in Jerusalem after the fall of the city which, Wright argues,

¹¹ Konrad Oberhuber, *Poussin: The Early Years in Rome. The Origins of French Classicism* (Oxford, Phaidon Christie's, 1988), 155.

¹² Jean Calvin et al., *A Harmonie Vpon the the Three Euangelists, Matthew, Mark and Luke*, Harmonia Ex Tribus Evangelistis Composita (Londini: Printed by Thomas Dawson impensis Geor. Bishop, 1584), 562. See also Martin Luther, "Luther's Works," eds. Jaroslav Pelikan and Helmut T. Lehmann (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1958–67), 47, 139. On Luther's reinterpretation of the destruction of Jerusalem, see also Chapter 12 (Eivor Andersen Oftestad), 243–44.

¹³ Hans Sachs, *Tragedia mit 17 Personen, die Zerstörung zu Jerusalem zu Agiren, und hat 6 Actus*, in Hans Sachs, eds. Adelbert von Keller and Edmund Goetze (Tubingen: Literar Verein, 1555/1870–1908), 341–42.

uses the catastrophe “to comment obliquely on the increasing dissension and hostility among Protestant factions in the Netherlands.”¹⁴

In England, too, early modern drama on this topic focused decisively on Jerusalem and its people, not on its conquerors. Plays such as Thomas Legge’s *Solymitana Clades* (c.1579–88), the Coventry *Destruction of Jerusalem* (1584), and William Heminge’s *The Jewes Tragedy* (c.1626) all put the fall of the city, not the triumph of Rome, at the heart of their dramaturgy.¹⁵ Even John Crowne’s *Destruction of Jerusalem by Titus Vespasian* (1677) – although heavily influenced, like much Restoration theatre, by French drama – borrows the Berenice love-plot from Racine and Corneille’s plays but remains focused on the fall of the city.¹⁶ This change of focus from Romans to Jews – present in English, German, and Dutch drama – occurs alongside a crucial change in genre: the popular medieval texts on this topic are romances, but these early modern plays are tragedies.

The early modern period saw a Protestant revision of the medieval narrative of a Jewish city destroyed in punishment for the Crucifixion. In England, in particular, the ingrained habit of imagining England as Jerusalem – of reading Jewish history as English prophecy – prompted a new spirit of empathy and introspection in the reading of Jerusalem’s fall. Gilbert Burnet, the Bishop of Salisbury, preached on the fall of Jerusalem in 1689 and spoke of the sorrow it ought to inspire in all who hear of it:

And thus the greatest, and once the best, but then the worst City in the World, perished in so terrible a manner, that the History of it . . . which as it is by much the saddest piece of History, so it is that which can never be enough read; for it will alwaies leave a very good Impression upon the Reader’s mind. But this is not to be read meerly as a signal Transaction that pas’d 1600 years ago, but as a standing Monument of the severity of the Justice of God against an Impenitent and Rebellious Nation: and *if these things were done in the green tree, what shall be done in the dry?*¹⁷

The medieval approach to the fall of Jerusalem as the *Vengeance of Our Lord* is revisited in the early modern period with a new, and biblical, emphasis on the terror and horror of envisaging a loving God as attacking his once-beloved children. England was proud to think of herself as the new Sion and inflected by this identification, the destruction of Jerusalem became an event which no longer symbolized the triumphant ascendancy of Christianity so much as the shared sinfulness and vulnerability of humankind. While accreted version of the story (popular across

¹⁴ Wright, “The Destruction of Jerusalem: An Annotated Checklist of Plays and Performances, ca. 1350–1620,” 140.

¹⁵ Groves, *The Destruction of Jerusalem in Early Modern English Literature*, 13–18, 55–85.

¹⁶ John B. Rollins, “Judeo-Christian Apocalyptic Literature and John Crowne’s the Destruction of Jerusalem,” *Comparative Drama* 35, no. 2 (2001).

¹⁷ Gilbert Burnet, *A Sermon Preached at Bow-Church, before the Court of Aldermen, on March 12, 1689/90: Being the Fast-Day Appointed by Their Majesties* (London: Printed for Richard Chiswell, 1690), 27–28.

medieval and Catholic Europe) celebrated a Romano-Christian triumph over a place and people believed to be guilty of the Crucifixion, early modern Protestant accounts draw their audience into recognizing kinship with the stricken citizens of Jerusalem. Protestantism's enthusiasm for origins – for Hebrew, the Old Testament, and the early church – created a new responsiveness to Judaism which is reflected in, and perhaps fostered by, a more nuanced and empathetic reading of the fall of Jerusalem.

Der gantz Jüdisch glaub
mit sampt einer gründtlichen vnd war-
hafften anzaygunge/ Aller Sagungen/ Ceremonien/
Gebetten/ Isaymliche vnd offentliche Gebreuch/ deren sich dye
Juden halten/ durch das gang Jar/ Mit schönen vnd ge-
gründten Argumenten wyder iren Glauben. Durch
Anthonium Margaritham Hebrayschen Leser
der Lößlichen Statt Augspurg/ beschri-
ben vnd antag gegeben.



M. D. XXX.

Fig. 4.1: Title page of Anthonius Margaritha, *Der gantz jüdisch glaub* (*On the entire Jewish faith*), Augsburg: H. Steiner, 1530. This text, written by a Jewish convert to Christianity, was greatly influential in German-speaking countries.

Thomas Kaufmann

Chapter 4

The Election of Israel?

Jews in the Eyes of Early Modern Lutherans

This article sketches some main trajectories of how the Lutherans conceived of the Jews and their role in salvation history. The basic assumption was that the church had inherited the election of ancient Israel, due to Israel's rejection of Christ as the Messiah. In the beginning, Luther had hopes that the Jews could be converted to the Christian faith and regarded anti-Jewish polemics as "lies." Towards the end of his life, however, Luther constructed them as a counterpart of the evangelical core, the justification by faith alone – contemporary Jews were considered under the heading of "Israel according to flesh." In spite of some attempts at integrating the Jews in cultural life, many Lutherans in the subsequent generations took part in the effort of alienating the Jews from the true Jerusalem. These discussions were conducted in Scandinavia, too, albeit with a focus on the exemplary function of God's wrath striking faithless Christians as it had once struck the faithless Jews.

As far as I see, one of the dominant convictions concerning Jews and Judaism that Lutheran theologians in the Reformation era and the so-called Confessional Age shared, was that the church has inherited ancient Israel's election. Using the clear terminological distinction between the "true Israel" – which means the Church – and the Jews or Jewish people, who stood outside God's election, Lutheran theologians insisted that confessing Jesus Christ as the true Messiah would be the one and only way to salvation, for both Jews and heathen.

Lutheran theology of early modern times denies a prerogative of the Jewish people in the history of salvation. Because "Israel according to the flesh" has rejected God's son and his grace – the Gospel – God himself has rejected them. This is the prevailing position from the "late Luther" up to late Lutheran orthodoxy, represented even in figures like Johann Arndt and Spener's teacher J. C. Dannhauer.¹

¹ Cf. Johannes Wallmann, "Der alte und der neue Bund. Zur Haltung des Pietismus gegenüber den Juden," in *Glaubenswelt und Lebenswelten*, ed. Hartmut Lehmann, Geschichte des Pietismus 4 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2004); Martin Friedrich, *Zwischen Abwehr und Bekehrung. Die Stellung der deutschen evangelischen Theologie zum Judentum im 17. Jahrhundert*. Beiträge zur historischen Theologie 72 (Tübingen: Mohr, 1988).

In his very influential tract *That Jesus Christ was Born a Jew* [Daß Jesus Christus ein geborner Jude sei.] from 1523, Luther had pointed out that the Jews have lost their relation to the faith of their fathers, the prophets, and the patriarchs. Only by converting to Christ and by affirming that several promises in the Ancient Testament – such as Gen 3:15; Gen 22:18; 2 Sam 7:12; Jes 7:14; Gen 49:10; Dan 9:24–27; Hag 2:10 and Zech 8:23² – have been fulfilled in Jesus, a return to “the faith of their fathers, the prophets and patriarchs”³ will be possible. Although God had acknowledged the Jews more than all other people, their failure of refusing Christ as the Messiah has led to their rejection.

In the beginning of the Reformation process, Luther was quite optimistic about stimulating the Jewish people for Christian faith and attracting them by friendliness and plausible exegetical argumentations. Stereotypes of late medieval Anti-Jewish polemics⁴ like the desecration of the host, ritual murder, and well poisoning have been questioned by Luther and refused as “lies” [*lugen teydingen*].⁵ The living together of Christians and Jews and a general permission for Jews to work in different businesses would help to raise interest and open the mind of Jewish people for the Christian creed. In the early 1520s Luther was convinced that it would be possible to win “several”⁶ Jews for Christianity. He even insisted on a certain genealogical nearness of Jews to Christ because of similar blood.⁷

In his *Churchpostill*, dated from 1522, Luther had come back to Rom 11:25–26 in a future meaning: “blindness is fallen on parts of the Jewish people until the wealth of the heathen will have entered and the whole Israel will be saved. God may give that this time has come near to us as we hope.”⁸ This interpretation was part of a highly apocalyptic view on his presence which was characteristic for the dynamism of the early phase of the Reformation. Afterwards, the Wittenberg theologian understood Paul’s announcement of a conversion of the whole of Israel in Rom 11:25–26 in the tradition of several church fathers like Hieronymus and others in a historical perspective – that is to say, during the centuries between Christ’s crucifixion and his second arrival, several Jews have converted to Christianity. But before Christ’s parousia, an event that will take place soon, no dramatic conversion of the rest of “Israel according to the flesh” will take place

² WA 11,316,5ff.; Thomas Kaufmann, *Luthers “Judenschriften”. Ein Beitrag zu ihrer historischen Kontextualisierung*, 2nd edn. (Tübingen: Mohr, 2013), 17ff.

³ WA 11,315,16.

⁴ R. Po-Chia Hsia, *The Myth of Ritual Murder: Jews and Magic in Reformation Germany* (London: Yale University Press, 1988).

⁵ WA 11,336,24–25.

⁶ WA 11,336,23;314,28.

⁷ WA 11,315,25–27.

⁸ WA 10/1,289,8–10.

at all. In the Lutheran tradition most interpreters followed this “historical” interpretation of Rom 11:25–26. In the late seventeenth century Spener and other Pietists discovered Luther’s earliest approach to this text and used it as an argument for their concept of “a hope for better times.”⁹ There was still time left for reforming the church, and in the end God will convert all Jews to the Christian faith. It was this future interpretation of Rom 11:25–26 that opened the way for historical progress and missionary activities towards Judaism, and ended the conviction that Judgement Day was immediately at hand.

In some vicious writings dealing with Jews as a stubborn and rejected people Luther found his final position towards Judaism in the 1540s.¹⁰ The mainstream of Lutheran Orthodoxy followed his view on the Jews, as to use Judaism as a constructed counterpart of the Lutheran faith was quite convenient. Justification by faith alone was explained on the background of Jewish or Roman Catholic religious behaviour. Jews and Papists – as well as Muslims¹¹ – try to become “righteous” by doing good works and earning acceptance, while Lutheran Christians trust in God’s grace alone.

In some cases Lutheran theologians intervened and attacked political authorities for tolerating Jews in their territories or cities.¹² While some other Lutheran theologians such as Urbanus Rhegius, Johannes Brenz, or Justus Jonas were following the path of the younger Luther and insisting on the possibility of further Jewish conversions,¹³ strategic attempts for missionizing Jews were unknown in older Lutheranism up to Pietism. The consequences which different Lutherans held in questions of limited toleration of the Jewish people were sometimes contradictory.

Similar to the discourse on Jews and Judaism in the Late Middle Ages, pamphlets written by Jewish converts to Christianity had a strong impact even in the Lutheran tradition. A convert named Antonius Margaritha (c.1490–1542), for instance, wrote a bestseller

9 Cf. Wallmann, “Der alte und der neue Bund. Zur Haltung des Pietismus gegenüber den Juden,” 147f. Martin Jung, *Die Württembergische Kirche und die Juden in der Zeit des Pietismus (1675–1780)*, Studien zu Kirche und Israel 13 (Berlin: Institut Kirche und Judentum, 1992); Udo Arnoldi, *Pro Iudaeis. Die Gutachten der halleischen Theologen im 18. Jahrhundert zu Fragen der Judentoleranz*, Studien zu Kirche und Israel 14 (Berlin: Institut Kirche und Judentum, 1993).

10 Cf. Thomas Kaufmann, *Luther’s Jews* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), 94ff. Commenting on Luther’s tract *On the Jews and their Lies* on the background of rabbinic literature cf. Matthias Morgenstern, *Martin Luther. Von den Juden und ihren Lügen* (Berlin: Berlin University Press, 2016).

11 Cf. Thomas Kaufmann, “Luthers Sicht auf Judentum und Islam,” in *Der Reformator Martin Luther 2017. Eine wissenschaftliche und gedenkpolitische Bestandsaufnahme*, ed. Heinz Schilling (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2014).

12 Cf. e.g. Rotraud Ries, *Jüdisches Leben in Niedersachsen im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert*. Hannover: Hahn, 1994.

13 Heiko A. Oberman, *Wurzeln des Antisemitismus. Christenangst und Judenplage im Zeitalter von Humanismus und Reformation*, 2nd edn. (Berlin: Siedler, 1981), 61; Kaufmann, *Luthers “Judenschriften”. Ein Beitrag zu ihrer historischen Kontextualisierung*, (Tübingen: Mohr) 175–77.

under the title of *On the Entire Jewish Faith* [*Der gantz Jüdisch glaub*], which influenced Luther himself and had a long-lasting reception in subsequent generations as well.¹⁴

While these converts “informed” on what Jews were doing and believing; they also provided “insights” into the “hostility” of the synagogue, pointing out that Jewish prayers tended to blame Christ and his mother, the Virgin Mary. Whatever the Jews did, as Margaritha wanted his readers to believe, it was aimed at damaging Christians’ success and weakening their social position.

In Lutheranism – as well as generally in humanism¹⁵ and in other early modern Christian confessions – the social integration of converts from Judaism did not work well.¹⁶ Quite the opposite – in many cases people mistrusted the converted Jews and assumed base motives for their religious change. Even if all confessional societies of early modern Europe to a certain extent were suspicious of foreigners, the hostility against Jews or converts from Judaism had deeper roots and stronger consequences. In some cases this hostility was directed not only against the people made responsible for our Lord’s death, but also against a nation with “bad instincts” and “evil characters.” Within early modern Christianity a pattern of perception of Judaism arose that assigned certain qualities and means of behaviour, especially in economic affairs, within “Jewish blood.” Even if the biological concept of race originates only in the nineteenth century, the traces of Antisemitism go back to early modernity; Lutheranism was no less involved in these developments than Catholicism.¹⁷

14 Cf. Fig. 4.1; Gaby Knoch-Mund, *Disputationsliteratur als Instrument antijüdischer Polemik. Leben und Werk des Marcus Lombardus, eines Grenzgängers zwischen Judentum und Christentum im Zeitalter des deutschen Humanismus*, Bibliotheca Germanica 33 (Tübingen: Francke, 1997); Peter von der Osten-Sacken, *Martin Luther und die Juden. Neu untersucht anhand von Anton Margarithas “Der gantz Jüdisch glaub” (1530/1)* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2002); Maria Diemling, “Anthonius Margaritha on the “Whole Jewish Faith”: A Sixteenth-Century Convert from Judaism and his Depiction of the Jewish Religion,” in *Jews, Judaism, and the Reformation in Sixteenth-Century Germany*, eds. Dean Bell and Stephen G. Burnett, *Studies in Central European Histories* 37 (Leiden: Brill, 2006); dealing with Margaritha as an example for “ethnographic” literature cf. Yaacov Deutsch, *Judaism in Christian Eyes: Ethnographic Descriptions of Jews and Judaism in Early Modern Europe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 229ff.; Yaacov Deutsch et al., *Religious Rituals and Ethnographic Knowledge: Sixteenth-Century Descriptions of Circumcision*, Brill’s Studies in Intellectual History 219 (Leiden: Brill, 2013).

15 Thomas Kaufmann, “Einige Beobachtungen zum Judenbild deutscher Humanisten in den ersten beiden Jahrzehnten des 16. Jahrhunderts,” in *Protestantismus, Antijudaismus, Antisemitismus*, eds. Andreas Stegmann, Martin Ohst, and Dorothea Wendenbourg (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2017).

16 E.g.: Ulman Weiss, “Habet Erbarmen mit meiner armen Jüden-Seele! Judentaufen im kurmainzischen Erfurt,” *Pietismus und Neuzeit* 21 (1995); cf. for Jung, “Die Württembergische Kirche und die Juden”, 225ff.

17 Cf. R. Po-Chia Hsia, “Religion and Race: Protestant and Catholic Discourses on Jewish Conversion in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries,” in *The Origins of Racism in the West*, eds. Miriam Eliav-Feldon, Benjamin Isaac, and Joseph Siegler (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009; reprint, 2010).

In some cases a vibrant apocalyptic worldview expecting the Day of Judgement very soon intensified hatred against Jews in Lutheran theology. If the Lord comes, all those who blame him and reject his majesty have to be suppressed or expelled. Georg Nigrinus (1530–1602), a theologian from Hesse writing a book entitled *The Jews' Enemy [Juden Feind]*,¹⁸ identified the “synagogue of Sathan” (Rev 2:9) with the Jews. He preferred to call the Jews *Thalmudists* because they cared for Thalmud and Rabbinic tradition much more than for their father Abraham and the Old Testament. Using the Lutheran *sola scriptura*-principle, theologians like Nigrinus argued against every Jewish traditionalism other than the Old Testament. Corresponding to Jewish reading of the “impure” Rabbinic sources, the Jewish people for Nigrinus became “impure” even in a genealogical sense: “There are not many left who come from Abraham’s seed. Most of the Thalmudists are bastards, mixed between Jews, heathen, Saracens and Christian renegades.”¹⁹ On this line Nigrinus like Luther and some of his followers picked up all sorts of early modern antisemitic stereotypes dealing with the “usurious Jews.”²⁰ The Jews’ God is mammon; they serve him and try every way to harm the adherents of the true Lord. Theologians like Nigrinus were convinced that even “baptized Jews” were belonging to a secret confederation of the servants of mammon, that is the devil, who acted permanently to obtain influence over Christians’ money and to strengthen the enemies of the true church, for instance the Ottomans or the Papists. For some Lutherans in early modern times Judaism was an integral part of a global conspiracy that aimed at the extermination or the suppression of the true faith.

In Lutheranism impulses to study Rabbinic sources have seemingly been weaker than in Reformed Protestantism;²¹ normally Lutherans did not expect to “learn” anything from Jewish scholarship. Because of the stubbornness of the Jewish people, all their actions were suspected to have an anti-Christian impact. If Jews had to be tolerated because of the financial interests of the political elites, they should be kept in isolated

18 Georg Nigrinus, “Jüden Feind. Von den Edlen Früchten der Thalmudischen Jüden/ So jetziger zeit in Teuschelande wonen . . .,” (1570); further “information” on Nigrinus in: Thomas Kaufmann, “Die theologische Bewertung des Judentums im Protestantismus des späteren 16. Jahrhunderts (1530–1600),” in *Konfession und Kultur. Lutherischer Protestantismus in der zweiten Hälfte des Reformationsjahrhunderts* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2006), 146.

19 Cf. Kaufmann, “Die theologische Bewertung des Judentums im Protestantismus,” 148.

20 Cf. R. Po-Chia Hsia, “The Usurious Jew: Economic Structure and Religious Representation in an Anti-Semitic Discourse,” in *In and Out of the Ghetto: Jewish-Gentile Relations in Late Medieval and Early Modern Germany*, eds. R. Po-Chia Hsia and Hartmut Lehmann (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991).

21 Cf. e.g. Stephen Burnett, *From Christian Hebraism to Jewish Studies: Johannes Buxdorf (1564–1629) and Hebrew Learning in the Seventeenth Century*, Studies in the History of Christian Thought 68 (Leiden: Brill, 1996); Alfred Bodenheimer, ed., *Sebastian Münster, Der Messias-Dialog. Der hebräische Text von 1539 in deutscher Übersetzung* (Basel: Schwabe, 2017).

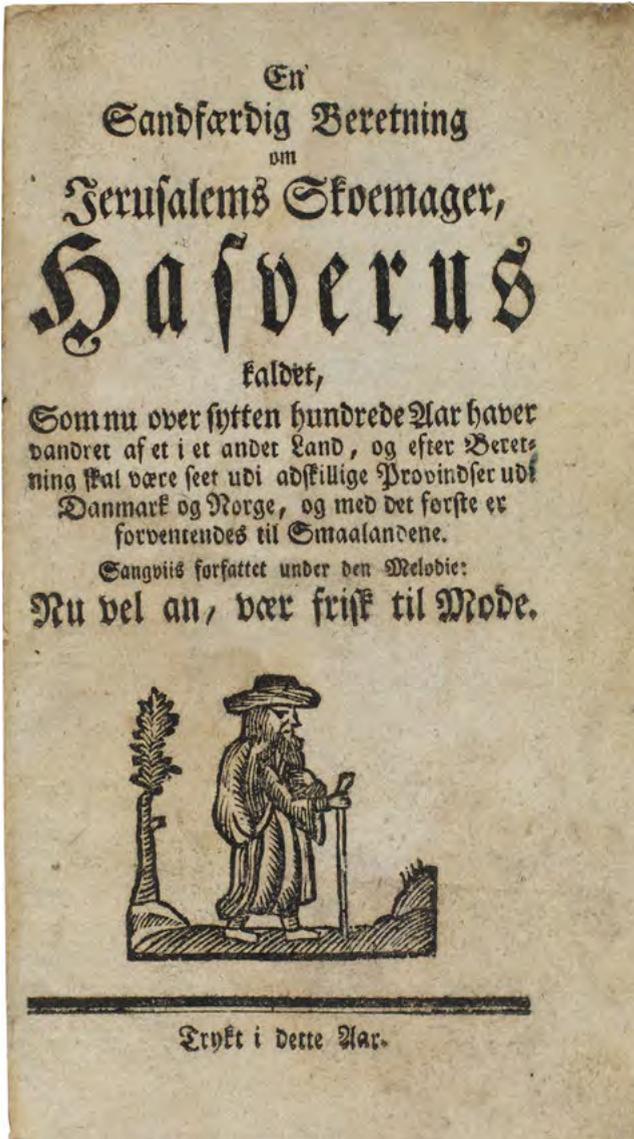


Fig. 4.2: Ahasver. Title page from a Danish popular song from 1705: *En sandferdig Beretning om Jerusalems Skoemager, Haferus kaldet, som nu over sytten hundrede Aar haver vandret af et i et andet Land, og efter Beretning skal være seet udi adskillige Provinzer udi Danmark og Norge, og med det første er forventendes til Smaa-Landene* (A true account of the shoemaker of Jerusalem, called Haferus, who has wandered about in all lands for seventeen hundred years, and according to witnesses is seen in several provinces of Denmark and Norway, and is soon expected to Smaa-Landene (Eastern Norway)).

spheres. In many cases visible sufferings of Jewish people have been used by Lutheran theologians as an argument that they stood under God's wrath. Since the beginnings of the Christian era, Jewish people had lost their state, had been driven out of their country and exiled all over the world, and in many cases had been victims of persecutions and intolerance. Following a tradition of anti-Jewish literature inherited from Antiquity

and the Middle Ages,²² Lutheran theologians used all kinds of mishaps, setbacks, and strokes of fate suffered by the Jews as proof for their divine rejection. In the literary figure of *Ahasver* (Fig. 4.2), the Jew wandering through the centuries who had been a witness of Christ's crucifixion and was condemned to restlessness, a personification of Jewish blame,²³ Lutheranism found a specific expression of its deeply rooted uneasiness with Judaism. If Jews did not suffer visibly, the Lutherans' election might be called into question.

22 Cf. Heinz Schreckenberg, *Die christlichen Adversus-Judaeos-Texte und ihr literarisches und historisches Umfeld (1.–11. Jahrhundert)* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1982); *Die christlichen Adversus-Judaeos-Texte und ihr literarisches und historisches Umfeld (11.–13. Jahrhundert)*, 2nd edn. (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1991); *Die christlichen Adversus-Judaeos-Texte und ihr literarisches und historisches Umfeld (13.–20. Jahrhundert)* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1994).

23 Galit Hasan-Rokem, "Art. Ahasver," in *Enzyklopädie jüdischer Geschichte und Kultur*, ed. Dan Diner (Stuttgart: Metzler, 2011); Mona Körte and Robert Stockhammer, eds., *Ahasvers Spur. Dichtungen und Dokumente vom "Ewigen Juden"* (Leipzig: Reclam, 1995); Aaron Schaffer, "The Ahasver-Volksbuch of 1602 [Printed in Bautzen]," in *The Wandering Jew: Essays in the Interpretation of a Christian Legend*, eds. Galit Hasan-Rokem and Alan Dundes (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1986); cf. Kaufmann, "Die theologische Bewertung des Judentums," 151ff.



Fig. 5.0: Map of the Scandinavian countries. *Septentrionaliv regionvm Svetiæ Gothiæ Norvegiæ Daniæ et terrarum adiacetium recens exactaque descriptio*, Jode, G. de Algoet, Lievin, 1570.

**Part I: The Nordic Zion and Its Leaders:
Strategies of Legitimation**



(a)



(b)

Fig. 5.1: a. The imperial crown of the Holy Roman Empire of German Nation, in use until the dissolution of the Empire in 1806. The crown has been altered and repaired several times, but its core dates from the tenth century. b. Detail of the imperial crown, showing the rear side of the front cross, which was probably added to the crown at the beginning of the eleventh century. Kaiserliche Schatzkammer/Kunsthistorisches Museum, Wien.

Arne Bugge Amundsen

Chapter 5

The Nordic Zion: The Coronation of Christian III, King of Denmark–Norway, in 1537

The focus of this chapter is the coronation and anointing of King Christian III (1503–59), King of Denmark–Norway, on 12 August 1537. This was the first coronation of a Lutheran sovereign, and much energy was put into designing the coronation ritual. This new Lutheran ritual was established in the field of tension between the old and new and between confessions in increasingly sharp conflicts. A coronation wishing to appear legitimate and credible could not depart too significantly from earlier coronation rituals. The historic background for the Christian coronation rituals is complex, but when interpreting them, the link between the Christian and Old Testament Kings is a key element: the theocratic kingdom of Israel, Zion, and Jerusalem thus had a central place in the symbolic universe created by these rituals. Thus, one important question is how this ritual connection manifested itself in practice, and whether changes in the rituals took place during the transition to Lutheran beliefs about the position of the King as an instrument in God's rule of the world.

Most of the individual elements in the early Lutheran coronations of kings had already been designed in the coronation rituals of the European Middle Ages. These rituals in turn contained traditional elements from the Roman period, and this historic connection was deliberate and important. A central link between European court rituals and the classic Roman period occurred with Charlemagne (742–814), who in 800 was crowned and anointed as the Emperor by Pope Leo III (d. 816). Many of the lines of connection – also in terms of the coronation regalia – came by way of the Byzantine or East Roman imperial court.¹ The connection between the Emperor and the Pope was intended to make it clear that there was ritual continuity in the coronation ritual harkening back to the classic Roman period, while the con-

¹ Cf. Roy Strong, *Coronation: A History of Kingship and the British Monarchy* (London: Harper & Collins, 2005), 54. Janet L. Nelson, "The Lord's Anointed and the People's Choice: Carolingian Royal Ritual," in *Rituals of Royalty: Power and Ceremonial in Traditional Societies*, eds. David Cannadine and Simon Price (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987).

tent of the ritual made it clear that the Emperor was that foremost protector of the Church and Christianity, in understanding with and in a certain sense subservient to the Papal Chair.²

In this ritual tradition we find elements from ideas about the Christian theocratic kingdom. The King was crowned by God himself and his angels, the King becoming another person through the ritual and, not least, the anointing act brought him in close contact with the divine.³ The anointing ceremony conferred honour, courage, and knowledge, making it possible to assign supernatural powers to the King, such as the ability to heal.⁴ The coronation also had a central place in the belief in the historic continuity of power, as presented by the historian Ernst H. Kantorowicz (1895–1963) in his classic study of “The King’s Two Bodies.”⁵

Coronation Rituals and Royal Insignia

The central element among the so-called insignia with which the King was furnished⁶ by the coronation ritual was obviously *the Crown*, held to be a symbol of the King’s honour and holiness. The crown was usually made of gold and decorated with pearls, gemstones, and expensive fabrics. It would constitute a circlet around the head (*corona*), and this ring might also be furnished with standing lilies or rays, or alternatively be designed as a diadem decorated with standing crosses.⁷

The sceptre was also a key royal symbol. It was designed as a spire or spear, often made of gold, and crested by a lily or cross. During the coronation the King would hold the sceptre in his right hand. *The orb*, symbolizing the King’s rule over the known world, was often made of gold or was at the very least gilded, with a cross at its crest. During the ritual the King would hold the orb in his left hand. Additionally, *the sword* was a symbol of the King’s secular power, of his rule through law, and military defence.⁸

² A. G. Dickens, “Monarchy and Cultural Revivals: Courts in the Middle Ages,” in *The Courts of Europe: Politics, Patronage and Royalty 1400–1800*, ed. A. G. Dickens (London: Thames & London, 1977), 13–14. Strong, *Coronation*, 15, 17.

³ Strong, *Coronation*, 40, 54.

⁴ Strong, *Coronation*, 66.112ff. There is no trace of the latter in Scandinavian material.

⁵ Ernst H. Kantorowicz, *The King’s Two Bodies: A Study in Mediaeval Political Theology* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1957).

⁶ See Jan Keupp, et al., “. . . die keyserlichen zeychen . . .”. *Die Reichsklenodien – Herrschaftszeichen des Heiligen Römischen Reiches* (Regensburg: Schnell & Steiner, 2009) about the prototypical coronation insignia following the Holy Roman Empire.

⁷ Geir Thomas Risåsen, *Norges Riksregalier* (Trondheim: Nidaros Domkirkes Restaureringsarbeider/Forlaget Press, 2006), 13ff.

⁸ Strong, *Coronation*, 58. Frederik Münter, ed., *Aktstykker vedkommende Kong Christian den Tredies og Dronning Dorotheas Kroning i Vor Fue Kirke i Kjøbenhavn den 12te August 1537, af*

As an expression of secular royal power being closely connected to the spiritual power of the Church and having its origins and rationale from the divine, the royal regalia of the realm in Scandinavia were kept in the cathedrals in Lund, Trondheim, and Uppsala.⁹

In Catholic times the link to the spiritual power of the church was also expressed through the fact that it was the *archbishop*, accompanied by several bishops and clerics, who performed the coronation. The royal regalia – crown, sceptre, orb, and sword – were placed on the high altar by important participants in the procession to the church where the coronation took place. The King was first anointed and then dressed in a special anointing tunic, a so-called dalmatic or deacon's vestment. Thereafter, the King would receive the regalia, be clothed in the coronation dress, swear the coronation oath, and present the sword in all four directions of the compass to symbolize that henceforth he would defend his realm. Finally, he would be led to his throne by the archbishop.¹⁰

Part of the ritual was also that the King would take communion as a priest and receive both bread and wine. There are many parallels to the Old Testament priest kings here, both in terms of theology and ritual.¹¹

Coronations in the Danish and Norwegian Middle Ages

This coronation tradition was also established in the Christian kingdoms in Scandinavia. A number of *Danish* coronations of kings are known, the first probably being the coronation of Svend Estridsen (c.1018–76). Since the establishment of the archbishopric in Lund in 1104, the archbishop there was the one to conduct the coronations in the city's cathedral, but this was not consistently the case, and in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries the venue for Danish coronations kept changing.¹²

Starting in the late Middle Ages, the *Norwegian* coronations of kings took place in the churchyard outside the cathedral in Nidaros (now Trondheim), where a

Johannes Bugenhagen, collected by Frederik Münter, published by E. C. Werlauff (Copenhagen: Det kgl. Waisenhusets Bogtrykkeri, 1831), XVIIff.

9 How the ownership of the regalia was considered has also changed, cf. Münter, *Aktstykker vedkommende Kong Christian den Tredies og Dronning Dorotheas Kroning*, XXff.

10 Anders Daae, *De norske Kongers Hyldning og Kroning. En historisk Oversigt fra de ældste til de seneste Tider* (Kristiania: Feilberg & Landmark, 1906), 38–39 (after P. A. Munch's description).

11 Martin Schwarz Lausten, *Christian d. 3. og kirken (1537–1559)*, Studier i den Danske Reformationsskirke 1 (København: Akademisk Forlag, 1987), 27.

12 Münter, *Aktstykker vedkommende Kong Christian den Tredies og Dronning Dorotheas Kroning*, Iff. Erich Hoffmann, *Königserhebung und Thronfolgeordnung in Dänemark bis zum Ausgang des Mittelalters*, Beiträge zur Geschichte und Quellenkunde des Mittelalters 5 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1976).

special seat was made for the King to be acclaimed. This seat, or tribune, probably reflected the octagon in the cathedral, where the shrine of St. Olav was placed on the high altar. The octagon in the cathedral in turn reflected the octagon in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem. Norwegian kings were interred around the octagon. Thus, the link between the Saint King, St Olav, and the power and legitimacy of later kings was described physically and symbolically.¹³

The last medieval coronation of a king in Norway took place on 29 July 1514. The king was Christian II (1481–1559), and the link to the central saint of Norway, St Olav, was obvious. Christian chose the date from a number of previous coronations in Norway. The coronation was performed by the archbishop Erik Valkendorf (1465–1522), but took place in St Halvard's church in Oslo, not in Trondheim. Nonetheless, the archbishop had brought the coronation regalia from the cathedral in Trondheim for the ceremony.¹⁴ We can see that the link between the coronation ritual and the Catholic church organization was undeniably strong. For example, the last Catholic archbishop in Nidaros, Olav Engelbrektsson (c.1480–1538), brought "The crown, sword and broad axe of the realm of Norway" with him when he left Norway in April 1537, thus opening the way for the Lutheran rise to power.¹⁵

At the end of the medieval period both the Danish and the Norwegian coronation rituals had found their relatively permanent forms under the auspices of ritual provisions of the Catholic church, in this case *Pontificale Romanum*, the bishops' book of rituals. But there were many such books of rituals, even if there appears to have been an increase in standardization from the end of the fifteenth century. No medieval pontificals describing coronations in Scandinavia have been preserved,¹⁶ but the general pattern has probably been this: anointing and crowning were

13 Risåsen, *Norges rikregalier*, 20. See in general Trond Norén Isaksen, *Norges krone: kroninger, signinger og maktkamper fra sagatid til nåtid* (Oslo: Historie & Kultur, 2015). Øystein Ekroll, *The Octagonal Shrine Chapel of St Olav at Nidaros Cathedral: An Investigation of Its Fabric, Architecture and International Context* (Trondheim: Norwegian University of Science and Technology, Faculty of Humanities, Department of Historical Studies, 2015). Steinar Imsen, "Nidaros – Kroningsby og Metropol," in *Nidaros erkebispesete i seinmiddelalderen – et kultursentrum?*, eds. Øystein Ekroll and Erik Opsahl (Oslo: Novus, 2018).

14 Risåsen, *Norges rikregalier*, 26. Daae, *De norske Kongers Hyldning og Kroning*, 50, 55. The coronation venue obviously shifted between Oslo and Trondheim during this period: Christopher of Bavaria was crowned in Oslo 2 July 1442, while Carl Knutsson Bonde (20 November 1449), Christian I (2 August 1450) and Hans (20 July 1483) were crowned in Trondheim, Risåsen, *Norges rikregalier*, 27, 107. There were also plans to crown Fredrik I in Norway, either in Oslo or in Kongeløv, but these plans never came to fruition: Daae, *De norske Kongers Hyldning og Kroning*, 51f.

15 Daae, *De norske Kongers Hyldning og Kroning*, 58. Risåsen, *Norges rikregalier*, 16. Isaksen, *Norges krone*, 172ff. Erich Hoffmann, "Coronation and Coronation Ordines in Medieval Scandinavia," in *Coronations: Medieval and Early Modern Monarchic Ritual*, ed. János M. Bak (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990).

16 Cf. Bengt Strömberg, "Pontificale," in *Kulturhistorisk leksikon for nordisk middelalder* (Copenhagen: Rosenkilde & Bagger, 1981). That such have existed is obvious.

performed by the archbishop, and the regalia offered to the King during the ritual, after having been brought to the coronation church and being placed on the altar were – in addition to the King’s Crown – the orb, sceptre, and sword. The King would also wear special coronation robes. In attendance during the coronation would also be other bishops, the foremost national aristocracy, and at times representatives of other royalty. The King would first swear his coronation oath in the presence of these, promising to be a just king who would maintain the state of the realm, support the church, and maintain the relationship between the social groups. Thereafter the archbishop would anoint the King, usually on his lower right arm and between the shoulders. After being anointed, the King would receive the regalia, sit on a raised seat by the altar, offer a gift to the archbishop, and receive communion. After this the King would knight deserving and prominent men.¹⁷

The Biblical References

Rituals and insignia in connection with the coronations of European emperors and kings during the medieval period had, as mentioned above, their ideals and references from classic Roman times. But the *theological* interpretation of rituals and insignia had their explicit references to the Bible. This particularly involved references to the Old Testament and the Old Testament kings in Israel. Some early examples of European coronation rituals indicate this interpretation structure. In four rituals from England from around 900, the following Bible references are front and centre¹⁸:

Ps 119:137 and 119:1: “Righteous art thou, O LORD, and upright are thy judgments.” “Blessed are the undefiled in the way, who walk in the law of the LORD.” This text is a reference to a series of statements where the servant of God (the king) complies with, is supported by, and maintains divine laws and order.

Lev 26:6–9:

And I will give peace in the land, and ye shall lie down, and none shall make you afraid: and I will rid evil beasts out of the land, neither shall the sword go through your land. And ye shall chase your enemies, and they shall fall before you by the sword. And five of you shall chase an hundred, and an hundred of you shall put ten thousand to flight: and your enemies shall fall before you by the sword. For I will have respect unto you, and make you fruitful, and multiply you, and establish my covenant with you.

¹⁷ Münter, *Aktstykker vedkommende Kong Christian den Tredies og Dronning Dorotheas Kroning*, Vff.

¹⁸ Strong, *Coronation*, 25–26. Bible quotations from King James’ version: *The Holy Bible Containing the Old and New Testaments. Appointed to be Read in Churches* (Oxford: The University Press, s.a.).

This text is about the covenant the Lord makes with the Israelites and the superiority this covenant gives them in relation to all who might threaten the existence and welfare of these chosen ones.

Ps 86:2, which in its entirety is alleged to be spoken by King David who wants divine support and help: “Preserve my soul; for I am holy: O thou my God, save thy servant that trusteth in thee.” Ps 5:2, where King David wants help to stop liars and opponents: “Hearken unto the voice of my cry, my King, and my God: for unto thee will I pray,” and finally Ps 21:1 and 3 “The king shall joy in thy strength, O LORD; and in thy salvation how greatly shall he rejoice!” “For thou preventest him with the blessings of goodness: thou settest a crown of pure gold on his head.”

Matt 22:15–22:

Then went the Pharisees, and took counsel how they might entangle him in his talk. And they sent out unto him their disciples with the Herodians, saying, Master, we know that thou art true, and teachest the way of God in truth, neither carest thou for any man: for thou regardest not the person of men. Tell us therefore, What thinkest thou? Is it lawful to give tribute unto Caesar, or not? But Jesus perceived their wickedness, and said, Why tempt ye me, ye hypocrites? Shew me the tribute money. And they brought unto him a penny. And he saith unto them, Whose is this image and superscription? They say unto him, Caesar's. Then saith he unto them, Render therefore unto Caesar the things which are Caesar's; and unto God the things that are God's. When they had heard these words, they marvelled, and left him, and went their way.

1 Kgs 1:45: “And Zadok the priest and Nathan the prophet have anointed him king in Gihon: and they are come up from thence rejoicing, so that the city rang again. This is the noise that ye have heard.” This text is from a long description of the anointing of King Solomon, who while riding was praised publicly with music, processions, and cheering, and thereafter placed on the king's throne.

This constellation of Biblical references provides normative evidence of all the essential elements of the ritual itself (procession, anointment, coronation, cheering, and music), and it places the Christian king in a kind of succession, as it were, from the hero kings of Israel (David, Solomon), who with support from the covenant with the Lord resided in Jerusalem, and ruled Israel with piety, wisdom, and military success. Moreover, the reference to Christ's parable about the “denarius of the tax” gives reasons why the subjects must willingly subjugate themselves to the king.

The Old Testament references also point to a broader connection which was important in the medieval coronation and anointment rituals, and to the thinking about the role of the king in God's rule of the world – these were kings with sacred status and sacred duties.¹⁹ The anointment was an important instrument for conferring this status on the kings. It was performed by the clergy on behalf of God as prophets and high priests had done it in Israel.²⁰ The anointment also provided legitimacy, expressing

¹⁹ Cf. Strong, *Coronation*, 35ff.

²⁰ Cf. 1 Sam 10:1, 16:13, 1 Kgs 1:34–35, 39, and 1 Chr 29:22–23.

God's choice of king, who was the "Lord's anointed" (cf. Ps 18:51). If the King subjected himself to the will of God, he would – along the same lines as the kings of Israel – enjoy special protection from and contact with the Lord. The people that the "Lord's anointed" had been assigned to rule were accordingly also subject to the Lord's special protection and blessing, again along equal lines with the Israelites. Anointment and coronation allowed the Lord's spirit to descend upon the King, enabling him to prophesize and achieve new qualities as a human being.²¹

The Christian theocratic kingdom became a new Israel, the king's residence became a new Jerusalem, his power and realm became God's realm, and his coronation and royal insignia were signs of this interpretative connection. A clear expression of this is the crown that followed the Holy Roman Empire from the 900s onwards (Fig. 5.1).²² It is octagonal and has a loop across the crest. On top of the loop sits a cross, all being of gold and decorated with gemstones. The rear of the cross has an engraved crucifix. The eight edges of the crown again points to the octagon in the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem. Three of the edges feature images of Old Testament kings (David, Solomon, and Ezekias), while on the fourth is an image of Christ on his throne flanked by two angels. The inscriptions on the David and Solomon inscriptions tell about the just and pious king, the Ezekias inscription tells of the ailing king whose rule was extended by fifteen years with the Lord's help,²³ and the Christ plate has Christ stating that the kings rule through him.²⁴

These rituals, symbols, and interpretations have also dominated the Danish and Norwegian coronations of kings throughout the Christian medieval period.²⁵ Even if no Scandinavian coronation rituals have been preserved, the procedure and ideas behind them are quite well described by the exiled Swedish archbishop Olaus Magnus (1490–1557). He most likely had access to such a ritual when he described how "the Nordic peoples" prayed for the blessing of their kings²⁶: the royal oath refers to God's angels, the Virgin Mary, and Saint Eric, the anointment oil was blessed with holy words, and the ritual refers to Abraham's faithfulness, the gentleness of Moses, David's humility, and Solomon's wisdom as ideals for the king's rule and exercise of power. Sovereignty was placed upon the shoulders of the king; together with the saviour of the world he would rule without end, and he was the image of the saviour. The king's duty was to protect the church and the inhabitants of the country, and through the ritual he received blessing by the Pope through the apostles and the

²¹ See Strong, *Coronation*, 9ff., with references to 1 Sam 10:6 and 26:11.

²² Keupp, ". . . die keyserlichen zeychen . . .," 24–35.

²³ Book of 2 Kgs 20:6.

²⁴ "Per me reges regnant."

²⁵ Erich Hoffmann has used the first coronation of a Protestant King, Christian III, which will be commented on later, as the point of departure for reconstructing the pre-reformation Danish coronations, Hoffmann, "Coronation and Coronation Ordines in Medieval Scandinavia," 132ff.

²⁶ Olaus Magnus, *Historia om de nordiska folken. Tredje Delen*, 2nd ed. (Stockholm: Gidlund, 1976), 99ff.

saints. Later he would gain honour together with Christ and all the other giants of the faith and the church. The crown was explained as a sign of the crown of honour of eternal glory, and it was furnished with the gemstones of virtue. In the ritual, the clergy passed on God's blessing to the king; they would then stand closer to the altar during the ceremony. For his part the king was the intermediate between the clergy and the people.

The Scandinavian coronation ritual from the late Middle Ages was given great historical emphasis. The ritual was based on the fundamental thinking about what constituted the society, the law, power, and adulation of God. It was this fundamental thinking which the Protestant movement challenged in sixteenth-century Europe, and this movement quite quickly came to dominate Scandinavia.

An important question then is what happened to this intricate interpretation system due to the Lutheran reformation in the two countries. An important concern for the reformer Martin Luther (1483–1546) was to distinguish more clearly between the clerical and secular spheres. Sovereigns did not have their power through the mediation of the church, but due to a separate mandate from God. According to Luther, God ruled the world through the two so-called regiments (or governments), by the sword and the gospel. Hence, the sovereigns gained a clearer and more independent role in God's rule of the world, and this would then necessarily have consequences for the manner Lutheran sovereigns were legitimized and presented.

Breach of Ritual and Ritual Continuity

The brutal and radical introduction of Lutheranism in the kingdom of Denmark–Norway in the years 1536–37 was closely linked to a dynastic and religious conflict in the Oldenburg royal family. The victor in this violent and complicated conflict was Prince Christian (1503–59), the eldest son of King Fredrik I (1471–1533). Prince Christian had direct contact with the Lutheran ideologists in Wittenberg in Germany over many years, and as king he linked his power to the introduction of a Lutheran social order. He neutralized the Catholic church organization by arresting the bishops, and by quickly and comprehensively confiscating church properties, land, and valuable objects. He then decided that he wanted to be crowned.

An important aspect of this much debated takeover of power was that the new king should not appear as a usurper, as a person who had unlawfully acquired the power as king – in part by destroying the church organization and in part by introducing a new religion. The roots to this usurper label are found in the *realpolitik* of the time: King Christian's father, Fredrik I, had taken over the throne after his nephew, the Catholic Christian II (1481–1559), who was still alive and imprisoned.²⁷

²⁷ Lausten, *Christian D. 3. og kirken (1537–1559)*, 1: 28.

Theologically, Prince Christian was also a usurper because he had not secured his takeover of power through the Catholic church organization, but by dissolving it. In both cases this meant that Prince Christian had cut the ties to the traditional grounds based on the church and legitimation of the royal power. He was thus left as a military victor without the strength of history and tradition on his side, and instead needed to create his own history and tradition.

As part of the political project of the reformation Norway was no longer considered a separate realm, but as part of Denmark.²⁸ The background for this was equally simple as brutal – the political and church institutions in Norway resisted Christian’s assumption of power, and Christian needed to conquer Norway to protect his power and carry out his church reformation. Therefore, no special coronation of the King could take place in Norway simply because the people would have the potential to generate political and religious resistance. Instead, the solution was that Christian and the future Danish Lutheran kings were “acclaimed” by loyal representatives of the Norwegian social groups. Trondheim, the main seat during the 500 years of the Catholic church in Norway, was in any case not a relevant location for royal rituals in the time to come. The so-called “acclamations of the King” in Norway took place from now on in Oslo/Christiania.²⁹

Coronation and Confession

The victorious Prince Christian thus secured control of Denmark–Norway and wanted to appear as a legitimate king of both realms and as a Lutheran sovereign. In the list of kings of Denmark–Norway he became the third Christian. His descendants would occupy the Danish(-Norwegian) throne until 1863.

The coronation of Christian III was prepared from the spring of 1537.³⁰ Part of the preparations consisted of confiscating large amounts of Catholic-mass attire that would be re-sewn as clothing and drapery for the participants.³¹ The coronation itself took place on 12 August 1537 in Vor Frue Kirke (The Church of Our Lady)

²⁸ Cf. Helge Kongsrud, *Den kongelige arveretten til Norge 1536–1661. Idé og politisk instrument* (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 1981).

²⁹ The medieval town of Oslo was reconstructed after a ruinous fire in 1624 and was called Christiania after the contemporary King of Denmark–Norway, Christian IV (1577–1648).

³⁰ A detailed description in Münter, *Aktstykker vedkommende Kong Christian den Tredies og Dronning Dorotheas Kroning* and Arthur G. Hassøe, “Kong Kristian III’s og dronning Dorotheas Kroning 1537,” in *Kirkehistoriske Samlinger* (Copenhagen: Akademisk Forlag, 1937).

³¹ Martin Schwarz Lausten, *Johann Bugenhagen: Luthersk Reformator i Tyskland og Danmark*, *Kirkehistoriske Studier* 16 (Copenhagen: Anis, 2011), 109. Hassøe, “Kong Kristian III’s og Dronning Dorotheas Kroning 1537,” 305–06.



Fig. 5.2: Lucas Cranach the Elder, *Portrait of Johannes Bugenhagen Pommeranus*, 1537. Oil on wood. The portrait dates from the year Bugenhagen went to Copenhagen to stay for two years at the court of King Christian III.

church in Copenhagen. This was also the King's birthday and the anniversary for the deposition of the Catholic bishops in Denmark.³²

The Church of Our Lady was not an obvious choice. The closest Catholic cathedral would have been in Roskilde, but the bishop in Roskilde, Joakim Rønnow (d. 1542) had been deposed and imprisoned and no new Lutheran superintendent had been appointed there. Thus, the traditional church organization was absent in August 1537, and no new one had yet been established. In other words, even if the new regime planned its restructuring of the state and society, there was still no available bishop or superintendent, and it was unclear where the church centre for the capital of Copenhagen and the central island of Zealand would actually be. Even if Roskilde remained a cathedral, it was the Church of Our Lady which became the main church for the royalty's ritual acts after the reformation. The proximity to the King, Copenhagen castle, and the university was an important

factor. Eventually Roskilde cathedral also gained the status as the church for royal interments.

In 1537, the use of the Church of Our Lady was not quite without precedence because royal rituals had taken place in this church earlier. In 1445, the Queen of Christopher of Bavaria (1416–48), Dorothea of Brandenburg (1430–95), had been crowned there. She was crowned for the second time in this church together with her new husband, Christian I of Oldenburg (1426–81) in 1449. From then on, the kings of Denmark were crowned in this church. In terms of the coronation venue, the continuity was clear.

The most important director of the new Lutheran coronation ritual was probably Johann Bugenhagen (1485–1558, see Fig. 5.2), from Pomerania, often called "Doctor Pommeranus" to give him a sheen of learnedness and credibility under the new

³² Münter, *Aktstykker vedkommende Kong Christian den Tredies og Dronning Dorotheas Kroning*, XXV.

political regime. Bugenhagen was a close associate of Martin Luther, from 1523 a vicar in Wittenberg and later also a professor at the city's university.

The fact that Bugenhagen was both an important figure in the design of the coronation ritual and was also the “church” representative who performed the ritual, rendered the link between the ritual in Copenhagen and the ideological centre in Wittenberg very close and obvious. The coronation of Christian III was the first Lutheran coronation in Europe, and it thus gained a typological function – here the new Lutheran monarchy was to be marked and staged.³³

The Coronation of Christian III

Early in the morning on 12 August 1537 Johann Bugenhagen gave the King and the Queen Holy Communion before the start of the coronation ceremony, addressing an admonition to them about the royal calling according to Lutheran views.³⁴ The royal couple were given both bread and wine, of course, but the rationale for this was no longer found in the King's status as a member of the clergy, but in the idea that all believers should have access to the two elements of the sacrament. In this context the communion thus constituted the royal couple as a prototype of a Lutheran household.

The coronation ritual itself started with the King and Queen and their respective retinues moving in a procession from Copenhagen castle to the Church of Our Lady (Fig. 5.3). Participating in the procession were representatives of Danish nobility and emissaries from abroad. The coronation regalia, which thenceforth were kept in Copenhagen castle and not in a cathedral,³⁵ were also carried in the procession to the church. The King would ride a horse, the Queen would be taken in a carriage, and rows of noblemen carried the coronation regalia. On arrival at the Church

33 A brief overview of the ritual can be found in J. Kragh Høst, *Historisk Efterretning om Kroninger og Salvinger i Danmark samt med dem forbunde Højtideligheder i ældre og nyere Tider* (København: J. H. Schubothe, 1815); Høst who deals in particular detail with the anointment and coronation of Christian IV, Fredrik IV, and Fredrik VI. It has been claimed that the coronation of the Swedish Gustav Vasa (1496–1560) in 1528 was the first Protestant coronation, but at this time Sweden had not adopted a clear stance on the confessional conflicts which were escalating in Europe, cf. Erich Hoffmann, “Die Krönung Christians III. von Dänemark am 12. August 1537. Die erste protestantische Königskrönung in Europa,” in *Herrscherweihe und Königskrönung im frühneuzeitlichen Europa*, ed. Heinz Duchhardt, Schriften Der mainzer Philosophischen Fakultätsgesellschaft 8 (Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1983), 62; Malin Grundberg, *Ceremoniernas makt: Maktöverföring och genis i Vasatidens kungliga ceremonier* (Lund: Nordic Academic Press, 2005), 69.

34 Lausten, *Johann Bugenhagen*, 110; Münter, *Aktstykker vedkommende Kong Christian den Tredies og Dronning Dorotheas Kroning*, 316.

35 Münter, *Aktstykker vedkommende Kong Christian den Tredies og Dronning Dorotheas Kroning*, XXII.

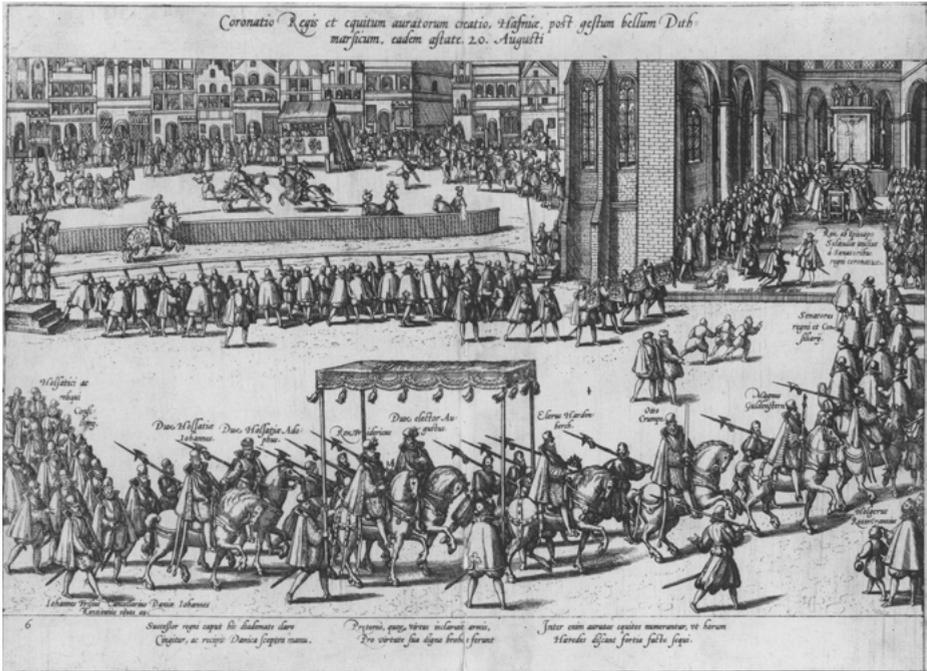


Fig. 5.3: There are no contemporary representations of the coronation of King Christian III. However, several exist of the coronation of his son, King Frederik II (1534–88). This engraving shows the coronation procession to the Cathedral of Our Lady in Copenhagen. As King Frederik was still not married, he is crowned alone. In the background are festive tournaments arranged for the occasion. The Royal Danish Library (Det Kongelige Bibliotek), Copenhagen.

of Our Lady the procession would be received by Johannes Bugenhagen and twelve clerics.³⁶

The royal couple³⁷ were placed on chairs facing the high altar and the coronation regalia were placed on the altar as a sacrifice.³⁸ Bugenhagen then gave a speech about the ceremony and about his own calling to officiate it. This was an important part of the ceremony as there was no Catholic bishop in Roskilde/Copenhagen, and a new Lutheran superintendent had not yet been appointed. Bugenhagen's calling was to be understood as a representative of the new clergy, which did not make any claims on secular power, but would preach the gospel and interpret the new coronation ritual. This was also precisely what Bugenhagen did – he gave readings and interpretations

³⁶ Münter, *Aktstykker vedkommende Kong Christian den Tredies og Dronning Dorotheas Kroning*, XXII.

³⁷ Queen Dorothea was also crowned, and she had her own coronation regalia.

³⁸ This motive is explicitly formulated in the accompanying speech, Hassøe, "Kong Kristian III's og dronning Dorotheas Kroning 1537," 328–29.

to explain or rationalize how the coronation ritual was true, right, willed by God, desirable, and new. Whether he appeared to be credible is another matter.

The Bible Interprets

The introductory reading was generally from the New Testament, focusing on two topics – the new King had his authority to rule from God himself, God rules the sword through the King, and the inauguration of the King was to be accompanied by prayer and reading the words of God. This was quite clearly an attempt to move the coronation of the King away from the direct connection to the Pope and the Catholic church organization. More specifically, the following quotations from the Bible were used:

Rom 13:1–5:

Let every soul be subject unto the higher powers. For there is no power but of God: the powers that be are ordained of God. Whosoever therefore resisteth the power, resisteth the ordinance of God: and they that resist shall receive to themselves damnation. For rulers are not a terror to good works, but to the evil. Wilt thou then not be afraid of the power? do that which is good, and thou shalt have praise of the same: For he is the minister of God to thee for good. But if thou do that which is evil, be afraid; for he beareth not the sword in vain: for he is the minister of God, a revenger to execute wrath upon him that doeth evil. Wherefore ye must needs be subject, not only for wrath, but also for conscience sake.

1 Pet 2:13–14: “Submit yourselves to every ordinance of man for the Lord’s sake: whether it be to the king, as supreme; Or unto governors, as unto them that are sent by him for the punishment of evildoers, and for the praise of them that do well.” And 1 Tim 4:4–5: “For everything created by God is good, and nothing is to be rejected if it is received with thanksgiving, for it is made holy by the word of God and prayer.”

The last Bible passage in Bugenhagen’s interpretation was that “all these royal ceremonies, which you will hear [. . .] will not only be a worldly thing, but also sacred to us.”³⁹ Then the Lord’s Prayer was read, the hymn *Veni sancte spiritus* was sung and thereafter the King was led to the altar to pray.

After the King had finished his prayer, Johann Bugenhagen admonished him to remember the poor, establish hospitals, and look after vicars and school teachers. Bugenhagen also expressed gratitude that peace had again been established. These were references to the duties of the King to rule, while also attaching importance to how he as a Lutheran king took over a responsibility which had earlier been an independent responsibility of the church. As a Lutheran sovereign, (the new) vicars and schools must be his concern.

³⁹ “alle diese Königliche Ceremonien, wie jr werdet hören (. . .) sollen sie nicht allein ein Weltlich ding, sondern vns auch heilig sein.” Münter, *Aktstykker vedkommende Kong Christian den Tredies og dronning Dorotheas Kroning*, 11.

The coronation ceremony was important for all the King's subjects, Bugenhagen continued, because the power of the King is from God ("von Gott ist"). All the elements of the coronation ritual could be deduced from the word of God. Thus it did not have its legitimacy in any tradition, whether from the church or otherwise.

The chancellor Johan Friis (1494–1570) then requested – in the Danish language and on behalf of the Privy Council – that Bugenhagen anoint the selected King of the realm and offer him the regalia. Bugenhagen gave a speech for the King, and after this read from the Book of Daniel 2:20–21 with clear reference to the somewhat uncertain status of Christian III's right to be King: "Daniel answered and said, Blessed be the name of God for ever and ever: for wisdom and might are his: And he changeth the times and the seasons: he removeth kings, and setteth up kings: he giveth wisdom unto the wise, and knowledge to them that know understanding." He then explained the duties of the new King in an introduction to the King's swearing of the oath, which was performed with a finger on the New Testament. An important perspective here was that Christ was the King's overlord to whom he would now swear fealty.

In the speech before she swore *her* oath, Queen Dorothea (1511–71) was compared to the prophetess Debora,⁴⁰ who spurred Israel and ensured victory over its enemies. Bugenhagen interpreted this to mean that the Queen must love and uphold the word of God, and support preachers and schools, particularly in Norway, where "many people for many years do not come to church,"⁴¹ and contribute to maintaining true fear of God, because "we should never be Turks."⁴² She was also compared to the pious Abigael, who deflected the wrath of King David, and Queen Esther, who interceded for her people.⁴³

Johann Bugenhagen then *anointed* both the King and the Queen with crosses between the hand and the elbow and between the shoulders. There followed a reading from 1 Kgs 19:15–16, where the following is said about the prophet Elijah:

And the LORD said unto him, Go, return on thy way to the wilderness of Damascus: and when thou comest, anoint Hazael to be king over Syria: And Jehu the son of Nimshi shalt thou anoint to be king over Israel: and Elisha the son of Shaphat of Abelmeholah shalt thou anoint to be prophet in thy room.

⁴⁰ Judg 4.

⁴¹ "da viel Leut, in etlichen Jaren nie zur kirchen komen."

⁴² "wir solten je nicht Türcken sein."

⁴³ Münster, *Aktstykker vedkommende Kong Christian den Tredies og Dronning Dorotheas Kroning*, 14–15. 1 Sam 25 and Esther.

The forearms of the royal couple were anointed to strengthen them in their just and merciful exercise of power. The anointment between the shoulders had another reference, which was to indicate that the kingdom (“die Herrschaft Christi”) rested on their shoulders, with reference to Isa 9:6–7:

For unto us a child is born, unto us a son is given: and the government shall be upon his shoulder: and his name shall be called Wonderful, Counsellor, The mighty God, The everlasting Father, The Prince of Peace. Of the increase of his government and peace there shall be no end, upon the throne of David, and upon his kingdom, to order it, and to establish it with judgment and with justice from henceforth even for ever. The zeal of the LORD of hosts will perform this.

Christ is of course the one who carries the whole world, the lost sheep (*das verloren Schaff*), on his shoulders, Bugenhagen explained. This the King cannot do, but he can rather carry the people (*das Volk*), and do so mercifully and with patience (*patientia*), because among the virtues of a king is what Solomon states in Prov 20:28: “Mercy and truth preserve the king: and his throne is upholden by mercy.”

Thereafter the epistle was read – most likely it was 1 Cor 15:1–10,⁴⁴ which deals with the belief in the resurrected Christ and the effect it has on the believer – “But by the grace of God I am what I am: and his grace which was bestowed upon me was not in vain; but I laboured more abundantly than they all: yet not I, but the grace of God which was with me.” (1 Cor 15:10).

Then the King was given the *coronation sword*, which he presented to the four directions of the compass, as in a cross. From this point on Old Testament references framed and interpreted the coronation rituals. The coronation sword was compared to the sword of Gideon which was used against the hostile Midianites, according to Judg 7:19–20⁴⁵:

So Gideon, and the hundred men that were with him, came unto the outside of the camp in the beginning of the middle watch; and they had but newly set the watch: and they blew the trumpets, and brake the pitchers that were in their hands. And the three companies blew the trumpets, and brake the pitchers, and held the lamps in their left hands, and the trumpets in their right hands to blow withal: and they cried, The sword of the LORD, and of Gideon.

And the King carried the sword as King David did, to promote divine justice and mercy (Ps 101:1): “I will sing of mercy and judgment: unto thee, O LORD, will I sing.”

⁴⁴ Hassøe, “Kong Kristian III’s og dronning Dorotheas Kroning 1537,” 339, note 1.

⁴⁵ None of the coronation regalia of Christian III has been preserved, with the exception of the coronation sword, see Jørgen Hein, *The Treasure Collection at Rosenborg Castle* (Copenhagen: Museum Tusulanum Press, 2009), 28ff.

The appeal to the King was that he should use the sword, the arrow, and the lance justly, as David did, and so by showing the people the flat of the sword he may say with David, and in accordance with Ps 44:4–9:

Thou art my King, O God: command deliverances for Jacob. Through thee will we push down our enemies: through thy name will we tread them under that rise up against us. For I will not trust in my bow, neither shall my sword save me. But thou hast saved us from our enemies, and hast put them to shame that hated us. In God we boast all the day long, and praise thy name for ever. Selah.

While kneeling, the King received the *crown* from Johannes Bugenhagen, who expressed its importance in symbolizing the link between the King and his subjects. Bugenhagen placed the crown on the head of the King, while the members of the Privy Council who stood closest touched it with their hands. All Privy Counsellors in attendance pointed their arms towards the crown (See Fig. 5.4).

The King was then given the *orb* in his right hand, accompanied by a reading from Ps 110:2 (here 1–4):

The LORD said unto my Lord, Sit thou at my right hand, until I make thine enemies thy footstool. The LORD shall send the rod of thy strength out of Zion: rule thou in the midst of thine enemies. Thy people shall be willing in the day of thy power, in the beauties of holiness from the womb of the morning: thou hast the dew of thy youth. The LORD hath sworn, and will not repent, Thou art a priest for ever after the order of Melchizedek.

The importance of this was explained by two Old Testament prophets, Isaiah and Micah. First Isa 2:3:

And many people shall go and say, Come ye, and let us go up to the mountain of the LORD, to the house of the God of Jacob; and he will teach us of his ways, and we will walk in his paths: for out of Zion shall go forth the law, and the word of the LORD from Jerusalem.

And then Mic 4:2–4:

And many nations shall come, and say, Come, and let us go up to the mountain of the LORD, and to the house of the God of Jacob; and he will teach us of his ways, and we will walk in his paths: for the law shall go forth of Zion, and the word of the LORD from Jerusalem. And he shall judge among many people, and rebuke strong nations afar off; and they shall beat their swords into plowshares, and their spears into pruninghooks: nation shall not lift up a sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more. But they shall sit every man under his vine and under his fig tree; and none shall make them afraid: for the mouth of the LORD of hosts hath spoken it.

Finally, the King was given the *orb* in his left hand. It had a cross at the crest, understood as a heavenly spear, which summarized everything the ritual was about: the realm was placed under the round royal heaven, and here the King would keep



Fig. 5.4: Louis de Chomond-Boudan, *The coronation of King Frederik II in the Church of Our Lady, Copenhagen, 13 August 1559*. Coloured engraving. Note the coronation sword and the sceptre on the altar. The Royal Danish Library (Det kongelige bibliotek), Copenhagen.

the peace with his neighbours and protect his subjects. The cross on the orb would also deter the Turks, for example, who were threatening the Christian rule.⁴⁶

This was described by reading from Ps 147:12–15:

Praise the LORD, O Jerusalem; praise thy God, O Zion. For he hath strengthened the bars of thy gates; he hath blessed thy children within thee. He maketh peace in thy borders, and filleth thee with the finest of the wheat. He sendeth forth his commandment upon earth: his word runneth very swiftly.

And from the prophet Isa 49:14–16:

But Zion said, The LORD hath forsaken me, and my Lord hath forgotten me. Can a woman forget her sucking child, that she should not have compassion on the son of her womb? yea, they may forget, yet will I not forget thee. Behold, I have graven thee upon the palms of my hands; thy walls are continually before me.

Thereafter *Te Deum laudamus* (Ps 28:9) was sung.

After Johannes Bugenhagen had blessed the kneeling King, Christian III read the day's gospel text with his sword raised. As a crowned legitimate King and sovereign he carried the symbol of justice and mercy, emphasizing this by reading from the New Testament, more precisely Luke 18:9–14 about the Pharisee and the tax collector, which ends as follows: "I tell you, this man went down to his house justified rather than the other: for every one that exalteth himself shall be abased; and he that humbleth himself shall be exalted." Johannes Bugenhagen explained the importance of this, which was that the King's sword is not weakened but rather strengthened by the gospel.

Thereafter *Hallelujah* and *Credo* were sung, Bugenhagen read the concluding blessing, and then the hymn *Da pacem domine in diebus nostris* was sung. Bugenhagen again admonished the King to remember the poor, establish hospitals, and take care of vicars and school teachers.

Before the King and the Queen walked back to the castle in procession, and on to festivities, the King knighted a number of those present.

What was Wrong with the New Ritual?

Without knowing the details, there must have been extensive discussions about the design of the coronation ritual, and the discussions must have had several main directions.

⁴⁶ Frans Vormordsen, the first Lutheran superintendent in Lund (d.1551), explained that the orb was a sign that the King, nobility, and subjects must never give up the true Christian faith, Münter, *Aktstykker vedkommende Kong Christian den Tredies og Dronning Dorotheas Kroning*, XXIX, note e.



Fig. 5.5: The seal of King Christian III representing the enthroned Lutheran sovereign as a legitimate, just, and pious king. After Bache, Niels, *Nordens Historie* (1885).

Catholics of course saw the coronation of Christian III as illegitimate and rebellious. In the first edition (1555) of his work on the history of the Nordic peoples, Olaus Magnus, the Swedish archbishop in exile, criticized the coronation ritual of Christian III, saying that the ritual departed from the pontifical norms, for example the oil used for the anointment had not been consecrated in the proper manner. In Olaus Magnus's opinion, the fundamental difference between the pontifical approach and Bugenhagen's ritual was that the coronation did not take place with links to the Pope and the apostolic succession. Thus, there was a breach with what had been the tradition in all Catholic countries since the introduction of Christianity.



Fig. 5.6: The “Gimsøy-daler,” 1546, a silver coin representing Christian III as king of Norway, with the Norwegian coat of arms on the reverse. Oslo University Museum of Cultural History.

In this way, tradition, history, and legitimacy vanished.⁴⁷ In Olaus Magnus’s mind, there was no operative clergy in Denmark that could perform the ritual in the correct manner. Torben Bille (d. 1553), archbishop in Lund, had been deposed in 1536, which was also the case with the bishop in Roskilde. Having Johann Bugenhagen, who had not been properly ordained as a priest, carry out the ritual was therefore in violation of the Catholic Church’s rules for legitimate and correct coronation and anointment of a Christian king. Bugenhagen’s “calling” to crown Christian III was another usurpation, according to the view from Rome.

The fact that there were also radical Lutherans who criticized that the coronation took place in the church and with the participation of clerics is given indirect confirmation through Bugenhagen’s comments during the ritual itself. This plays a minor role, since the coronation was actually carried out and Christian III maintained power until his much debated and deeply interpreted death on 1 January 1559.⁴⁸

Reflection on Zion

What then was the design of the coronation ritual of Christian III actually about? There are many possible answers to this question. The King wished to appear as the

⁴⁷ Magnus, *Historia om de Nordiska Folken*, 98f. Münzer, *Aktstykker vedkommende Kong Christian den Tredies og Dronning Dorotheas Kroning*, XXXII, note z.

⁴⁸ Arne Bugge Amundsen, “Kongelig død i historisk perspektiv”, *Norveg. Tidsskrift for folkelivsganskning* 35 (1992).

ultimate Lutheran sovereign while also marking the justification and legality of his takeover of the royal crown of Denmark–Norway.⁴⁹ Of this, there is no doubt. By using competence taken straight from the Lutheran Wittenberg, the King protected his position ideologically and politically. Admittedly some contemporary rumours suggested that Martin Luther was indignant that Johannes Bugenhagen placed himself at the disposal of Christian, because it was against the two-regiment policy that a cleric performed the coronation ritual. Others alleged that it was Luther himself who would have preferred to crown the King, but that he was unable to do so and sent Bugenhagen in his stead.⁵⁰

In the final account these internal conflicts between the reformers in Wittenberg may be of less importance. If we instead consider the coronation of Christian III on 12 August 1537 in a perspective of ritual history, continuity appears to be the most obvious reason.⁵¹ The ritual which Bugenhagen performed in its structure and in most of its details built on the pre-reformed coronation ritual.⁵² What was new was that the ritual no longer assumed the position of the Pope and the apostolic succession, it did not invoke any saints, and it allowed a non-bishop outside the apostolic succession to perform the act. The King's clerical status was under-communicated by giving him the communion in private and together with the Queen.⁵³ The most important Lutheran contribution was probably the never-ending flow of words from Johannes Bugenhagen before, during, and after the ritual, where in the Lutheran manner he endeavoured to explain what the coronation was and was not. The coronation was no longer necessary from a church perspective, but it was right from that same perspective: all secular power came from God, but this needed confirmation by God's words and prayer. The duty of the new church was to admonish the King that he must take from what was good for the church and for the temporal and eternal well-being of his subjects. In such a perspective Christian's royal exercise of power was not minimized, but rather extended, since his power was directly legitimized by God himself. "The words of God" are the rationale for this.

For posterity, the coronation of Christian III is left standing in an ambivalent light. Ritually, continuity was clearer than a break with tradition. The coronation ritual was intended to be a break with tradition but should also give the impression

49 Hoffmann, "Die krönung Christians III. von Dänemark am 12. August 1537," 65.

50 Lausten, *Christian D. 3. og kirken (1537–1559)*, 1: 29; Lausten, *Johann Bugenhagen*, 117–18.

51 Grundberg, *Ceremoniernes makt*, analyses the Swedish royal rituals in a gender-related perspective, but she also emphasizes the dimensions of continuity.

52 Cf. Hoffmann, "Die Krönung Christians III. von Dänemark am 12. August 1537," 65–66.

53 Münter, *Aktstykker vedkommende Kong Christian den Tredies og Dronning Dorotheas Kroning*, XXXI. Lausten, *Christian D. 3. og kirken (1537–1559)*, 1: 28. The common explanation has been that the private communion was carried out so that the seriousness of the holy meal would not be disturbed, and that there was no wish to use the communion as a confirmation of a state act. However, this is probably quite simple: the royal couple received a private communion as a Lutheran "Hausgemeinde" (house parish or church), as a confirmation of the Lutheran thesis of the universal priesthood.

that what took place was right and legitimate. To emphasize this legitimacy, quotations from the Bible were read for each stage of the ritual as comments and rationales for the expectation of what was occurring. Johann Bugenhagen called himself “ordinator,” thus replacing the ritual role of the archbishop in a conspicuous manner. Bugenhagen was in his physical person the Lutheran negation of the church tradition, but as the performer of the ritual he was also a presenter and guarantor of divine sanction of the coronation.

This divine sanction had a concrete and symbolic content. The Biblical references which were the most important were precisely those that referred to *the Old Testament priest king*. It was the Old Testament insignia that were carried forward, the Old Testament ideals of the God-controlled power, piousness, and wisdom of the King which were expected to be satisfied, also by the Lutheran sovereign. The anointment gave the King the Holy Spirit and a special spiritual status,⁵⁴ also under a Lutheran ideological regime.

The reference for the theocratic Lutheran kingdom was still the Old Testament kings, their virtues, and their exercise of power. For Christian III, the coronation ritual became an expression that his Israel, his Zion, was his realm. It was this realm he must protect geographically, politically, and religiously. God had appointed the King, everybody owed him obedience, he must rule with mildness and justice, but also defend the realm with the sword of Gideon. In all of this the King could count on God’s direct support, and – as King David – rely on direct contact with God himself. The King’s realm was his Zion, his power base was his Jerusalem, and as defender of the Lutheran confession the Denmark–Norway realm would remain under Christian III, but also have great symbolic, moral, and political importance, because – as was proclaimed during the coronation – “for the law shall go forth of Zion, and the word of the LORD from Jerusalem” (Mic 4:2). This was probably the hope and expectation of Christian, Bugenhagen, and Luther.⁵⁵

Hence, in the light of the coronation ritual on 12 August 1537, the Zion of Christian III became a delimited territory, but also a more borderless landscape characterized by the hope of a general reformation in Christian Europe.

The coronation ritual was part of the “representative public sphere” constituted by the royal court. The ritual regulated for instance the relationship between the social groups at the court and in the realm, and observing it made the boundaries and

⁵⁴ Lausten, *Christian d. 3. og kirken (1537–1559)*, 1: 30–31.

⁵⁵ Cf. Bjørn Kornerup, “Luthers spaadom om kirken i Norden” in *Kirkehistoriske Samlinger* (København: Akademisk Forlag, 1934), who refers to a statement by Martin Luther, quoted in a book of hymns published by Frans Vormordsen, the superintendent in Lund (1552), and which praises Christian III’s reformation and regime as ideal and an example to be followed. Thus, Luther’s statement was later developed into a prophecy about the special and historically important foothold of Lutheranism in “the Nordic countries.”

differences clear.⁵⁶ The ritual thus had both explicit and implicit meaning. On both levels the numerous ritual references to the Bible were important. On the implicit level these references made it clear that the social and cultural order was willed by God. On the explicit level the Bible references made it possible to identify Biblical personalities, places, events, and ideals prefiguring the coronation and the coronated king. As shown by Martin Berntson, the Swedish kings of the sixteenth century were consequently compared to and described in the model of Old Testament kings.⁵⁷ This is also the case with the coronation ritual of Christian III. But not only was he compared to and described in the model of these Biblical kings, he also became situated in a Biblical topography, the topography of Jerusalem, of Zion. The whole *Jerusalem code* had been embedded in the Christian coronation ceremonies since Carolingian time, and it had been appropriated by both royalty and church as both a confirmation of power and duties and an expression on continuity through time. Both symbolically and physically the coronation ritual made the king the ruler of Zion, of Jerusalem, with the authority but also with the expectations that followed such a position.

⁵⁶ Sebastian Olden-Jørgensen, “State Ceremonial, Court Culture and Political Power in Early Modern Denmark, 1536–1746,” *Scandinavian Journal of History* 27, no. 2 (2010), 66–67. Sebastian Olden-Jørgensen, “Hoffet til hverdag og fest,” in *Danmark og Renæssancen 1500–1650*, eds. Carsten Bach-Nielsen and Charlotte Appel (København: Gad, 2006), 73ff.

⁵⁷ See Chapter 8 (Martin Berntson), 147–67.

Sivert Angel

Chapter 6

Topos and Topography: Jerusalem in the Memory of Christian III, King of Denmark–Norway

This chapter discusses the relevance of the Jerusalem code as political legitimization strategy at the introduction of the Reformation in Denmark and Norway. It does so by an investigation of the rhetorical use of Jerusalem in the funeral orations for Christian III. The concept of place, or “topos”, a central part of rhetorical theory of that time, was meant to direct the invention process of a speech by pointing the speaker to a field where he might find authoritative and convincing arguments. This chapter employs the topos concept to analyze the speeches’ rhetorical strategies and Jerusalem’s role in them. The second part of the analysis establishes connections between the rhetorical strategies and concrete descriptions of places, primarily of Christian III’s kingdom, Copenhagen and Denmark-Norway, descriptions which in this chapter are labelled as “topography”. This chapter uses Jerusalem to describe early Danish knowledge culture and its role in religious politics by investigating, first, how Jerusalem might have played a role in lending authority to these speeches and, secondly, how it contributed to the official memory of the King.

Introduction

King Christian III of Denmark and Norway (1503–59) is a central figure in Danish-Norwegian history. With his rule, civil war ended and the reformation was introduced, making Christian III head of the Danish-Norwegian church. By dynastic relations and his status as a German prince, he was closely tied to German Lutheran sovereigns. His church order was written with the help of German theologians, and a majority of the theology professors at his university had studied in Germany.¹ It is no coincidence, therefore, that funeral speeches for him have stylistic features similar to speeches in

¹ Martin Schwartz Lausten, “Die Universität Kopenhagen und die Reformation,” in *University and Reformation: Lectures from the University of Copenhagen Symposium*, ed. Leif Grane (Leiden: Brill, 1981).

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Fig. 6.1: Portrait of Christian III (1503–59), King of Denmark and Norway, Duke of Holstein and Schleswig.

Lutheran Germany. Christian III died after twenty-five years of relatively peaceful and prosperous rule.²

The King's authority in matters of religion is a central concern in the orations for him, with good reason. The church was subjugated under his rule and church treasures confiscated. The King had not been without opponents in his proceedings, as revealed in the orations' portrayal of the King's road to power and his victory in the civil war. On his death, there would most probably have been conflicting views on how this was to be valued and remembered, an ambiguity echoed in later historiography's discussions of whether the King protected the true church or simply removed it and replaced it with the state, and whether he was elected by the council, or if he, assisted by German mercenaries, had forced the council to accept him.³ The theological legitimacy of the King's role in the church would have been vital for the general acceptance of his authority. Therefore, the motif of the King as protector of church and religion, as *cura religionis*, shall be a central interest in the analysis of the speeches. We shall proceed in this by a rhetorical analysis. In early modern theory, rhetoric and dialectic were seen as closely connected.⁴ Therefore, the question of the form and content of speech was not simply a question of communication, but also of truth. For something to be used in a speech, it had to be proper knowledge. Rhetorical analysis may therefore say something about how speeches grounded their claims, as well as about the knowledge culture to which they belonged. This chapter will follow this path in investigating Jerusalem's role in the legitimization of religious authority in reformation Denmark-Norway.

The two most influential of the many speeches presented to commemorate the King were royal physician Jacob Bording's sermon at the funeral in Odense Cathedral and theologian Niels Hemmingsen's speech at the University of Copenhagen on the day of his funeral. Both orators had studied in Germany – theology professor Hemmingsen was one of Philip Melanchthon's (1497–1560) favorite students,⁵ while the Dutch royal physician Bording had read Melanchthon and had studied with him for a shorter period. It is no coincidence therefore, that both orations relate to a rhetorical tradition shared with protestant Germany. In this chapter, we shall analyze the two speeches to see how Jerusalem and the Jerusalem code are utilized within sixteenth-century Lutheran rhetoric to serve the memory needs of the newly established Lutheran empire, Denmark-Norway.

² Birgitte Bøggild Johannsen, "Ars Moriendi More Regio: Royal Death in Sixteenth Century Denmark," *Journal of Early Modern Christianity* 1, no. 1 (2014): 69–70.

³ Steinar Imsen, *Da Reformasjonen kom til Norge* (Oslo: Cappelen Damm, 2016); Øystein Rian, *Sensuren i Danmark-Norge. Vilårene for offentlige ytringer 1536–1814* (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 2014), 331.

⁴ Peter Mack, *A History of Renaissance Rhetoric 1380–1620* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013).

⁵ Martin Schwartz Lausten, *Niels Hemmingsen. Storhed og fald* (Copenhagen: Anis, 2013), 13–20.

Method

Genre: Place in Protestant Funeral Orations

The speeches belong to a genre that rose out of Lutheran theology and ritual practice during the sixteenth century.⁶ Prayers for the dead were abolished from funerals and the deceased instead entered the ritual via the sermon as examples of the biblical message preached.⁷ The genre could serve memory politics by combining a religious message with descriptions of the deceased to extract moral impulses and establish an official memory. Funeral orations for rulers could combine remembrance with governance, when the official memory of a ruler and his rule also stated the premises for how the subjects should relate to the new ruler and to the government in general.⁸ The subjects who were addressed in the funeral speeches for Christian III would rarely have met the King in person, but were related to him by living in his kingdom. Therefore, the construction of royal memory that took place in the funeral orations did not simply portray the King's person, but also his rule and the place that was his.

The primary place in the orations is the King's place, the place that was inseparable from his person and his memory, namely Copenhagen and Denmark (Fig. 6.2). However, the way this place is combined rhetorically with other places indicates how these orations take part in politics. The concept of *topos* from contemporary rhetorical theory will be employed to investigate how normative descriptions, *topographies*, of the King's place are established.

The precise borders for the genre are not easily drawn. On the occasion of the death of a sovereign, multiple funeral orations could be ordered, to be presented at several stages on the sovereign's final journey from death bed to burial. They would be presented in churches on the route, but often also ordered to be read in many of the country's churches, as well as in schools and universities.⁹ The most classic version is the sermon presented at the funeral itself, but also funeral orations presented in other services belong to the genre, as those that were written only for print, as well as speeches presented in other contexts that resemble funeral sermons by the way they combine a Christian message with a biographical account. In my material, Jacob Bording's speech belongs to the first category, whereas Niels Hemmingsen's belongs to the last.

⁶ Cornelia Niekus Moore, *Patterned Lives: The Lutheran Funeral Biography in Early Modern Germany* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2006).

⁷ Berndt Hamm, "Normierte Erinnerung: Jenseits- und Diesseitsorientierung in der Memoria des 14. bis 16. Jahrhunderts," *Jahrbuch für biblische Theologie* 22 (2007).

⁸ Sivert Angel, *The Confessionalist Homiletics of Lucas Osiander (1534–1604)* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2014), 67–138.

⁹ Johannsen, "Ars Moriendi More Regio: Royal Death in Sixteenth Century Denmark," 70; Angel, *The Confessionalist Homiletics of Lucas Osiander (1534–1604)*, 68–96.



Fig. 6.2: Georg Braun, Frans Hogenberg, and Simon Nouellanus, *Hafnia Kopenhagen*. 1587. Engraving. From *Civitates orbis terrarum* (1576–1600), vol. 4.

Topos in Rhetorical Theory

Topos was a central concept in early modern rhetoric, and will be the main analytical concept in this chapter. *Topos* brought the concept of place into speeches on different levels and could play several roles in an argument. Rhetoric theory was held in high regard among sixteenth-century theologians, and training in these skills was part of basic university education.¹⁰ Since it taught how one should employ language forms in order to achieve a speech's goal, the theory is valuable for historical study. When argumentative patterns, figures, and speech elements recommended by rhetorical theory are

¹⁰ Mack, *A History of Renaissance Rhetoric 1380–1620*; Lausten, Niels Hemmingsen. *Storhed Og Fald*, 21–22.

recognized in historical speeches, they may reveal how the concrete speeches aimed at persuasion.

Philip Melanchthon was not only the most influential author on rhetoric of his time and the primary theorist for Hemmingsen and Bording, but the concept *topoi* or *loci* played an important role in his manuals, with Melanchthon drawing on a long tradition when he employed this concept. It had its roots in Aristotle's *Dialectics* and *Rhetoric*, which had been a part of university curricula throughout the Middle Ages, and which had influenced early modern theory by a line of interpretations and adaptations. It is believed that *topos* was also part of a rhetoric tradition prior to Aristotle, where place had been recognized as a potent tool for aiding the mind's memory of difficult lines of thought, by coupling thought movements to visualized places. It was also recognized that tying an argument to a place could lend it power to convince by moving thoughts and feelings more effectively than purely abstract expressions.¹¹

Aristotle had used the term "place" to signify valid and convincing patterns of argument in a discussion, such as syllogisms, as tools for those training in discussion or speech. The places referred to groups of enthymems, meaning argumentative sentences. Aristotle might have chosen the term place because he envisioned a discussion as a terrain seen from above, with arguments existing in a strategic space, where certain ways of moving forward offered themselves as viable, while others were blocked. To argue well, one should first examine the terrain and see which angle the opponent could be attacked from. The knowledge of *topoi* aided the speaker by allowing him to see fields of knowledge from above so that possible connections and patterns of arguments were revealed.¹²

Though Aristotle regarded *topics* as a universal and formal form of knowledge belonging to both logic and rhetoric,¹³ in his *Rhetoric* he seems to admit that there are specific *topoi* useful for certain genres of speech – in other words, that they connect to specialized knowledge with a material content, such as laws, witnesses, admittances brought forth under torture, and oaths.¹⁴ Cicero, the favorite author on rhetoric in university curriculums throughout the Renaissance,¹⁵ developed this slight tendency in his understanding of *topos*. He defined *topics* as the art of finding arguments, and defined *topos* as arguments' dwelling place, *sedes argumenti* – the place where valid and authoritative arguments are to be found. It was not simply a general concept for formal patterns, but included the thematic and material content of an argument, so that both the argument's *res* and its *verborum* were to be found in the *topos*.

11 Klaus Ostheeren, "Topos," in *Historisches Wörterbuch der Rhetorik*, eds. Gert Ueding and Walter Jens (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 2009), 631.

12 Tim Wagner, "Topik," in *Historisches Wörterbuch der Rhetorik*, eds. Gert Ueding and Walter Jens (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 2009), 607.

13 Wagner, "Topik," 608.

14 Aristoteles, *Retorikk* (Oslo: Vidarforlaget, 2006), 177–88. (II, 23); Wagner, "Topik," 612.

15 Mack, *A History of Renaissance Rhetoric 1380–1620*.

Continuing from Cicero's concept, Boethius saw *topos* as the place where arguments were found that suited a certain question, and Thomas Aquinas defined *topics* as describing the sources for theological argument, namely scripture, church fathers, reason, and philosophers. *Topoi* were not simply concepts and sentences useful in a certain discussion, but concepts and sentences that could be presupposed.¹⁶

Philip Melanchthon employs this tradition in his writings on rhetoric. Günter Franck has argued that Melanchthon employed *topos* in a way that combined the two strands of tradition. *Topos* is the place where an argument is to be found, but also a method for finding good arguments; the process of invention, abstraction, and construction of principles.¹⁷ Niels Hemmingsen had published a book on method, *De methodis libri duo*,¹⁸ four years prior to his funeral oration for Christian III, which followed Melanchthon quite closely in employing the concept of *locus* as indicating the sources for an argument as well as its legitimate form. It gave basic principles for scriptural interpretation and the design of arguments in a sermon. Like Melanchthon he saw *loci* as a method for abstracting sentences from a narrative text that could be condensed into categories.¹⁹ However, even though Hemmingsen based his method on Melanchthon, commentators have claimed he went further in seeing the concept of *topos* as a means for proof, and not merely as a principle for ordering and understanding a given material.²⁰

Early modern rhetorical theory indicates that orators might employ place in two ways, and this chapter will analyze the two funeral orations using these two viewpoints: firstly, it will employ the Aristotelian concept of *topos* to extract the patterns of argument that appear in the speeches, and secondly, it will employ Cicero's *locus* concept to describe the dwelling places for arguments which the two funeral orations refer to and extract arguments from.

A third and final part of the analysis continues from the traditional meaning of rhetorical place and asks whether rhetorical places produce certain descriptions of concrete places or topographies. Topography is a term seldom used in rhetorical theory, and the parts of speeches that are treated as topography in this analysis would probably be categorized as *exempla* in Aristotelian rhetoric. They describe places as they appear in narrations, encompassing political and religious reality.

16 Wagner, "Topik"; Günter Frank, "Wie kam die Topik in die Theologie? Topik als Methode der Dogmatik bei Philipp Melanchthon und Melchior Cano," in *Hermeneutik, Methodenlehre, Exegese: Zur Theorie der Interpretation in der frühen Neuzeit*, eds. Günter Frank and Stephan Meier-Oesen (Stuttgart: Frommann-Holzboog, 2011).

17 Frank, "Wie kam die Topik in die Theologie?"

18 Niels Hemmingsen, *De Methodis*, (Wittenberg, 1559).

19 Frank, "Wie kam die Topik in die Theologie?"

20 Hemmingsen, *De Methodis*; Tarald Rasmussen, "Rationalität und Bibelauslegung in Niels Hemmingsens *De Methodis* (1555)," in *Reformation und Rationalität. Refo500 Academic Studies*, eds. Herman J. Selderhuis and Ernst-Joachim Waschke (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2016).

These descriptions of place appear within an argumentative pattern controlled by place in its rhetorical sense, *topos*. Rhetorical theory thus offers an analytical perspective for the description of concrete place. *Topos* offers the optics, a point of view that enables a description of *topography's* rhetorical function. Through these tools, this analysis will shed light on the significance of the Jerusalem code at the time when the memory of Christian III was established.

Analysis

Before we search for Jerusalem in descriptions of places, we shall investigate the *topoi* the orators employed to find convincing ways of arguing. Both speeches to be analyzed transcend their original situation and became models for many other sermons and speeches presented around the country in the weeks following the funeral, such as Hans Thomissøn's sermon presented to the school in Ribe, which was based on Hemmingsen's oration.²¹ Still, although the two speeches were presented on the same day and employed widely in the official remembrance of the King, they are clearly different, probably because of their different genres. In rhetorical theory, genre was controlled by the occasion for a speech, and a speech's recommended way of arguing was to some extent controlled by its genre. Jacob Bording oration was preached as a sermon at the King's funeral in Odense cathedral and therefore relates to homiletic theory. However, homiletic theory also relied on basic rhetorical concepts. In Melanchthonian theory, it is not primarily the form of argument that distinguishes the different genres, but rather where they find their authoritative arguments. As a sermon, Bording's speech had the interpretation of scripture as its basis, whereas Hemmingsen's speech, which was presented to the university college according to the rules of a classical tributary oration, could employ a different basis for its argument. Their choices of the basis for argument will be discussed in the next section. Here we shall firstly investigate the form of argument in the two speeches, for even though theory did not prescribe different forms of argument for the two genres, there are significant differences between the two speeches in this respect.

²¹ Johannsen, "Ars Moriendi More Regio," 70; Ioanne Thoma Ripensi, "Alia Oratio De Illustrissimo Principe ac Domino, Domino Christiano III, Rege Daniae & Noruegiae, & C.," in *Tröstliche Historia vom seligen Abschied des Durchleuchtigen* (. . .) (1559).

Topics 1 – Argumentative Patterns

Bording's sermon starts with a retelling of the story about King Hezekiah from 2 Kgs 20. Together with King Josias, the story of King Hezekiah was a favorite in Lutheran funeral sermons, since it told about a pious King who had rid the country of idolatry, instituted a pure cult, protected the church, and thereby saved the country. After two pages, the account of King Christian's life is introduced as one that will show how the image of the holy King from Old Testament history finds its expression in the life of King Christian:

The story of this most holy King, which is clearly and completely written in the Holy Scriptures, shall here be briefly summarized, in order to express how his image in every way resembles our most excellent King Christian III.²²

King Christian's biography is then related along the same lines as the story of King Hezekiah. Four moments in the life of King Hezekiah form the headlines for the story of King Christian's life; his piousness, his upholding of peace, his studies, and his blessed ending, before the coupling of the two Kings is completed in a final delivery of King Christian to the community of the heavenly church with Hezekiah, David, Josiah, and Johann Friedrich; three Old Testament kings and one Lutheran Saxon prince:

Therefore our first and most excellent King, who was a Hezekiah of our age, especially honorable and distinguished, has been moved from this miserable and mortal life to God and the blessed community of all the Saints. Though it is sad and gives bitter sorrow, he now rests from us according to his great longing, a rest he enjoys sweetly in the community of the heavenly church, where he lives with Hezekiah, David, Josias, Johann Friedrich, and other pious princes.²³

Bording argues inductively in his sermon. He does not deduce his arguments from sentences, such as enthymems or rules, but begins with the examples and allows them to point to principles. The example of Hezekiah relates how the temple was cleansed from idolatry and proper worship was enforced, resulting in progress and prosperity. The next part of this example tells about the Assyrian siege of Jerusalem, and how Hezekiah placed his trust in God and who then intervened by sending a

²² "Hanc sanctissimi regis historiam, sacrarum literarum monumentis copiose satis explicatam, breuiter ac summatim, itdeo recensui, quia expressam atque omnino similiam imaginem eius nuper vidimus, in optimo rege nostro CHRISTIANO III." Jacob Bording, *Oratio de obitu serenensis principis Christiani III. Daniae & Noruegiae Regis & C* (Copenhagen: Hans Barth, 1559), Aiii.

²³ "Ita rex optimus ac praestantissimus, huius aetatis nostrae Ezechias, regum quem omnium qui nunc sunt, praecipuum decus & Gloria, ex hac misera & mortali vita, ad Dei & sanctorum omnium beatissimum coetum, translatus est: tristem quem & acerbum luctum, magnum quem sui desiderium, nobis reliquit: Ipse autem fruitur dulci consuetudine coelestis ecclesiae, viut quem cum Ezechia, Dauide, Iosia, Ioanne Friderico, & similibus piis principibus." Bording, *Oratio de obitu serenensis principis Christiani III. Daniae & Noruegiae Regis & C, D.*

deadly angel against the Assyrians, thereby protecting the city. The example points to two rules or ethymems, namely that he who cleanses the cult and institutes true worship will experience progress and he who places his trust in God will be protected. Bording then narrates King Christian's life and reign as resembling that of Hezekiah. As a reformation King he removed catholic idolatry and instituted a pure and solid church, and as a pious King he listened to God's advice and experienced progress in his kingdom and protection from enemies. The argument is that since Christian conforms to Hezekiah's example, the same rule was relevant during his reign.

However, if one takes a step back from this argument and observe the two examples together, another rule may be recognized as structuring the first rule. It is the rule of typology, which traces archetypes to prototypes, or connects them as types and anti-types, and, in theology, sees them as acting within the course of salvation history. It states that he who resembles a biblical role model may expect the same course of events to take place in his life, and that a reign and a kingdom resembling a biblical role model underlay the same dynamics as those described in the bible. In other words, it is a rule saying that history repeats itself.²⁴

The pattern of argument in Bording's speech presents biblical Kings and kingdoms as types that impress their mark on contemporary figures and society in a way that makes history predictable. It belongs to a *topos* where narrative elements are combined in an argument through the use of a typology which allows the contemporary example to appear as an imprint of an Old Testament example. The sermon shares this *topos* with many contemporary Lutheran funeral sermons for German princes, which also rely on the same typological pattern of argument and used the same Old Testament kings – typically David, Hezekiah, and Josiah – as their point of departure.²⁵ Theology professor Niels Hemmingsen's speech was presented to a learned audience at the University in Copenhagen and would not have been a part of a service, but through its clear theological message it nonetheless resembles a sermon.

Hemmingsen starts his speech by addressing the occasion for the speech, namely the great sorrow involved in losing a great King, and claiming that the sins of the subjects had occasioned this loss as a punishment from God. He then declares the King as saved and as being welcomed to a heavenly existence by the prototypical protestant rulers David, Josiah, and Hezekiah,²⁶ Thus, Hemmingsen tied Christian III to the great kings of biblical history, but in his argumentation they came to play yet another role. Hemmingsen states that the goal for his oration is to

²⁴ Rudolf Suntrup, "Typologie," in *Historisches Wörterbuch der Rhetorik*, ed. Gert Ueding and Walter Jens (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 2009).

²⁵ Angel, *The Confessionalist Homiletics of Lucas Osiander*, 67–138; Moore, *Patterned Lives*, 211–75.

²⁶ Niels Hemmingsen, *Funebris oratio in memoriam . . . regis Danorum & C. Christian Tertii* (Copenhagen: Christophorum Barth, 1559), Aii.

present King Christian as an example and a pattern of virtue, both to the subjects and to his successor King Friedrich II.²⁷

He then presents the following main enthymem for the speech: according to the wise men of ancient times, a good regent must embody three virtues, namely wisdom with regard to secular things, zeal for God's church, and virtue and a Christian spirit in the things that concern his own house.²⁸ These three virtues then structure the rest of the speech.

If one applies the Aristotelian concept of *topos* to Hemmingsen's sermon, a different terrain of argument appears. The sections treating the three virtues are dealt with in succession and are each introduced with their own enthymem, derived from representatives of the wise men of old, the majority from the antique tradition. Accounts of Christian III's life serve as examples that confirm the validity of the enthymems, while at the same time portraying Christian's rule as exemplary and conducted in accordance with universal rules (Fig. 6.3).²⁹ Though Christian is the most prominent example in the speech, several other examples are mentioned that resemble him and confirm the universal rules in the same manner as him, such as Moses, David, Salomon, Hezekiah, Josiah, Cyrus, Theseus, Alexander the Great, Hiero, and Theodosius. Thus, examples are also central in Hemmingsen's speech, but here they are part of a deduction where they prove rules. The examples are not expressions of the same image, but complement each other in exemplifying different aspects of rule.

Thus, the following different fields of argument reveal themselves: in Bording's typology, the examples appear as fixed, both to each other and to history, while Hemmingsen's examples seem more arbitrary and flexible, chosen because of their ability to illustrate a rule. They could in principle have been substituted with other examples. His enthymems are firm and abstract, whereas the examples that illustrate them are flexible.

Topics 2 – The Arguments' Dwelling Places

The next aspect of the *topos* concept that I shall employ in the analysis resembles a common understanding of place – *topos* as the dwelling places for arguments.

27 “ . . . adeo ut exemplar virtutum omnium heroicarum & communium illustre statui possit.” Hemmingsen, *Funebris oratio in memoriam . . . regis Danorum & C. Christian Tertii* Aiii.

28 “Tria itaque in uniuersum sunt, quorum curam pium principem habere oportere, sapientes olim censuerunt, ac hodie pii omnes veterum censuram approbant. Horum primum est societatis civilis prudens gubernatio. Alterum Ecclesiae conseruande studium. Tertium proprioae domus honesta & sancta administratio.” Hemmingsen, *Funebris oratio in memoriam . . . regis Danorum & C. Christian Tertii*, Aiii.

29 Hemmingsen, *Funebris oratio in memoriam . . . regis Danorum & C. Christian Tertii*, Aiii–Cii.

I shall investigate whether Jerusalem plays a role on this level of the speeches by asking where Hemmingsen's and Bording's orations find their premises.

Bording's place is easy to define. He finds his premises in the bible and its account of history, as the history of the people of God. This history lends power to his typology and the analogous coupling with the examples it comprises. This coupling requires narration and therefore also place, and the nature of this place is decisive for the strength of the typology it serves. In this sense of *topos*, the place in Bording's sermon is not only the bible, or Israel's history, but Jerusalem itself. It is in Jerusalem that idolatry is abolished, a pure cult reinstalled, priests and Levites summoned, and treasures collected to finance temple service. Moreover, it is Jerusalem that is protected from the Assyrians by God's miraculous intervention, as a result of King Hezekiah's attentiveness to God's advice.³⁰

According to the rules of rhetoric, an orator should choose arguments from dwelling places that are convincing to his audience. Bording would have assumed that the congregants present in church at the King's funeral would see themselves as belonging to the people of God and as tied to Israel's history and Jerusalem as a model city. In this sense, Bording's *topos* is a religiously significant place, envisioned geographically and embedded in the shared historical narrative of salvation history. It serves analogous connections that give elaborate prescriptions for a King's rule. However, in this way, the effectiveness of the oration's *topos* presupposes adherence to this understanding of history, which is to a faith that has church as its place. This rhetorical logic is common to many Lutheran funeral sermons and might be regarded as a genre convention.

The dwelling place for Hemmingsen's arguments, on the other hand, is barely expressed spatially. His enthymems are drawn from a long succession of sources: Salomon, Homer, Cicero, Xenophon, David, Solomon, Euripides, Seneca, Isocrates, Aristotle, Plato, Moses, and Paul. For Aristotle's part, Hemmingsen explicitly mentions that he did not know true religion, but states that this fact strengthens the claim that care for religion should be of primary concern to a ruler. The indicated *topos* appears as a very wide field and can hardly be described as a place. Athens is mentioned a couple of times, but since the sources for argument are tied to different lands and cities and are not connected by a common historical narrative, their place cannot be described spatially. The few times Jerusalem enters Hemmingsen's speech, it is always implicitly, namely as the place for the rule of David and Solomon, and always on the level of examples or illustrations, not as a source for argumentation. The dwelling place for Hemmingsen's arguments is probably best described as the canon of literature recognized by the learned as legitimate sources of knowledge.

³⁰ "Quare mirabili rursus Dei auxilio adiutus, gloriosas victorias consecutus est: caesis quem una nocte ab angelo DOMINI Assyriorum, qui urbem Ierosolymam obsidebant, centum octoginta quinque milibus, inusitatum omnino triumphum egit, habuit quem deinceps regnum pace, opibus, rebus quem omnibus florentissimum." Bording, *Oratio de obitu serenesis*, Aii.

Hemmingsen's *topos* is of another nature than that of Bording. It is not based on narrations with descriptions of places and is therefore unable to support analogous connections in the way Bording's *topos* did. Hemmingsen's *topos* is composed of abstracted knowledge that is easily generalized and transported to new contexts, and which connects flexibly to examples. It is a place expressing a relation not primarily to the history of Israel, but to universal history, and which also contains heathen authors and philosophers. Consequently, it is also a place that is more loosely connected to the oration's main example, King Christian III.

Topography

In the final part of this analysis, I shall move from the mapping of authorities and patterns of argumentation to the speeches' use of examples, which is their *evidentia*, their means of proof. Instead of a concept taken from early modern rhetoric, I shall employ the concept of *topography* as a means to trace how the two rhetorical strategies result in descriptions of places. The speeches hardly contain any *topographies* in the narrow sense of the word, that is descriptions of landscapes or cityscapes. Nonetheless, the speeches mention names of places connected to narration and description, and when they do, they describe places as ordered by a religious and political reality. This section of the chapter will investigate how these places relate to Jerusalem.

Topography, therefore, does not refer to the orations' patterns of argumentation, but to the elements making up the orations' material, namely their examples. The King and his kingdom is the main example in both orations, with both orators describing the King as ruling his land with both secular and spiritual power, although the topography of his kingdom is to some extent controlled by examples employed to describe the King's rule.

Bording uses descriptions of Jerusalem for this purpose. First he describes it as a cultic place, and then as a place protected by God. Jerusalem's temple was opened, purified, and sanctified, and idolatry was suppressed under King Hezekiah. A narration is tied to this place, when Bording tells of how the King made sure the people turned to the Lord and gathered to celebrate Passover, and how he summoned priests and Levites to maintain responsibility for services in the temple. This description of Jerusalem as a cultic place is then followed by the description of Jerusalem as a city protected by God: because the King had listened to God's counsels, God allowed him to win a miraculous victory over the Assyrians in order to protect Jerusalem from siege.³¹ It is a fairly elaborate topography with descriptions and narrations, which is in turn tied to a parallel topography for Copenhagen.

³¹ Bording, *Oratio de obitu serenesis*, Aii.

Hemningsen employs a wide range of examples to describe King Christian III's rule, but combines only a few of them with places, and when he does so the descriptions of places are scarce. In one he compares Christian III with Theseus, whom he describes as a benevolent king of the Athenians.³² In another the king is described by the example of Moses, who wandered with the people of Israel through the desert and punished the priests when they turned to idolatry.³³

These two forms of topography, one comprehensive and descriptive of a single place, another scanty and tied to different places, result in different descriptions of Copenhagen and Denmark.

Bording describes Copenhagen as cast in the mould of Jerusalem. With similar words and logic as in his retelling of the story of Hezekiah, he describes the church under King Christian as a version of the temple in Jerusalem. As the temple was cleansed and sanctified, so the church, by the help of powerful preaching, was rid of papist idolatry and reestablished as a pure and united church, with pious rituals and useful and decent ceremonies.³⁴ The gathering of priests and Levites, and of treasures to finance temple service, is echoed in a description of the reopened University in Copenhagen, where doctors from the Danish people teach theology and outstanding professors have secure pay, as well as in the establishing of churches and schools on smaller centres as well.³⁵

In Bording's topography, Copenhagen is controlled by the same dynamics as Jerusalem under King Hezekiah. The quality of the city's cultic place has direct consequences for domestic and foreign politics. The unity of secular and spiritual rule which Bording's oration aims at, has an implicit basis as seen in the way topography is combined in his two main examples: to be able to protect the country, the King must have power to protect the cult, and in order to be protected, the cult has to be subject to secular authority.

Hemningsen's topography of Copenhagen has similar motifs, but is structured differently. Copenhagen is not described as parallel to Old Testament Jerusalem, but rather as the place where the King's virtues are displayed. Peace dwells in this place

32 "Neque enim satis est, si Rex in suos fuerit munificus, sed oportet etiam in peregrinos esse liberalem, ut vere de ipso dici possit illud quod in summis laudibus Thesii Regis Atheniensium posuit Euripedes . . ." Hemningsen, *Funebris oratio in memoriam*, B2.

33 "Moses idolatram iam factum summum pontificem corripit ac instrumentum idololatriae confingit." Hemningsen, *Funebris oratio in memoriam*, B3b.

34 "Sic itaque templum DOMINI aperuit, idemque com Ezechia purgavit & sanctificavit, cum non sine magnis laboribus & periculis, multorumque potentum in se conciatas odiis, inuertetam illam multis iam seculis Papisticam idolatriam, penitus sustulit ac profligavit: tandemque quod pater ipsius (piae ac faelicis memoriae) Fredricus I, ferio tentarat, perfecit, vt vera de Deo doctrina, varie prius adulterata, multisque tenebris inuoluta, pura iam & syncera ecclesiis restitueretur: simulque cum doctrina pii ritus, vtilesque ac decentes cermoniae introducerentur." Bording, *Oratio de obitu serenesis*, Aiii.

35 Bording, *Oratio de obitu serenesis*, Aiii-B.

not because God intervenes in a miraculous manner as a consequence of cultic purity, but because the King has kept the peace. By the way he had acquired the Kingdom, the King has displayed a virtue that had served peace, not only because it was a Christian virtue, but because it was in accordance with political wisdom – he had been reluctant to seize power before he had sufficiently broad support throughout the kingdom and had therefore waited until he was requested by the council.³⁶ His way of acting does not follow the pattern of Old Testament Kings, but nonetheless expresses the law of the ancients and the wise. According to Cicero, there are certain virtues that make a good regent and avert enemies: wisdom in military affairs, courage, power, good fortune, industriousness in business, strength in dangers, energy in acting, swift accomplishment, and foresight.³⁷

Hemmingsen's oration finds support in the vast tradition of philosophers and biblical texts in presenting the King as having both secular and spiritual authority. The rejection of the opposite view, namely that the clergy or the common man should decide in matters of religion correspondingly has the same solid basis.³⁸ Hemmingsen describes the King's priority of religious matters as a prominent example of royal virtue and bases the value of such a priority on knowledge extracted from a universal history. Even the profane philosopher Aristotle had clearly seen the necessity for Kings to take responsibility for securing true religion, and Plato had emphasized that a King needed to take responsibility for administering the cult, according to Hemmingsen.³⁹ The King had known the value of this rule, since "he had understood that not only his soul's, but also his kingdom's welfare depended on his piety",⁴⁰ and the King's example had shown the practical rationality of this rule. By praying regularly, he came to wish for what was good, and was enabled to move the hearts of his enemies to refrain from their aggressive intents. By

36 Hemmingsen, *Funebris oratio in memoriam*, Aiiiib–Aiiii.

37 Danish translation: "Dette var Begyndelsen af denne prääsværdige Konges Regimente, hvori han lod see de Dyder, som Marcus Cicero fordrer hos en god Regent, nemlig: Krigs-Videnskab, Tapperhed, Myndighed, Lykke, Arbejdsomhed i Forretninger, Kiækmodighed udi Farer, Vindskibelighed i at forhandle og Hurtighed i at fuldføre Ting, samt en klog og betænksom Forsynlighed." Niels Hemmingsen, "Liigtale over den stormægtige Konge I Danmark Etc. Kong Christian III . . .," in *Den stormægtigste Konge Kong Christian den Tredie, Konge til Danmark og Norge*, ed. Niels Krag, vol 1. (Copenhagen: Godiche, 1776), 412; "Hoc fuit auspiciu regni optimi Regis, in quo conspiciuntur virtutes ille, quas Marc Cicero in bono imeratore inquirir, que sunt scientia rei militaris, virtus, autoritas, faelicitas, labor in negotiis, fortitudo in periculis, industria in agendo, celeritas in conficiendo, consiliu in prouidendo." Hemmingsen, *Funebris oratio in memoriam*, Aiiii.

38 "Plurimum errant omnium sanorum iudicio, qui religionem ad principes haud pertinere arbitrantur, sed de ea debere pontifices statuere & vulgo prescribere quicquid libet. Nam hoc contra omnium gentium morem, contra Israeliticam politiam, & contra omnium sanctorum imperatorum & Regum exempla sacrilege & impie asseritur." Hemmingsen, *Funebris oratio in memoriam*, B3b.

39 Hemmingsen, *Funebris oratio in memoriam*, B3–B3b.

40 "Nam in vera pietate sitam esse optime nouit, tum anime proprie, tum Reipublice cui preuit salutem." Hemmingsen, *Funebris oratio in memoriam*, B4b.

valuing his subjects' love more than their fear, he had strengthened unity in his realm.⁴¹ As well, the description of the King's dealings with the Danish church are described within the same logic. The King has secular and spiritual authority not because he is a new version of a biblical King, but as a regent who protects his kingdom according to logic testified to by a learned canon, namely that unity in religion serves a prosperous and peaceful kingdom. A description of Denmark as peaceful and prosperous, unified and without any discord in matters of religion, serves as the final proof for the King's authority and the memory of him as the benevolent protector of religion:

For was there ever greater agreement anywhere in the world in matters of religion, or better discipline and order in the church, than in Denmark? Did ever any heretics let their voice be heard under this Christian King's government? Did ever any useless discussion over religious matters occur? Were ever any Anabaptists or Spirituals housed in this kingdom? For all this we should, next after God, thank our King, who knew that even a tiny bit of sour dough makes the entire dough sour, and that only a small delusion often causes disaster and anger.⁴²

Before he thus introduces the example of Denmark as proof, Hemmingsen briefly mentions that which is to be proven, namely the great value of the King's care for religion: "This is shortly noted about our pious prince's second office, as it could be seen in his care for religion" This second office was one of the three virtues Hemmingsen initially had claimed that old wisdom demanded of a King. When Hemmingsen towards the end of his speech concludes that the King had embodied this virtue, he uses the term *cura religionis*, which in the context of

⁴¹ Hemmingsen, *Funebris oratio in memoriam*, B2b–B3.

⁴² "Atque hec breuiter sint notata de altero officio pii principis, quod in religionis cura cernitur: in quo nullo Regum aut principum totius mundi inferior fuit hic noster Rex & Pater patrie quemadmodum res ipsa loquitur, & pii omnes qui ipsum norunt testantur. Nam ubi queso terrarium, tantus in religione consensus? Ubi melior administrande reipublice Ecclesiastice ratio? que unquam heresis hoc sanctissimo Rege gubernante hic est orta? qae aniles disputationes in religione sunt hic mortae? quis Anabaptistis locus? Quae Suermeris sedes? Haec omnia secundum Deum, sanctissima principis cura effect. Sciuit enim prudenter exiguum fermentum totam massam acidam reddere, et minimam erroris labem plurima mala ac scandal accersere." Hemmingsen, *Funebris oratio in memoriam*, Biiiib–C; in translation: "Og dette maae være nok sagt om vores christeligste Konges anden Pligt, som viiser sig i hans Omhyggelighed for Religionen, hvori han ikke gav nogen Regent og Konge i efter, som han øyensynlig i Gierningen beviiste, og alle Guds Børn, som kiendte ham, bevidne: thi hvor var der vel noget land i Verden, hvor der fantes større Eenighed i Religionen, eller bedre Kirke-Disciplin og Orden, end udi Dannemark? hvor reyste der sig vel noget Kiætterie under denne christelige Konges Regiering? hvor reyste der sig vel nogen unyttig Religions-Trette? hvor blev vel nogen Vederdøber eller Svermer huset her i Riget? alt dette have vi næst Gud vores høyst salige Kongen at takke for, thi han eftertænkte meget viiseligen, at en liden Surdey gjør den hele Dey suur, og at en liden Vildfarelse ofte foraarsager Ulykke og Forargelse." Hemmingsen, "Liigtale over den stormægtige Konge I Danmark."

early modern theological discourse might hint at how Hemmingsen configures the relationship between church and sovereign. Inge Mager has observed how Luther's doctrine of the two Kingdoms would soon be forgotten among subsequent generations of Lutheran theologians, but that theologians still, especially in sermons, were cautious to reserve a spiritual authority from the secular authority and not to give in to a caesaropapistic or state-churchly logic in their mentioning of the sovereign's authority in the church. They therefore avoided the term "cura religionis", and preferred the term "praecipuum membrum ecclesiae" for the sovereign's role in religious matters.⁴³ In Hemmingsen's logic, there seems to be no such reservations. His way of grounding the King's authority in religious affairs is consistent with the term "cura religionis" – the King is not simply the first member of the church, and is not bound by Scripture, but has authority to guard the church for the sake of the common good of his Kingdom.

The *topics* Hemmingsen draws on enable an even more detailed topography than Bording's oration. It finds its authority not primarily in theology, but in a universal history that among all philosophers and historiographers throughout time also encompasses bible and church. It aims to describe not only how true cult and doctrine are protected, but a society with complete unity because of the King's command of religion. The result is, perhaps, an even more potent promotion of the King's authority in both secular and spiritual matters.

Conclusion

Both orators treated in this chapter shared the intention of remembering Christian III as the legitimate sovereign over land and church and offering support for future Kings' authority. The analytical concepts employed in this paper have clarified an important difference in how the two speeches offered this support. The Jerusalem code, which is being traced in this book, was clearly at play when Bording preached in Odense cathedral, but not when Hemmingsen spoke to his academy at the University of Copenhagen. In Bording's speech, Jerusalem works topically as an indicator for the choice of the structure of argumentation and as a dwelling place for arguments, and topographically as an example that structures the description of Copenhagen and Denmark. In Hemmingsen's speech, on the other hand, it plays no significant role and is mentioned only implicitly. His speech's *topos* allows Jerusalem to disappear into the background as one of several examples.

⁴³ Inge Mager, "The Reception of the Two Kingdom Idea in Lutheran Orthodoxy up to Johann Gerhard," in *Iustus Ordo e Ordine della Natura. Sacra Doctrina e Saperi Politici fra XVI e XVIII Secolo*, ed. Fausto Arici and Franco Todescan (Padova: CEDAM, 2007), 155–72.

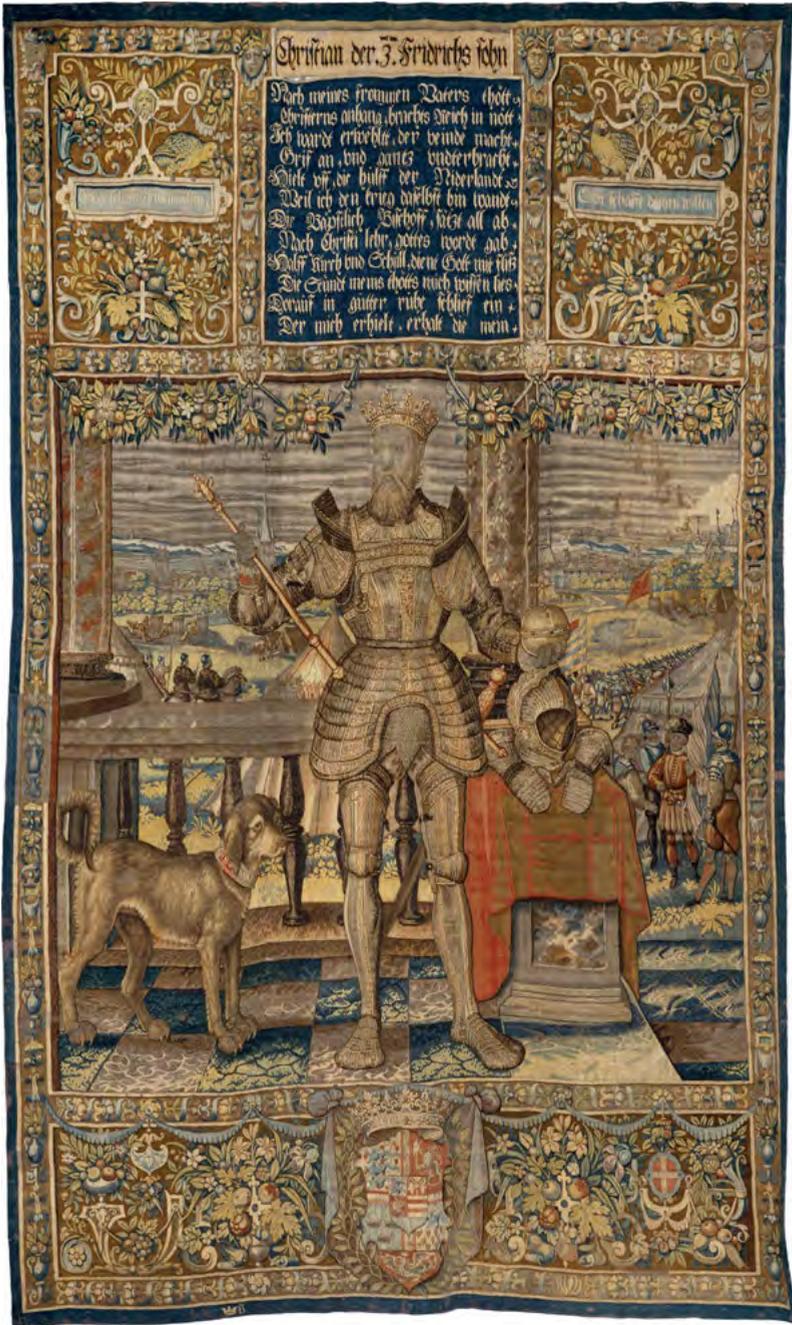


Fig. 6.3: Portrait of Christian III. Tapestry from Kronborg Castle, 1581–84. National Museum of Denmark (Nationalmuseet), Copenhagen.

The reason for this difference was partly due to a difference of genres, which in Melanchthon's rhetoric meant that they relate to different fields of knowledge with bearings for their choice of *loci* as the arguments' dwelling places, or as material *topoi*.⁴⁴ As Bording's oration was a sermon, it used theology as its field of knowledge and found its *loci* in the Holy Scriptures.⁴⁵ Conversely, Hemmingsen's speech at the University seems to have been related to philosophy as its field of knowledge, for here arguments could be drawn from all aspects of human life.⁴⁶ This is confirmed when one compares the many classical funeral sermons Hemmingsen presented in churches and in which he almost entirely derives his arguments from the bible.⁴⁷

An important difference was also found in the way the orators employed patterns of argumentation, that is their formal *loci* or *topoi*, which is independent of genre. Hemmingsen was closest to the ideal prescribed by Melanchthon and repeated in his own book on method,⁴⁸ namely that an argument should move from hypothesis to thesis, and from specific to general sentences – in other words, that narration should serve abstract propositions.⁴⁹ Bording's arguments remained to a greater extent on the level of narration, since they did not target general truths, but argued through descriptions that were connected to each other by resemblance as types and antitypes – the bible story and its examples present God's action, and when contemporary occurrences repeat this story, the two stories together display how God is acting in the present. This argumentative ideal was also expressed in many German Lutheran funeral sermons,⁵⁰ and rested on traditional homiletic practice,⁵¹ but was

44 “Ac voco locos communes, non tantum virtutes et vicia, sed in omni doctrinae genere praecipua capita, quae fontes et summam artis continent.” Philipp Melanchton, “Elementa Rhetorices. Grundbegriffe Der Rhetorik,” ed. Volkhard Wels (Berlin: Weidler Buchverlag, 2001), 83, 138.

45 “Docenti in Ecclesia, certa materia in sacris literis praescripta est, quam explicare debet.” Melanchton, *Elementa Rhetorices. Grundbegriffe Der Rhetorik*, 67, 123.

46 “Ac philosophici possunt peti ex partibus hominis, ratio, artes, prudentia, virtus, affectus, consuetudo, corpus, forma, aetas, fortuna, divitiae, oeconomia, coniugium, educatio, liberorum, politia, magistratus, lex, bellum, pax.” Melanchton, *Elementa Rhetorices. Grundbegriffe Der Rhetorik*, 84, 139.

47 Niels Hemmingsen, *En Predicken . . . Hertuf Trolle Ridders Begræffuelse* (Copenhagen: Laurentz Benedicht, 1565); Niels Hemmingsen, *En Predicken, . . . Maagens Gyldenstiernis Begræffuelse* (Copenhagen: Matz Vingaard, 1570); Niels Hemmingsen, *En Predicken . . . Otte Ruds Begræffuelse* (Copenhagen: Matz Vingaard, 1571).

48 Hemmingsen, *De Methodis*.

49 “Addemus autem ad inventionis praecepta unum quod maximam vim habet in omnibus disputationis, videlicet, ut hypothesin transferamus ad thesin. . . . Facile autem iudicare potest, cum de Turcico bello dicendum est, omnia pliniora atque uberiora fore, si a specie ad genus oratio transferatur, et de magistratus officio, de bello in genere dicatur, quam pium, quam sanctum officium reges faciant, si has gentes divinitus ipsorum tutelae commissas, adversus Turcicum latrocinium defendat.” Melanchton, *Elementa Rhetorices*, 82, 128.

50 Angel, *The Confessionalist Homiletics of Lucas Osiander (1534–1604)*, 67–138.

51 Stuart Georg Hall, “Typologie,” in *Theologische Realenzyklopädie*, ed. Gerhard Müller (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2002), 214–16; Suntrup, “Typologie”. For an elaborate description of this homiletic strategy see Felix Bidembach, *Manuale ministrorum ecclesiae* (Leipzig: Henning Grossen, 1619).



Fig. 6.4: Portrait of the deceased King Christian III. Copy of an original painting ascribed to Jost Verheiden. Malmö Kunstmuseum, Sweden.

different from that of Hemmingsen. The *topoi* Hemmingsen drew on corresponded to the knowledge culture of the university. However, since Hemmingsen's Postil express a clear Melanchthonian ideal for *inventio* and argumentation, one may assume that this represented the rhetoric encouraged in preaching, as well as the knowledge culture expressed on pulpits.⁵²

The rhetorical strategies displayed in these two sermons anchor authority differently and may be described as different political actions. In Bording's speech, which has clear resemblances to German Lutheran funeral orations, the King's authority rests on the biblical story as it is interpreted and narrated by the preacher, and its logic relies on salvation history. It offers a view of society in which types from biblical history give premises for how a good King might be portrayed, and confessional characteristics are decisive for the turn of history. Thus, the Jerusalem code supports the King's power over religion, but also binds him to the biblical story. Hemmingsen's speech targets a very wide, learned field of knowledge. Its theological profile is less sharp, but its political message and description of the King and his kingdom are all the more precise. When the speech seemingly employs

⁵² Niels Hemmingsen, *Postilla eller Forklaring offuer Euangelia* (Copenhagen: Gutterwitz oc Stöckelsmands Arffuinge, 1576).

all the stories which make up universal history to give the grounds for the King's authority over religion, it portrays the King with an authority that rests not on resemblance with biblical types or a preachers' scriptural interpretation, but rather frees the King to employ religion for higher means as *cura religionis*. This is a form of funeral oratory which, to my knowledge, is not found among German Lutherans of that day. Perhaps this form of portrayal was enabled by the fact that Christian III was a King and not a prince as were his fellow sovereigns in Germany. He therefore did not have to consider Imperial Law and its protection of a relative independence of church restrictions on territorial princes' injunctions.⁵³ Øystein Rian has argued that Christian III's rule meant a greater concentration of power than in most other countries, when diverse independent institutions were outmaneuvered and subjected to the king, with most prominent of them being the church.⁵⁴ Although Christian III was not an absolutist monarch, one might see Hemmingsen's rhetoric prefiguring the absolutism introduced in 1660.⁵⁵

The two rhetorical strategies in the two speeches not only supported the King's authority by different means, they also lent him differing types of support. In Bording's speech, the King followed a biblical pattern, while Hemmingsen showed him as embodying eternal virtues. Bording painted the King's memory in a way that united King and cult, whereas Hemmingsen allowed him to subjugate the cult for the well-being of his Kingdom. Thus, these royal orators show that the Jerusalem code operated within limits. It worked within the church, but not when a King asserted power over the church.

53 Siegrid Westphal, "Zur Erforschung der Reichsgerichtsbarkeit – eine Zwischenbilanz," *Jahrbuch der historischen Forschung* (1999).

54 Rian, *Sensuren i Danmark-Norge*, 331.

55 Joar Haga, "Gerhard (Un)Seen from Copenhagen? Danish Absolutism and the Relation between State and Church," in *Konfession, Politik und Gelehrsamkeit. Der Jenaer Theologe Johann Gerhard (1582–1637) im Kontext seiner Zeit*, ed. Markus Friedrich, Sascha Salatowsky, and Luise Schorn-Schütte (Stuttgart: Steiner, 2017).

Nils Ekedahl

Chapter 7

A Zion in the North: The Jerusalem Code and the Rhetoric of Nationhood in Early Modern Sweden

During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the perception of Sweden as a counterpart to the Israelite people in the Old Testament played an important part in the construction of Swedish nationhood. The widespread use of biblical parallels in the political discourse of the period has been recognized for a long time, but in recent research the significance of the parallels has been questioned by scholars who have described them as merely a kind of commonplace religious phraseology, with no further implications. In this chapter however, I will argue that the parallels must be taken seriously and that the Jerusalem code provided a cornerstone of the rhetorical construction of early Swedish nationhood. Central to my argument is that the identification with the Israelites should be understood as figural in character, rather than genealogical or translational, and that the Jerusalem code offered a rhetorically flexible mode of representation that united past, present, and future as well as the individual and the society.

Introduction

In February 1693, festivities were arranged all over the Swedish Baltic empire to celebrate the centennial of the so-called Uppsala Assembly (*Uppsala möte*). A century prior, at the 1593 synod, the clergy, the State Council, and Duke Karl (later King Karl IX) formally agreed to adopt *Confessio Augustana* as the general confession of the

Note: In this chapter, I have tried to develop further some arguments in my earlier studies on Israelite rhetoric in early modern Sweden. In some parts, the text is based on Nils Ekedahl, “‘Guds och Swea barn.’ Religion och nationell identitet i 1700-talets Sverige,” in *Nationalism och nationell identitet i 1700-Talets Sverige*, eds. Åsa Karlsson and Bo Lindberg, *Opuscula Historica Upsaliensia* 27 (Uppsala: Uppsala universitet, 2002).

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Fig. 7.1: The Swedish Bible versions from the seventeenth century were edited on royal command and printed with the king's great coat of arms on the front page. References were frequently made to Sweden as the new Israel, and in the so-called Gustavus Adolphus Bible from 1618, the Latin phrase *Non fecit taliter omni nationi* (He has done this for no other nation), was placed beneath the royal coat of arms. The phrase was taken from Psalm 147 in the Psalter, where it referred to God's covenant with Israel and Jerusalem. In this case, however, it was turned into a confirmation of the elect status of the Swedish people. Copperplate engraving by Vallentin Staffansson Trautman in *Biblia Thet är: All then helgha Scriffte / På Swensko*, Stockholm, 1618.

country.¹ Thus, the foundation was laid for the Lutheran confessional state that Sweden would become during the following century. A hundred years later when Karl XI wanted to demonstrate the unity of his kingdom, the adoption of the Lutheran confession was the historical event he chose to focus upon.²

The rhetorical basis of the centennial provided the idea that Sweden was a people of God on a par with Old Testament Israel, and it appears symbolic that the conferral of academic degrees in Uppsala began with the singing of the hymn “Jerusalem, thou holy city” (*Jerusalem, tu helge stad*).³ The Israelite identification recurs in a short suite of poems written by Bishop Haquin Spegel (1645–1714) and published under the Roman-sounding title *Carmen saeculare*.⁴ Stylistically, the poems imitated Horace’s famous hymn commissioned by Emperor Augustus for the Secular Games in Rome in 17 BC. Their content, however, revolved around Christian themes, and together they repeated a number of key ideas associated with the notion of Sweden as God’s chosen people. The poems may therefore serve as a starting point for some reflections on the importance of the Jerusalem Code in the rhetorical construction of nationhood in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Sweden.

In the first poem, Spegel thanked God for the fact that the Lutheran doctrine had been prevailing in Sweden. Like Horace’s hymn, the poem was founded on a metaphor of light, in this case taken from the account in Josh 10:12–14, telling how God had made the sun stand still in the sky for an entire day to help the warring Israelites against their pagan enemies. A similar, but even more remarkable miracle was, according to Spegel, that God had allowed “the sun of righteousness”, that is Lutheranism, to shine over Sweden without a break for a hundred years: “It is great that the sun brings the day out of the shadows and is born anew and is yet always the same, as the day and the night alternate in their delightful orbit. / Much greater is it that God in honour of Joshua’s victory stopped the sun and moon and doubled the day’s length. / But greatest of all works of God’s goodness is that the sun of righteousness has shone constantly over the North in ten times ten years.”⁵ The message was clear: just as God had protected his chosen people in the Old Testament he was now protecting Lutheran Sweden. The metaphor of light returned in the following stanzas, where

1 Ingun Montgomery, “Uppsala Möte 1593,” *Kyrkohistorisk årsskrift* (1993). For a wider context, see *Värjostånd och lärostånd. Religion och politik i meningsutbytet mellan kungamakt och prästerskap i Sverige 1593–1608*, Studia Historico-Ecclesiastica Upsaliensia (Uppsala: Uppsala universitet, 1971).

2 Nils Ekedahl, *Det svenska Israel. Myt och retorik i Haquin Spegels predikokonst*, Studia Rhetorica Upsaliensia 2 (Hedemora: Gidlunds Förlag, 1999), 32–77.

3 Ekedahl, *Det svenska Israel*, 43.

4 Haquin Spegel, *Samlade skrifter*. 3. *Världsliga dikter*, eds. Bernt Olsson, Barbro Nilsson, and Birgit Neumann, vol. 1 (Stockholm: Svenska Vitterhetssamfundet, 2006), 110–14.

5 *Grande, quod semper nitidum diem Sol/ Promit ex umbris, aliusque & idem/ Nascitur, gratum variante cursum/ Nocte dieque./ Grandius multo, decus in triumpho,/ Quod DEUS Josuae, remoratus orbes/ Solis & Lunae, spatium diei/ Congeminavit./ Sed DEI summus bonitatis actus,/ Usque quod denos decies per annos/ Lucidus Sol justitiae frequenter/ Splenduit Arcto.* Spegel, *Samlade skrifter*, 111.

Spiegel prayed to God that he would continue to let *Verbi radii*, “the sun-rays of the Word”, shed light on the Swedish realm. Only in the light of Scripture – that is, the Lutheran interpretation of the Bible – could the people stick to the truth and disclose the heresies of other Christian denominations.⁶

That the monarch played a central part in the rhetorical construction of Sweden as a Lutheran Israel becomes clear in the next poem, in which Spiegel addressed Karl XI as a divinely appointed guardian of true religion. No direct references were made to the Israelite kings in the Old Testament, but the servile tone of the address reminds us that theocratic ideals were cherished in Sweden at that time.⁷

In the third poem, Spiegel finally turned to his fellow countrymen. They were invited to celebrate that God had proved himself full of grace and had renewed his covenant, but most of all they were reminded of the moral obligations imposed on all Swedes by the Lutheran confession:

Though, the great joy should be mixed with fear
That God won't leave us without punishment and discipline,
If he awaits in vain the light of faith among us
. . . .
Therefore, we should believe that the Lord's threat will come true
That old sinners will certainly be cursed
And that hundred-year-old children will be pushed away from the bosom of God
If they don't grow and thrive by the milk of reason.⁸

According to Spiegel, God's covenant with Sweden meant that all subjects were united in one faith and could listen to the Bible “in lovely freedom”. This was truly worth celebrating, but if the covenant should remain, the people had to live in line with Lutheran teachings, or otherwise punishment and destruction would follow in the same way as it had done for the Israelites in the Old Testament.⁹ The main objective of Spiegel's rhetoric seems to have been to remind his readers that if they

⁶ Ekedahl, *Det svenska Israel*, 35–40.

⁷ Cf. Carl-E. Normann, *Prästerskapet och det karolinska enväldet. Studier över det svenska prästerskapets statsuppfattning under stormaktstidens slutskede*, Samlingar och studier till svenska kyrkans historia 17 (Stockholm: Svenska Kyrkans Diakonistyrelses Bokförlag, 1948); Bo Lindberg, “Teokratisk åskådning och naturrätt,” in *17 Uppsatser i svensk idé- och lärdomshistoria* (Uppsala: Bokförlaget Carmina, 1980).

⁸ *Doch bör then stora Frögd beblandas med en Fruchtan/ At Gud ei lemnar oss förutan Straf och tuchtan/ Om han skal Trones lius fjäängt hos oss förbida . . . Förthenskul bör oss tro thet Herrans hoot wil san- nas/ At gamle Syndare the skola wist förbannas/ Och hundrad åra barn ifrå Guds Sköte drifwas/ Som af Förnufftens Miölk ej wäxa eller trifwas.* Spiegel, *Samlade skrifter*. 3. *Världsliga dikter*, 1: 114.

⁹ The destruction of the Temple was a popular topic in early modern literature that has been studied by Beatrice Grooves, *The Destruction of Jerusalem in Early Modern English Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), see also her article in this volume. For Danish-Norwegian references, see Eivor Andersen Oftestad, “Who can Approach our Jerusalem without Crying?” in this volume, 235–57.

neglected to repent of their sins, they would have no advantage of the covenant but would instead be subject to God's wrath like all other peoples. His poem therefore ended in a sharp, moralizing exhortation.

Taken together, Spegel's poems illustrate some key components of the identification of early modern Sweden as a people of God. The first one is that the Bible is the ultimate source of authority, and the Lutheran confession as the only true interpretation of it. The second is that of confessional belief as *vinculum societatis*, the bond uniting all inhabitants of the realm. Another cornerstone provided the notion of nationally shared religious and moral obligations and the idea of divine retribution, meaning that God promised eternal salvation and temporal patronage as long as the people lived in accordance with his commandments, but punished and chastised the country if they failed to do so. A further component – that became increasingly important throughout the seventeenth century – was the perception of the monarch as *vicarius Dei*, ruling in the name of God like the Israelite judges and kings. Altogether, these components shaped a biblically encoded vision of history that joined past and present in the form of a narrative – or myth – and defined a common destiny for both the individual and the nation.

In my dissertation *Det svenska Israel: Myt och retorik i Haquin Spegels predikokost* (1999), the chief argument was that this identification of Sweden with Old Testament Israel provided a conceptual basis for the entirety Spegel's sermons which justifiably can be regarded as a rhetorical enactment of the Jerusalem code. Most explicitly the identification was expressed in sermons delivered at state occasions like the centennial in 1693, Karl XI's funeral in November 1697, and Karl XII's coronation a few weeks later – events portrayed in accordance with Old Testament precedents. Nonetheless, it is also easily recognizable in other kinds of his preaching, for example homilies made at the funerals of leading public officials and their relatives, as well as his sermons on the Passion of Christ. Since I could demonstrate that the exposition of the myth had many similarities with the rhetoric developed in the political discourse of the time, I suggested that the identification with Israel had broader relevance and should be recognized as a key metaphor of early modern Swedish nationhood.¹⁰

In terms of theory, my interpretation was guided by the concept of “confessionalization” developed by Heinz Schilling and Wolfgang Reinhard in the 1980s. At the time I wrote my dissertation the concept was rarely mentioned in Sweden, and when I made use of it, it was in fact the first time it had been applied in Swedish historiography. As formulated by Schilling, “confessionalization” designates an overarching historical process typical of the early modern era, characterized by the formation of confessional churches, the imposition of social discipline, and the construction of bureaucratic state apparatuses.¹¹ The formation of cultural or national

¹⁰ Ekedahl, *Det svenska Israel*, 18–21, 68–77, 213–23.

¹¹ This concept has been widely employed in German historiography since the 1980s, but in Swedish research the discussion about its relevance and applicability has started only recently. For a general introduction to the concept and its history, see Heinz Schilling, “Confessionalization:

identities was not addressed explicitly from the beginning, but was introduced as a topic of discussion relatively soon thereafter, and in a later work, *Early Modern European Civilization and Its Political and Cultural Dynamism* (2008), Schilling focuses on the question in a way that confirms my conclusions. According to him, Sweden was a country where the Lutheran confession proved vital for the formation of “the collective mentality and national awareness”, from the seventeenth century onwards: “In Sweden, for generations, Reformation and nation were almost inseparable, and Lutheranism became the focal point of inner cohesion and self-assertion, as well as outward independence . . .”. Schilling maintains that the confessionalization process gave rise to “comparatively little friction” in Sweden and contributed decisively to both the building of a strong state and the rise of a shared “cultural and national identity” among the inhabitants.¹²

In general, my interpretation of the Israelite rhetoric has been accepted by the academic community.¹³ Other scholars have added further evidence of the identification, and in their dissertations, Peter Ericsson and Anna Maria Forsberg have analysed the

Historical and Scholarly Perspectives of a Comparative and Interdisciplinary Paradigm,” in *Confessionalization in Europe, 1555–1700. Essays in Honor and Memory of Bodo Nischan*, eds. John M. Headley, Hans J. Hillerbrand, and Anthony J. Papalas (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004).

12 According to Schilling, the collective attitudes of modern Sweden can be understood as a kind of secularized Lutheranism, making the Swedes convinced of moral superiority and giving them a determination to convert the rest of the world to their way of life.

13 See for example Jonas Nordin, *Ett fattigt men fritt folk. Nationell och politisk självbild i Sverige från sen stormaktstid till slutet av frihetstiden* (Stockholm: Brutus Östlings Bokförlag Symposion, 2000), 151–81; Kjell Blücker, *The Church as Nation: A Study in Ecclesiology and Nationhood*, European University Studies. Series XXIII: Theology 697 (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2000), 149, 271; Peter Ericsson, *Stora nordiska kriget förklarar. Karl XII och det ideologiska tilltalet*, Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis. Studia Historica Upsaliensia 202 (Uppsala: Uppsala universitet, 2002), 124–32; Hans Helander, *Neo-Latin Literature in Sweden in the Period 1620–1720: Stylistics, Vocabulary and Characteristic Ideas*, Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis. Studia Latina Upsaliensia 29 (Uppsala: Uppsala universitet, 2004), 408–10; Anna Maria Forsberg, *Att hålla folket på gott humör: informationspridning, krigspropaganda och mobilisering i Sverige 1655–1680* (Stockholm: Acta Universitatis Stockholmiensis, 2005), 78–112; Pasi Ihalainen, *Protestant Nations Redefined: Changing Perceptions of National Identity in the Rhetoric of the English, Dutch and Swedish Public Churches, 1685–1772*, Studies in Medieval and Reformation Traditions: History, Culture, Religion, Ideas 109 (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 146–73, 360–66, 522–34; Bo Lindberg, *Den antika skevheten. Politiska ord och begrepp i det tidig-moderna Sverige*, Filologiskt arkiv 45 (Stockholm: Kungl. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademien, 2006), 129–30; Joachim Östlund, *Lyckolandet. Maktens legitimering i officiell retorik från stormaktstid till demokratins genombrott* (Lund: Sekel Bokförlag, 2007), 47–116; Sylvia Ullberg, “Segern vid Narva – en gudagåva,” in *Gud, konung och undersåtar. Politisk predikan i Sverige under tidigmodern tid*, ed. Peter Ericsson, Opuscula Historica Upsaliensia 35 (Uppsala: Uppsala universitet, 2007); Johan Sundeen, *Andelivets agitator. J.A. Eklund, kristendomen och kulturen*, Ugglan, Minervaserien / Skrifter från Högskolan i Borås (Stockholm: Norma, 2008), 206; Andreas Hellerstedt, *Ödets teater. Ödesföreställningar i Sverige vid 1700-talets början* (Lund: Nordic Academic Press, 2009), 21, 101; David Gudmundsson, *Konfessionell krigsmakt. Predikan och bön i den svenska armén 1611–1721*, Bibliotheca Historico-Ecclesiastica Lundensis 56 (Lund: Universus Academic Press, 2014), 157–61; Elena Dahlberg, *The Voice of a Waning Empire: Selected Latin Poetry of Magnus Rönnow from the*

use of the parallel in ecclesiastical legislation as well as in liturgical texts and royal proclamations.¹⁴ Further instances are mentioned by Hans Helander in *Neo-Latin Literature in Sweden in the Period 1620–1720* (2004), as well as in Pasi Ihalainen’s impressive study, *Protestant Nations Redefined: Changing Perceptions of National Identity in the Rhetoric of the English, Dutch and Swedish Public Churches, 1685–1772* (2005), which offers ample evidence of Israelite rhetoric in eighteenth-century Swedish preaching and makes systematic comparisons with the use of it in England and the Netherlands. Ihalainen clearly demonstrates that biblical parallels were especially long-lasting in Sweden, while they disappeared gradually in the two other countries during that century.¹⁵ In most cases, the historians have interpreted – explicitly or implicitly – the use of the Jerusalem code as a means of ideological propaganda, aiming at securing political control for the state authorities.

Some objections, however, have been made, mainly by Ihalainen and Joachim Östlund. In his dissertation, Östlund studied the legitimation of state power in Swedish prayer day proclamations from the mid-seventeenth century up to modern times. Starting from a point of view inspired by Charles Taylor’s discussion of the early modern period as an era characterized by “social imaginaries” based on natural law, social contract, and the individual, he observes the existence of biblical rhetoric, but finds no clear identification of Sweden with ancient Israel. He argues that “the image of Sweden as a new Israel is not explicitly reflected in the material” and concludes that the Lutheran confession played no central part in the proclamations, which – on the contrary – emphasized the unity of all Christians. In his view, the confessional religion “is hard to place on par with national identity” in respect to seventeenth-century Sweden.¹⁶

Ihalainen’s objections are more specific. Working in the tradition of conceptual history, he has examined the construction of the idea of a Protestant nation during the Enlightenment, and has brought up some issues related to my previous research. He accepts the overall picture and admits that “in Spiegel’s rhetoric, the Swedish Israel truly existed” and, based on numerous examples, he convincingly concludes that the Israel model was used to a greater extent in eighteenth-century Sweden than in other Protestant countries.¹⁷ On some points, however, he questions my conclusions. His first critical issue regards the nature of the relationship

Great Northern War, ed. Elena Dalhberg, trans. Elena Dahlberg, Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis. Studia Latina Upsaliensia 34 (Uppsala: Uppsala University, 2014), 88–93.

¹⁴ Ericsson, *Stora nordiska kriget förklarar*, 91–132; Forssberg, *Att hålla folket på gott humör*, 2005: 97–112.

¹⁵ Ihalainen, *Protestant Nations Redefined*, 146–73. See also Pasi Ihalainen, “Svenska kyrkan och det moderniserade nationella tänkandet 1789–1810,” in *Sjuttonhundratals 2006–2007* (2007), 25–48.

¹⁶ Östlund, *Lyckolandet*, 30–32, 280–81.

¹⁷ Ihalainen, *Protestant Nations Redefined*, 147.

between Sweden and biblical Israel, since he argues that claims of a “direct continuity” from the ancient Jewish to the early modern Swedish nation are difficult to identify. He finds it doubtful to talk about Sweden as a new “chosen nation”, and questions whether it is justified to speak of a formal covenant between God and the Swedes: “It may be an exaggeration to suggest that the history of the Swedish church and state were understood as being part of the history of the chosen people as described in the Bible . . . Claims of direct continuity between the history of the Jewish and Swedish nations are few in eighteenth-century state sermons.”¹⁸ Another point he finds worth considering is whether the Israelite parallels were part of a conscious rhetorical strategy or were simply a kind of traditional phraseology, used in sermons and other types of religious discourse when discussing political matters. According to him, the parallel functioned primarily as a part of the political doctrine of theocracy – at least in the seventeenth century – and much of the references to Old Testament Israel should be understood merely as rhetorical embellishment or traditional means of expression.¹⁹

The critical issues raised by Östlund and Ihalainen are different in nature and emanate from differing historiographical and theoretical assumptions. Nevertheless, I would argue that their interpretations coincide, as they both leave out the hermeneutical and rhetorical code underlying the Israelite language. Certainly, they recognize the existence of biblical parallels in the texts studied, but as the instances observed are registered one by one and read as a kind of conventional phraseology with no further implications, the inner coherence of the identification remains unclear. In this chapter, I will therefore suggest that the Jerusalem code provided a rhetorical basis for the shaping of biblical nationhood in early modern Sweden and that we should understand this code essentially as a variant of the “typological” or “figural” interpretation of the Bible.

As a part of traditional biblical hermeneutics, figural interpretation has often been identified with the custom of establishing historical and narratological correspondences between the Old and the New Testaments. In fact, however, it offered far more than a method for the textual study of the Bible, and in practice it was also believed to be relevant for the interpretation of the history of the Christian church. Throughout the last 80 years, the nature of figural thinking has been much discussed, especially with reference to Early Christian and Medieval exegesis (Leonhard Goppelt, Jean Daniélou, Henri de Lubac) and modern literature and historiography (Erich Auerbach, Northrop Frye, Hayden White).²⁰ It was, however,

¹⁸ Ihalainen, *Protestant Nations Redefined*, 147.

¹⁹ Ihalainen, *Protestant Nations Redefined*, 154.

²⁰ The literature about this hermeneutical tradition is enormous. The names within brackets represent some important major contributions: see Leonhard Goppelt, *Typos: The Typological Interpretation of the Old Testament in the New*, trans. Donald Madwig (Eugene: Wipf & Stock, 2002); Erich Auerbach, “Figura,” in *Scenes from the Drama of European Literature* (Minneapolis, MN: Manchester University Press, 1984), 9: 11–76; Jean Daniélou, *From Shadows to Reality: Studies of the Biblical Typology of the*

also central to Lutheran-Orthodox hermeneutics and homiletics, and my intention here is to exemplify how the efforts to shape a Lutheran nationhood in early modern Sweden were based on the Jerusalem code as a figural mode of representation that turned Old Testament Israel into a prophetic prototype for the nation, and integrated past, present, and future as well as the individual and the society. However, before we delve further into these issues, a short account of the use of the Israelite identification in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Sweden is necessary.

God's People in the North

In my study of Spiegel's sermons the Israelite language was interpreted as a part of the Lutheran rhetoric of confessionalization, reaching a peak in the late seventeenth century. As such, however, the language was older, and the earliest Israelite parallels in Sweden originate from the late Middle Ages. In *Chronica regni Gothorum*, a chronicle of Swedish kings written in the 1470s, Ericus Olai, canon and professor of theology in Uppsala, compared the Swedes' burdens under King Erik of Pommerania with the Israelites' lament in Egypt, and implicitly portrayed Engelbrekt Engelbrektsson, the commander of a Swedish uprising against King Erik, as a new Moses or Judas Maccabaeus.²¹ The parallels were not pursued further, but their presence proves that a perception of Sweden as a nation formed on biblical models was already extant before the Reformation. In this case, the main purpose seems to have been to legitimize a political revolt against a designated tyrant, and most probably the parallels were intended for the domestic political elite. Potentially, however, all inhabitants of the Swedish kingdom were included.

In the subsequent century, the identification was taken up by Gustav Vasa, who – as pointed out by Martin Berntsson in this volume – portrayed himself as a new Moses, delivering the Swedes from Danish rule and restoring national independence. He claimed he was installed by God to defend the true religion, and in contemporary historiography authorized by himself, he was compared with Old Testament personages like Joshua, Gideon, David, and Jehoshaphat. Yet again, biblical parallels were employed in favour of political change, but in this case, they were primarily

Fathers, trans. Wulstan Hibberd (London: Burns & Oates, 1960); Henri de Lubac, *Exégèse médiévale. Les quatre sens de l'écriture*, 4 vols. (Paris: Aubier, 1959–64); Northrop Frye, *The Great Code: The Bible and Literature* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1982); Hayden White, *Figural Realism: Studies in the Mimesis Effect* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999).

²¹ Biörn Tjällén, *Church and Nation: The Discourse on Authority in Ericus Olai's Chronica Regni Gothorum (c. 1471)* (Stockholm: Historiska institutionen, 2007), 103–06. As mentioned in Chapter 8 in this volume (Martin Berntson), political references to the story about Judas Maccabaeus had already been made in early fifteenth-century Sweden, but seemingly without any clear identification of the Swedes with the Israelite people.

aimed at promoting an indigenous upstart ruler, whose regime was dependent on its capacity for gaining political support from the rest of the nobility as well as from the people in general. First and foremost, the purpose was to legitimize the king's power.

The need for vindicating the ruling branch of the Vasa dynasty was still urgent in the early seventeenth century, and it is clearly reflected in the Reformation centennial organized by Gustav II Adolf in 1621. Formally, the purpose was to celebrate the Lutheran Reformation, but as demonstrated by Carl-Axel Aurelius, in reality it was turned into a commemoration of Gustav Vasa's uprising against the Danish king Christian II in 1521, depicting the future king as a Lutheran *Wunderman* parallel to Moses.²² Through this, the Israelite connection was made part of the legitimation of princely power in Sweden, and henceforth the ruling dynasty was portrayed as heirs to Old Testament leaders. At Gustav Adolf's burial in 1634, the clergy was instructed to compare the king's death with that of Judas Maccabaeus, and at the burial of Karl XI in 1697 the model was used again, as the same biblical text (1 Macc 9:20–21) was pointed out as a fitting point of departure for the official sermon extolling the late king as the defender of the true church.²³ The choice of a Jewish rebel leader as model for the official memorial of the Swedish monarchs may appear somewhat odd, but was probably a result of the tradition described above.

The king and the royal family were thus made central to the Israelite identification. At the same time, it is obvious that the people were gradually assigned an important role, and in retrospect the centennial in 1621 symbolizes a turning point in the construction of the biblical nationhood in Sweden. In the celebrations, the focus was certainly on Gustav Vasa, but the importance of national independence was acknowledged, and at the same time the king was glorified as a new Moses, the course of Reformation in Sweden was portrayed as a liberation of the entire people from political as well as religious slavery, parallel to the Exodus in the Bible.²⁴ This meant that the people were made part of the myth and described as a nation, and from this time forth, the inhabitants of the Swedish realm were often paralleled with the Israelites as members of an ethnic community (cf. Fig. 7.1). Early examples can be found in the royal mandate for the centennial, where the Swedes were compared with "God's children" in the Old Testament, as well as in a printed sermon by the royal chaplain Johannes Botvidi, according to which the inhabitants of Sweden henceforth constituted a people of God: "Even you are now God's people, like Israel in old times [. . .] So we are also God's Israel, true Israelites."²⁵

²² Carl Axel Aurelius, "'Sverige, känn dig själv.' En studie av det svenska reformationsjubileet år 1621," *Kyrkohistorisk årsskrift* 87 (1987), 105–08.

²³ Ekedahl, *Det svenska Israel*, 97–109.

²⁴ Aurelius, "'Sverige, känn dig själv,'" 107.

²⁵ *J ären nu äwen så wäl Gudz Folck som Israels Barn på then Tijdhen woro . . . Så äre wij ock Gudz Israel, the rette Israeliter.* Johannes Botvidi, "Tree predikningar, håldne vthi häarfärden ååt Lijfland, anno 1621," (Stockholm: Christoffer Reusner, 1627), 38. See also Yngve Stenermark, "' . . . I

Particularly, Israelite rhetoric was put forward on the annual prayer days (*böndagar*) that were introduced on regular basis in the 1620s.²⁶ On those days, all inhabitants were obliged to attend services in their parish churches, and from the early 1640s, the days were accompanied by printed proclamations issued from the Royal Chancery. The proclamations contained theologically based accounts of the current political situation, and as the clergy was obliged to recite them from the pulpit, they provide a rich source for our understanding of the construction of a Swedish nation in the Jerusalem code. Ongoing political events were interpreted in light of the Old Testament – particularly the prophetic and historical books – and the tone of the message was often harsh and reproaching, reminding the people of their religious and moral duties. Like the Israelites, the inhabitants were obliged to observe God’s commandments, and behind the exhortations to penitence, it is easy to recognize the Old Testament idea of divine retribution (See Fig. 7.2). According to this idea the prosperity of the country was a result of the people’s religious and moral rectitude: as long as the inhabitants proved themselves faithful to Christian piety God would bless the country, but if they deviated from it and gave way to sin and self-sufficiency, he would punish them with disease, famine, and war.²⁷ In this respect, the tone of the proclamations reflects the tendency towards moral exhortation that some scholars have identified as typical of the preaching of this period.²⁸

Typical of the Israelite identification was that it addressed the entire people, and that every inhabitant was spoken to as member of a nation parallel to the chosen people of the Bible. Originally in the Middle Ages, this seems to have referred to the “Swedes” as an ethnic community opposed to a Danish or German king, but in the prayer day proclamations it was applied to the Swedish kingdom as a political body: Swedes, Finns, Germans, Danes, Estonians, Livonians, and residents of other nationalities were all included as “children of Swea” – as far as they accepted the authority of the Swedish monarch and the Lutheran confession of the state, which was highlighted as the uniting bond of society. In doing so, the prayer day-proclamations communicated a vision of a national community, based on collective religious and moral obligations, and rhetorically they remind us of the “prophetic mode” identified by Patrick Collinson in seventeenth-century English preaching: “The invocation and construction of the nation in the prophetic mode ignored in

de därtill förordnade texterna.’ Datum och texter till de allmänna tacksägelse-, faste-, bot- och böndagarna 1621–1983,” *Kyrkohistorisk årsskrift* 97 (1997), 159.

26 The first decades of the seventeenth century seem to have been a period of intensified religious propaganda. On the introduction of prayer days in the Kingdoms of Denmark-Norway, see Andersen Oftestad, “Who Can Approach our Jerusalem without Crying?” in this volume, 251.

27 Cf. Göran Malmstedt, *Helgdagsreduktionen. Övergången från ett medeltida till ett modernt år i Sverige 1500–1800* (Gothenburg: University of Gothenburg 1994), 193–218.

28 Cf. Henrik Ivarsson, *Predikans uppgift. En typologisk undersökning med särskild hänsyn till reformatorisk och pietistisk predikan*, 2nd abbreviated ed. (Lund: Håkan Ohlssons, 1973), 211; and previous literature mentioned there.



Fig. 7.2: The Bible in the vernacular was often used as a symbol of the covenant between God and Sweden. As such, it was believed to illustrate both the blessings following from showing obedience towards God's commandments and the punishments imminent to those neglecting them. This can be seen on the title page of the Bible edition 1655, which was crowned by an opened book quoting Deut 5:1 ("Hear, O Israel, the statutes and judgements which I speak in your ears this day, that ye may learn them, and keep, and do them") and 1 Sam 12:15 ("If ye will not obey the voice of the Lord, but rebel against the commandment of the Lord, then shall the hand of the Lord be against you and your fathers"). Copperplate engraving by Jan van de Velde in *BIBLIA, Thet är: All then Helga Skrift, PÅ SWENSKO*, Stockholm, 1655.

the generality of much of its rhetoric all social and political distinctions, investing an entire and undifferentiated people – England – with a shared moral and religious responsibility”.²⁹ In my view, Collinson’s description is highly relevant in respect to Swedish prayer days, which in the same way shaped an idea of nationhood that included all inhabitants, regardless of social rank or ethnicity. In Swedish research, much work has been devoted to the creation of a “Gothic” national identity during the early modern period, but it is still obvious that the efforts to promote a vision of nationhood on the grounds of the Old Norse literature never reached the same range as the Israelite language. In general, the “Gothic” language was restricted to the nobility and the learned, and even though it was supported by the authorities, the attempts to promote “Gothic” virtues were almost never made relevant to ordinary people and seem to have only occasionally reached beyond the universities and the state bureaucracy.³⁰ The Israelite version of nationhood was, on the other hand, repeatedly communicated to all inhabitants by means of the annual prayer days, and as it described religious and moral duties pertaining to everyone, there is good reason to characterize it as the most powerful trope in creating a national identity capable of including all inhabitants in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Sweden.³¹

During the period of royal absolutism from 1680 to 1719, the identification with Israel was deeply influenced by the prevailing doctrine of theocracy. The Swedish kings were portrayed as monarchs directly appointed by God, and at his burial, Karl XI was depicted as a “Northern Hezekiah” (*Hiskias septentrionalis*) by Archbishop Olaus Swebilius, who expressed the immeasurable sorrow of all “inhabitants of Jerusalem” and “daughters of Zion”.³² Similarly, the poet and military prosecutor Israel Holmström compared Karl XI with King Judah and deplored the loss of “Israel’s defender”.³³ The death of the king was described as a consequence of the people’s disobedience to God, but his wrath seems to have ceased quite soon, since

29 Patrick Collinson, “Biblical Rhetoric: The English Nation and National Sentiment in the Prophetic Mode,” in *Religion and Culture in Renaissance England*, eds. Claire McEachern and Debora Shuger (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 26.

30 See, for example, Gunnar Eriksson, *The Atlantic Vision: Olaus Rudbeck and Baroque Science* (Canton, MA: Science History Publications, 1994); Patrik Hall, *The Social Construction of Nationalism: Sweden as an Example* (Lund: Lund University Press, 1998), 148–69; Johanna Widenberg, *Fäderneslandets antikviteter. Enoterritoriella historiebruk och integrationssträvanden i den svenska statsmaktens antikvariska verksamhet ca 1600–1720*, Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis. Studia Historica Upsaliensia 225 (Uppsala: Uppsala universitet, 2006). Widenberg argues that efforts were made to disseminate the “Gothic” version of nationhood, but these cannot possibly be compared with the systematic propagation of the Israelite model.

31 Cf. Ekedahl, *Det svenska Israel*, 220–23.

32 Ihalainen, *Protestant Nations Redefined*, 152. See also Normann, *Prästerskapet och det karolinska enväldet*, 168–70, 93–225.

33 Israel Holmström, *Samlade dikter. II. Kunglig panegyrik, gravdikter, bröllopsdikter, suppliker, politiska dikter*, edited by Bernt Olsson, Barbro Nilsson, and Mats Malm. Svenska författare: Ny Serie (Stockholm: Svenska Vitterhetssamfundet, 2001), 43–90.

at Karl XII's coronation a few weeks later, another panegyrist described the occasion as a renewal of Sweden's status as God's chosen people, with the young king as a "signet ring" according to Hag 2:24: "Behold, a new covenant the Heavenly King has made / with the daughter Sweden/ that will never be broken".³⁴ The enthronement was depicted as corresponding to the Davidic covenant in the Bible (2 Sam 7), a cornerstone of Jewish messianism, and not surprisingly messianic overtones are noticeable in several panegyrics addressed to the new king.

The glorification of Karl XII continued through the Great Northern War. The king was regularly compared to Israelite warriors, fighting for the true religion, and in a sermon Jesper Swedberg, Bishop of Skara, confidently declared that all Swedes were willing to obey him in the same way as all Israel had obeyed Joshua.³⁵ An extreme example of messianic rhetoric is found in a poem from December 1714, where the king's return from his exile in the Ottoman Empire was paralleled with the coming of Christ at Christmas: "Two Kings at the same time are now approaching Sweden / to cool the heath of anxiety by the dew of grace". King and Christ were described as "each other's self and friend" (*hwars andras jagh och wän*), and in the poem Karl was transformed not only into a national Messiah, but also made identical with Christ.³⁶ For this period, Ihalainen's observation that Israelite rhetoric was largely employed to underpin the doctrine of theocratic monarchy is fully justified.

The scope of the identification was, however, not restricted to the king. As before, the people were included, and while Karl XII was extolled at the level of a demigod, his subjects were portrayed as members of a chosen nation. Biblical parallels were frequently applied throughout the war, which generated a wave of Israelite rhetoric. In the parish churches, the parallel was employed to celebrate victories as well as to explain defeats, and in a sermon delivered on the day of thanksgiving after the battle of Narva in 1700, one preacher compared the Swedes to the Israelites fighting against the Amalekites in Exod 17 and stated that the victory over the Russians confirmed God's protection of his own people, referring to Isa 41:8–9: "But thou, Swedish Israel [. . .] Thou art my servant; I have chosen thee, and not cast thee away."³⁷ Ten years later, in the prayer day proclamation of 1710, issued after the

34 *Ty si! ett nytt Förbund har Himmlens Konung slutet/ Med Dottren Swea-Land/ dät äy ska blifwa brutet.* Jonas Phragmenius, *Den majjestätlige glädie-sohl*, som genom den stormächtigaste Konungs och herres, Konung Carl den Tolfstes... högst-önskelige anträde til regementet, år 1697, den 14 decembris, i Norden, och särdeles öfwer Sweriges Rike och des underliggiande provincier, uppgick (Stockholm: Olaus Enaeus, [1697]), [D]v.

35 Ericsson, *Stora nordiska kriget förklarad*, 131. See also Helander, *Neo-Latin Literature in Sweden in the Period 1620–1720*, 409.

36 *Twå Kungar på en gång til Swerje sig nu nalcka / At med sin nåde-dagg thes ångest-hetta swalcka.* The quotation is taken from Ekedahl, *Det svenska Israel*, 114.

37 *Men tu Swänske Israel [. . .] Tu skalt wara min tienare: ty jag uthkorat tigh/ och bortkastar tigh icke.* Simon Isogaeus, *Med Gudz hielp, en segrande hielte kung Carl then tolfte* (Stockholm: Michael Laurelius, 1701), § LV.

disastrous defeat at Poltava, the Swedish kingdom was compared to Jerusalem laying desolate after the destruction of the Temple: “O Lord, according to all thy righteousness, let thine anger and thy fury be turned away from thy city Jerusalem, thy holy mountain: because for our sins, and for the iniquities of our fathers, Jerusalem and thy people are become a reproach to all that are about us.”³⁸ The adversities were described as divine punishments, due to the unfaithfulness and disobedience of the people, and the listeners were urged to repentance, according to the Old Testament idea of retribution. But the Israelite rhetoric was also employed in order to ensure the listeners of God’s mercy, for instance Swedberg, who in a sermon asked God to rescue the country by putting an end to the war praying: “Convert Your people, the children of Sweden: and stop this bloodstained war. [. . .] Bless Your people, the children of Sweden, and the land You have given us.”³⁹

It is difficult to estimate to what extent this identification was accepted by the local communities. That at least some individuals believed in it, is witnessed by letters and diaries written by Swedish soldiers and prisoners of war in Russia, in which the captivity was portrayed as a divine punishment or trial of faith, the authors compared themselves to the ancient Jews exiled to Babylon.⁴⁰ How far the understanding of the situation was shaped by the theocratic doctrine is exemplified in one diary, where the despair felt by the prisoners when told about the death of the king is described in words taken from the Psalter: “Who will now, next to God, care for us, poor prisoners, or strive for our deliverance and welfare. . . . We sat down in our huts of captivity in this Siberian Babel and wept heartily, thinking about the unfortunate death of our most gracious king, and our Swedish Zion.”⁴¹

The death of Karl XII in 1718 brought an end to the theocratic doctrine as a political ideology. Nonetheless, the identification with Old Testament Israel continued, and Ihalainen has charted the extensive use of it in eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century Sweden, especially in “state-sermons” delivered at important political occasions. In a wider European context, the relevance of biblical parallels declined as the century went on, but in Sweden the Israelite language remained strong and received increased attention during the early years of the reign of Gustav III.⁴² Appellations like “our Swedish Jerusalem” or “Zion of the North” were

38 Ericsson, *Stora nordiska kriget förklarar*, 130. Cf. Dan 9:16.

39 *Omwendt Titt folck Sweriges barn: och stilla thetta blodiga kriget. . . . Welsigna Titt folck Sweriges barn / och landet som Tu oss gifwit hafwer.* Jesper Swedberg, *Sermones censuales. I. En undersätlig beskattnings predikan. II. Sweriges undersåtares andeliga krichshjelp* (Skara: A. Kiellberg, 1712), § 23.

40 Cf. Gudmundsson, *Konfessionell krigsmakt*, 156–61.

41 *Hoo skall näst Gud nu sörja för oss fattige fångar eller sig om vår förlossning och wälfärd bemöda . . . Wi suto i våra fångehyddor i detta ciberiska Babel ock greto hiärteligen, enär wi tänckte uppå vår nådigste konungz olyckelige dödzfall, jämte vårt Swea Zion.* Joachim Mathiae Lyth, *Karolinska krigare berättar. Joachim Mathiae Lyths dagbok* (Stockholm: Rediviva, 1986), 89. Cf. Ps 137:1.

42 Ihalainen, *Protestant Nations Redefined*, 170–73.

frequently used, and in a 1746 sermon, Archbishop Jacob Benzelius explicitly declared that Sweden was “God’s heritage and his people of inheritance” (*Guds arfwedel och Hans egendomsfolk*).⁴³ In 1769, Andreas Forssenius, Bishop of Skara, in a similar way compared the inhabitants of the Swedish kingdom with “the children of Israel” and described the amalgamation of church and state in terms of a “Zion of Sweden”.⁴⁴ Still in 1810, after the loss of Finland to Russia, the dethronement of the ruling dynasty, and the election of a French Marshal as heir to the throne, current political events were interpreted in Israelite terms: “Blessed be the Lord, God of Israel, God of Swea, for he has visited and redeemed his people!”⁴⁵ Even the events that describe the dawn of modern politics in Sweden were thus announced within an Old Testament religious framework.

The identification of state, church, and nation were facilitated by the strong confessional unity in Sweden, where religious, political, and ethnic identities often were intersecting. A good example of these intersections can be found in a prayer day sermon printed in 1759. In this sermon, Abraham Pettersson, vicar in Stockholm and chaplain to the king, summoned his readers to strengthen the national unity by confessing their Lutheran faith, according to 1 Pet 2:17: “Love the brotherhood. Fear God. Honour the emperor.”⁴⁶ Originally, the words had been addressed to the members of the early Christian church, but Pettersson applied them to the subjects of the Swedish king and explained that only the Lutheran confession could unite all inhabitants. Confessional unity was said to be fundamental to the state, and therefore, everyone must belong to “the sole and true God’s church and congregation in the world”. But at the same time, it was fundamental to the national community, and it appears symptomatic that Pettersson declared that a god-fearing person loves “his God-made siblings, his compatriots, more than foreign people” (*sina af Gud gjorda syskon, sina Landsmän mer än utlänningar*). By uniting people in a spiritual community, the Lutheran faith made all inhabitants fellow countrymen, sharing the same religion and national identity. According to Pettersson, being “a child of Swea” automatically meant being “a child of God”.⁴⁷

⁴³ Edvard Leufvén, *Upplysningstidens predikan. I. Frihetstiden* (Stockholm: Svenska Kyrkans Diakonistyrelse, 1926), 30.

⁴⁴ Ihalainen, *Protestant Nations Redefined*, 164.

⁴⁵ Ihalainen, “Svenska kyrkan och det moderniserade nationella tänkandet,” 29. Cf. Luke 1:68.

⁴⁶ The sermon is discussed in Ekedahl, “Guds och Swea barn”, 57–69. A thorough analysis of Pettersson as an exponent of late Lutheran-Orthodox theology, influenced by the pietist movement, is given in Benkt-Erik Benktson, “*Du Herrens Tjänare*.” *En analys av Abraham Petterssons teologiska typ*, *Studia Theologica Lundensia* 28 (Lund: Gleerup, 1968).

⁴⁷ Ekedahl, “Guds och Swea barn”, 62.; Cf. Benktson “*Du Herrens Tjänare*, 191–208. For a broader picture of the discussion in early modern Sweden about the political importance of unity in religion, see Ingmar Brohed, *stat, kyrka, religion. Ett problemkomplex i svensk akademisk undervisning under 1700-talet*, *Skrifter utgivna av Institutet för Rättshistorisk forskning. Serien 1, rättshistoriskt bibliotek 22* (Stockholm: Institutet för rättshistorisk forskning, 1973), 71–187.

In the second half of the century, the Israelite identification seems to have weakened, as the world view became more secularized and the pietist movement put a stronger emphasis on the piety of the individual. The change is reflected in Pettersson's sermons, where "the children of God" were sometimes separated from "the children of Swea", in accordance with the pietist practice of addressing true believers, awakened Christians, and unrepentant sinners as different audiences of preaching.⁴⁸ Hence, in one of his sermons he separated the first category from the latter, and describing "the children of Swea" as consisting mainly of unrepentant sinners, he portrayed "the Children of God" as true believers in the pietist meaning of the word. At the same time that Pettersson was firmly rooted in the theology of Lutheran Orthodoxy and still employed traditional Israelite language, his sermons give evidence of a gradual dissolution of the unity between the national and the religious communities and reflect the decline of the Israelite model of nationhood during the eighteenth century.⁴⁹ As modernization progressed during the following century, the process accelerated, and even though some Swedish scholars and churchmen belonging to the so-called "Young Church Movement" (*ungkyrkorörelsen*) attempted to revive Israelite rhetoric in the first decades of the twentieth century, it had by then lost most of its power as a national metaphor.⁵⁰

Commonplace or Code?

As we have seen, references to Old Testament Israel are frequent in official proclamations, as well as in sermons, orations, and poems from early modern Sweden. The parallels with the ancient Israelites provided a powerful metaphor, and in view of their pervasiveness, it seems justified to regard the parallels as expressions of a biblically encoded vision of Swedish nationhood. But in which ways did they operate in terms of rhetoric, and in which ways can they be related to a wider framework of early modern religion and culture?

According to Östlund and Ihalainen, the Israelite language was essentially a kind of conventional religious phraseology, widely used but of limited social and political significance. As already mentioned, Östlund confirms the abundance of Old

⁴⁸ This method of preaching, sometimes called "orthotomic application", is described in Erik Vikström, *Ortotomisk applikation. Bibelordets tillämpning och delning enligt den konservativa pietismens predikoteori*, Acta Academiae Aboensis. Ser. A, Humaniora 48:2 (Åbo: Åbo Akademi, 1974), with special reference to the early, conservative pietist movement.

⁴⁹ Ekedahl, "'Guds och swea barn,'" 66–69.

⁵⁰ Cf. Steven A. Mitchell and Alf Tergel, "Chosenness, Nationalism, and Young Church Movement: Sweden 1880–1920," in *Many Are Chosen: Divine Election and Western Nationalism*, ed. William R. Hutchison and Hartmut Lehman (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1994); Blücker, *The Church as Nation*; Sundeen, *Andelivets Agitator*, 203–27.

Testament parallels in the prayer day proclamations, but as he finds neither a distinct identification with Israel nor any clear traces of Lutheran confessionalization, he concludes that the parallels played only a marginal part in the construction of Swedish nationhood.⁵¹ His conclusions, however, are hampered by the fact that he pays no attention at all to the biblical pericopes given for preaching in the proclamations, which means that the very reason for disseminating them is neglected.⁵² In addition, he is apparently unfamiliar with the confessional phraseology of the time, and thus textual passages communicating a distinctively Lutheran stance remain unobserved, for example verbal markers like “the pure and unadulterated Word of God” (*Guds rena och oförfälskade ord*), “the light of the Gospel” (*Evangelii ljus*), “the way to salvation” (*salighetens väg*), and “true faith and confidence” (*rätt tro och förtröstan*). When examined more closely, his conclusions appear questionable in more than one respect.⁵³

Ihalainen has adduced a large number of instances that confirm the extensive use of Israelite language in eighteenth-century political preaching – but at the same time, he calls the nature of the identification into question and argues that it is difficult to find evidence of an imagined “direct continuity” between the ancient Israelites and early modern Swedes. Moreover, he claims that the “seriousness” of the identification requires critical examination, since according to him the parallels should be understood as a “commonplace version of a more general early modern way of conceptualizing the nation” rather than a “conscious rhetorical strategy”.⁵⁴ Like Östlund, he tends to consider the Israelite language as a sort of commonplace oratory, consisting of time-honoured clichés of only little practical significance.

In my view, such an interpretation means a drastic underestimation of the rhetorical power of the Israelite model of nationhood, particularly as it obscures the fact that the Old Testament parallels relied on a larger hermeneutical system – the Jerusalem code – that organized the understanding of history as well as of contemporary events. It remains unclear what kind of evidence Ihalainen would find conclusive, but his question seems to be based on the presumption that legitimate claims of a “serious” and “direct” continuity should be based on a manifest act of election or translation, by means of which Sweden was positively designated as a chosen people. This was not, however, the way in which early modern Lutherans imagined divine election to operate, and the main problem is that Ihalainen’s question overlooks the metaphorical character of the Jerusalem code and its origin in the tradition of “typological” or figural

⁵¹ Östlund, *Lyckolandet*, 106, 218.

⁵² The pericopes given for preaching in the prayer day proclamations are listed in Stenermark, “. . . I de därtill förordnade texterna”. The dominance of the Old Testament is striking, and many pericopes clearly invite identification with the ancient Israelites. Cf. Ericsson, *Stora nordiska kriget förklarar*, 91–103.

⁵³ For examples, see Östlund, *Lyckolandet*, 91, 100.

⁵⁴ Ihalainen, *Protestant Nations Redefined*, 147–49.

interpretation. This tradition was still alive within the Protestant churches of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and even though Luther, Melancthon, and other reformers had favoured the literal meaning of the Bible and criticized the fourfold interpretation of Scripture, it offered preachers and writers an influential rhetorical code, applicable not only in deciphering the message of the Bible but also in construing the spiritual meaning of present-day events. This means that the biblical parallels cannot be perceived only as commonplace references to blank clichés, but must be understood as expressions of a code or linguistic framework that structured the understanding of contemporary events.⁵⁵

As such, the tradition of figural interpretation was based on two assumptions: firstly, that God's activity in order to save the world and bring humanity to redemption was consistent throughout history; secondly, that this kind of interpretation refers to historical (or at least allegedly historical) events, persons, and institutions and must be separated from any kind of theological or philosophical allegory.⁵⁶ The latter point has been emphasized by Erich Auerbach, who in a classic article defined *figura* as a relation between two historical situations:

Figural interpretation establishes a connection between two events or persons, the first of which signifies not only itself but also the second, while the second encompasses or fulfills the first. The two poles of the figure are separate in time, but both, being real events or figures, are within time, within the stream of historical life.⁵⁷

Fundamental to the interpretation is that it concerned temporal events as testimonies of God's *oikonomia* or "economy" of salvation. This economy was believed to be following a timeless pattern that repeated itself from generation to generation, but – as pointed out by Auerbach – since it was hidden and mysterious, interpretation became

⁵⁵ Kevin Killeen, "Veiled Speech: Preaching, Politics and Scriptural Typology," in *The Oxford Handbook of Early Modern Preaching*, eds. Peter McCullough, Hugh Adlington, and Emma Rhatigan (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 401. The ubiquity of figural thinking in the early modern period has been demonstrated by many scholars. For a few examples, see Steven N. Zwicker, *Dryden's Political Poetry: The Typology of King and Nation* (Providence: Brown University Press, 1972); Joseph. A. Galdon, *Typology and Seventeenth-Century Literature*, De Proprietatibus Litterarum. Series Maior (The Hague: Mouton, 1975); Earl Miner, ed., *Literary Uses of Typology from the Late Middle Ages to the Present* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1977); Paul J. Korshin, *Typologies in England, 1650–1820* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982); Valborg Lindgärde, *Jesu Christi Pijnos Historia rijmwijs betrachtad. Svenska passionsdikter under 1600- och 1700-talet* (Lund: Lund University Press, 1996); Mary Morrissey, "Elect Nations and Prophetic Preaching: Types and Examples in the Paul's Cross Jeremiad," in *The English Sermon Revised: Religion, Literature and History 1600–1750*, eds. Lori Anne Ferrell and Peter E. McCullough (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000); Kevin Killeen, *The Political Bible in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017).

⁵⁶ Cf. David L. Baker, *Two Testaments, One Bible: A Study of the Theological Relationship between the Old and New Testaments* (Leicester: Apollos, 1991), 267.

⁵⁷ Auerbach, "Figura," 53.

necessary, and in order to clarify the ways in which God was working in the mundane world, historic parallels or “typologies” were pinpointed that made it possible to understand the course of events and to discern the deeper meaning of history. In its most basic form, the method meant that correspondences were established between the Old and New Testaments, where the stories of the former were read as adumbrations or “prefigurations” of the latter, which in turn were supposed to complete or “fulfill” the meaning of the former, as for example when Christ was portrayed as a second Adam and when his death and resurrection was paralleled with the Israelites’ exodus from Egypt.⁵⁸

Sometimes figural interpretation has been identified exclusively with the establishment of “typologies” within the Bible, especially as connections between “types” and “antitypes” are already pointed out in the New Testament.⁵⁹ In principle, however, it represented a way of understanding human existence rather than a technique for textual analysis, and as has been demonstrated by many scholars, it was soon applied to the history of the Christian church. Temporal events were believed to bear witness to God’s providential care for his chosen people, and in contrast to other ancient mythologies, the Bible depicted a *mythos* still unfolding in time. According to Northrop Frye, a characteristic feature of the figural interpretation – or “typology” – was that the meaning of history was believed to reveal itself diachronically: “Typology is a figure of speech that moves in time: the type exists in the past and the antitype in the present, or the type exists in the present and the antitype in the future. What typology really is as a mode of thought, what it both assumes and leads to, is a theory of history, or more accurately of historical process.”⁶⁰

The main key to the understanding of history provided the story of Christ, which was believed to have fulfilled the Old Covenant and revealed the true essence of salvation. Nonetheless, when it came to the era of the Christian church and the life within the new dispensation, the pattern was often taken from the accounts of the Israelite people of the old dispensation, whose experiences were supposed to make latter-day Christians able to recognize the spiritual forces at work in human affairs of their own lifetime. The Old Testament narratives were believed to be relevant to all times, and in the fortunes of the Israelites, the blessings following from faithfulness to God were made plain along with the punishments that were the

58 In Anglo-American research, “typology” has frequently been taken to denote the tradition of figural interpretation in its entirety. However, in Lutheran-Orthodox hermeneutics, *typologia* referred specifically to historical parallels within the Bible, as a part of the *sensus literalis*, whereas figural interpretation was considered as being a kind of spiritual reading, expounding the *sensus mysticus* of the Scriptures. Cf. Goppelt, *Typos*, 6–7 and Bengt Hägglund, *Die Heilige Schrift und ihre deutung in der Theologie Johann Gerhards. Eine Untersuchung über das alllutherische Schriftverständnis* (Lund: Gleerup, 1951), 229–36.

59 Cf. Goppelt, *Typos*, 61–205.

60 Frye, *The Great Code*, 80–81.

inevitable consequence of infidelity and disobedience. As a hermeneutical tool working “vertically” through time, the figural mode turned the Jerusalem code into a cornerstone of Christian understanding of sacred history.

Employed in this way, the Jerusalem code presented a dramatized vision of history, presenting a “storyworld” offering a set of typical roles and situations, and to the two principles already mentioned, I would like to add that God’s providential care was imagined to be fathomable only in the form of a narrative, unfolding in time. The moral and spiritual lessons following from the Old Testament were not theoretical or philosophical in nature, but embedded in narrative structures that visualized God’s guidance of the world.⁶¹ In the scholarly debate in Sweden, this poetic or mythic character of the Jerusalem code has been noted by Carl-Axel Aurelius, who has called attention to the doctrine of providence as a tacit presupposition underlying the Old Testament dominance in seventeenth-century preaching. Characteristic of this doctrine was that the ways in which God’s providential care was operating were believed to be revealed in the stories of the Israelites: “The Old Testament was in the first place regarded, not as a book of laws but as a book of history, God’s history with the people of Israel – and with any people. As such it tells about God’s providence, and this article [of faith] seems to be one of the self-evident presuppositions of the seventeenth century.”⁶² In the accounts of the Israelites, early modern readers could study divine providence at work, guiding and supporting his chosen people, but also disciplining and punishing them when deviating from the covenant. At the same time as the stories provided a narrative structure to which contemporary events could be compared, present-day situations were transposed into a biblical setting that favoured certain attitudes and practices.

A feature of seventeenth-century Lutheran preaching that has often been commented on, is the recurrent criticism of the listeners’ religious and moral behaviour, as well as the description of war, famine, and disease as self-inflicted divine punishments, due to the people’s lack of faith and unwillingness to follow God’s commandments.⁶³ This can easily be applied to the prayer day proclamations and other Swedish texts relating to the Jerusalem code, which regularly portrayed the moral standard of the Swedes in dark colours and contained sharp exhortations to repentance

61 This narrative character has been underlined by Frye, who has described the plot of the Bible as a series of promises, disasters, and deliverances, started by the fall of man and leading through history to the restoration of the heavenly Jerusalem. Frye, *The Great Code*, 169–98.

62 Aurelius, “‘Sverige, känn dig själv,’” 117.

63 See, for example, Ingvar Kalm, *Studier i svensk predikan under 1600-talets första hälft med särskild hänsyn till Gamla Testamentets ställning* (Stockholm: Svenska Kyrkans Diakonistyrelses Bokförlag, 1948), 80–99; Ivarsson, *Predikans uppgift*, 140–52; Aurelius, “‘Sverige, känn dig själv,’” 110–15; Peter Ericsson *Opuscula Historica Upsaliensia* 35, “Det välsignade konunga regemente. Johannes Rudbeckius och makten,” in *Gud, konung och undersåtar. Politisk predikan i Sverige under tidigmodern tid*, ed. Peter Ericsson (Uppsala: Uppsala Universitet, 2007), 82–91, 129–34. For Danish-Norwegian examples, see Eivor Andersen Oftestad’s article in this volume, 235–57.

and conversion. Being “watchmen on the walls of Zion”, the clergy were supposed to remind the inhabitants of their responsibility as members of a chosen nation, and rhetorically, the moralizing appeals can be perceived as a Lutheran parallel to the *sensus moralis* in medieval exegesis and homiletics.

In some cases, the harshness of the Israelite rhetoric has led scholars to characterize it as “negative” and aimed at “producing sinners”, that is promoting social discipline by instilling a feeling of inherent sinfulness among the listeners. It has also been argued that “the basic sinfulness of the people” constituted an “absolutist idea” principally opposed to any “positive national identity”.⁶⁴ This is not, however, a necessary conclusion. The moralizing appeal of the proclamations and sermons had nothing to do with absolutism or theocracy as political doctrines, nor is it self-evident that the national identity was strengthened only by “positive” models, reassuring the audience of their superiority to others and confirming success. On the contrary, there are many examples of the opposite, and in the case of early modern Sweden it is equally justified to argue that the Israelite language created a sense of shared destiny and a feeling of community in suffering, by reminding every listener of his or her religious responsibility for the well-being of the people. It is also noteworthy that these moralizing appeals were particularly employed in times of adversity or crisis, apparently in order to explain the hardships confronting the people and to assure the listeners that there was still a possibility of redemption by conversion and faith in God’s promises.⁶⁵ This clearly demonstrates that the moralizing rhetoric of many texts cannot be taken solely as efforts to inculcate societal discipline, but that it was also aimed at propagating a shared identity among the listeners.

It is against the background outlined above that I suggest we should understand the Israelite version of early modern Swedish nationhood. Based on the biblical accounts of the Israelite people, the Jerusalem code offered what Kevin Killeen has called “a primary discursive language of political thought” that was both coherent and flexible and able to be employed in different settings and for differing purposes.⁶⁶ The understanding of the present situation was modelled upon the Old Testament “storyworld”, which offered a narrative structure to which the fortunes of the country could be compared and a set of role models, ranging from the king and those in power to the humblest peasant. As a rhetorical tool, the code made it

⁶⁴ Forssberg, *Att hålla folket på gott humör*, 99; Ericsson, *Stora nordiska kriget förklarar*, 90; Ihalainen, *Protestant Nations Redefined*, 153.

⁶⁵ Cf. Forssberg, *Att hålla folket på gott humör*, 97–99.

⁶⁶ Killeen emphasizes that the Bible, and the Old Testament in particular, offered a “scriptural lens”, by which questions about politics, statehood, and nationhood were transposed into an Israelite setting, making what is here called the Jerusalem code the “normative medium of commentary on contemporary events”, Killeen, “Veiled Speech,” 388. For a further discussion, see Kevin Killeen, *The Political Bible in Early Modern England*. Cambridge Studies in Early Modern British History (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017).

possible to situate early modern Sweden within sacred history and invest contemporary political events with a deeper meaning. In Antiquity, the Israelite model of nationhood had been related to the universal Christian church, but already in the Middle Ages it was used – as demonstrated by Adrian Hastings – to identify national communities, and when autocephalous Protestant state churches emerged in Europe after the Reformation, the model was applied not only to them, but by implication also to the states to which they belonged. During the early modern era this practice became widely employed in Europe, particularly in Protestant countries like England and the Netherlands, but sometimes also in Catholic countries, for example in Austria during the reign of Emperor Leopold I.⁶⁷ The close connection to the state was particularly strong in early modern Sweden, where the relationships between state, church, and nation were inextricably intertwined throughout the period.

A Spiritual Israel

As pointed out by many scholars, the figural mode represented a flexible and multifaceted strategy of reading the Bible and interpreting history. Typically, however, this understanding was metaphorical rather than literal in nature, referring to the “spirit” rather than to the “flesh”, and concluding what previously has been said in this chapter, I want to return finally to Ihalainen’s wish for clearer evidence of a “direct” and “serious” continuity between early modern Sweden and the Old Testament Israelites.⁶⁸

As already mentioned, Ihalainen takes for granted that any kind of “direct” and “serious” continuity must be founded in some positive act of election or translation that manifestly designated the Swedes as God’s new chosen people in singular. In early modern millennialism there certainly existed notions of such an election, for example when the Puritans in New England claimed that they were a new nation elect and when Swedish Karl XI was assigned the role of a chosen king by a prophet named Eva Margareta Frölich and was supposed to inaugurate the thousand-year kingdom of Christ on Earth.⁶⁹ There were also the widespread notions of *translatio imperii* and *translatio studii*, according to which a certain power or body of knowledge had been handed over from one people or country to another throughout history, thereby investing specific churches, countries, or rulers with special

⁶⁷ Cf. Adrian Hastings, *The Construction of Nationhood: Ethnicity, Religion and Nationalism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 195–96.

⁶⁸ Killeen, “Veiled Speech,” 389.

⁶⁹ Frölich’s life and prophecies are described in Bo Andersson, “Eva Margaretha Frölich. Nationell eskatologi och profetisk auktoritet,” *Kyrkohistorisk årsskrift* 91 (1991): 57–81.

authority.⁷⁰ Characteristic of all these notions was that history was supposed to be linear, consisting of a series of divine elections or transfers of chosenness that had taken place consecutively and established a genealogical continuity “horizontally” over time.⁷¹ This way of construing a historical continuity must, however, be clearly separated from the tradition of figural interpretation described above, which instead operated “vertically”, by establishing connections to God’s mysterious plan or *oikonomia* of salvation throughout history. Rather than presuming any kind of linear continuity, the figural mode was based on a direct observation of resemblances between historical events, which were connected to each other regardless of causal circumstances. From this follows that Ihalainen – by postulating what seems to be an almost supersessionist idea of a positive act of divine election or translation that supersedes earlier elections as a necessary condition for a “serious” identification – blinds himself to the way in which the imagined continuity between Old Testament Israel and the states of early modern Europe were actually established.

In Lutheran theology, the figural interpretation was part of the *sensus mysticus* of the Scripture and, as observed by Auerbach, the figural connections identified were supposed to be “spiritual” and results of an interpretive act founded in faith.⁷² Typical of the *figura* was that two or more historical situations were related to each other immediately over time, with no interceding instances, and rhetorically it worked like a metaphor, bringing separate entities together on the ground of some shared quality.

A good illustration of this metaphorical character of the *figura* is the poem by Spegel quoted in the introduction of this chapter, where the ruling position of the Lutheran confession in seventeenth-century Sweden was compared to the superiority of the sun among the heavenly bodies as well as with God’s assistance to the ancient Israelites by making the sun stand still in the sky for an entire day. Together the three stanzas form the figure of a rhetorical *incrementum*, and whereas the natural sun is referring to the level of creation, the halting of the sun in the sky refers to the old dispensation, and both examples together are portrayed as pointing forward to the “sun of righteousness” shining over Lutheran Sweden as the fulfilment of God’s promises of his providential care for his people. The relationship between the three instances illustrates the metaphorical character of the figural interpretation and demonstrates the spiritual nature of Sweden’s position as a new Israel: the continuity between the two nations was not imagined to be the result of any “horizontal” translation, but was established “vertically” throughout history on the basis of a spiritual or “mystical” resemblance grounded in God’s *oikonomia* of salvation.

⁷⁰ In line with this is also *translatio templi*, discussed in Eivor Andersen Oftestads article *Translatio Templi*, in volume 1 of this series, 49–55.

⁷¹ See, for example, Raphael Falco, *Cultural Genealogy: An Essay on Early Modern Myth* (London: Routledge, 2017).

⁷² Auerbach, “Figura,” 53–60. About *sensus mysticus* and *figura*, see Häggglund, *Die heilige schrift und ihre deutung*, 229–41.

Another example that illustrates the spiritual and metaphorical nature of the *figura* can be found in the sermon by Johannes Botvidi, mentioned previously, in which Sweden was identified as a new Israel: having declared that the Swedes had become “true Israelites”, Botvidi immediately reminded his listeners that this designation was to be understood “not according to the flesh, but according to the promise” (*icke effter Kötet, uthan effter Löfftet*). The Swedes were truly Israelites, but spiritually, according to their Lutheran faith rather than according to descent or ethnicity.⁷³ In a similar way, another preacher reassured his listeners that God’s promises of protection and salvation in the Old Testament were still binding to the Swedes living in the new dispensation (*wij i thet Nya Testamentet*), but emphasized that they should be understood as spiritual and figural in character.⁷⁴

The metaphorical nature of the figural identification is also evident with respect to the question of whether there was or was not a belief in a national covenant with God in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Sweden. In his study, Ihalainen rejects the existence of such a concept, arguing that there is only scarce evidence of “covenant theology” in Swedish state sermons from the eighteenth century and that most passages mentioning a covenant in fact allude to the spiritual bond formed in baptism between God and the individual Christian.⁷⁵ His observations are certainly correct, and it is worth noting that it is difficult to find references to covenant theology in seventeenth-century Swedish preaching: the references observed by Östlund in the prayer day proclamations reminding the listeners to “return to covenant, grace and friendship with God” and “remain in the covenant of grace established with God” also reflect the Lutheran doctrine of baptism as a *foedus gratiae*.⁷⁶ Ihalainen’s position may thus appear strong. Nonetheless, I would argue that there is good reason to insist on the existence of a figural identification with the covenant between God and Israel in the Old Testament. One reason is the fact that a national covenant is actually mentioned, sometimes – as noted by Anna Maria Forssberg – in the prayer day proclamations, but most frequently in panegyric poems and orations, like Spiegel’s poem mentioned in the introduction of this chapter, as well as in the 1697 oration where Karl XII’s accession to the throne was portrayed as a latter-day parallel to the Davidic covenant in 2 Sam 7.⁷⁷ Also noteworthy is the fact that the calls to conversion addressed to all inhabitants of the Swedish kingdom on the prayer days turned the individuals’ baptismal covenants into a collective, national one.

This evidence must not, however, be taken to imply that Spiegel or anyone else in a leading position really believed in an actual covenant between God and Sweden, or in some kind of divine predilection for the Swedish nation as such. The

⁷³ Botvidi, “Tree predikningar,” 38. Cf. Gudmundsson, *Konfessionell krigsmakt*, 156.

⁷⁴ Ullberg, “Segern vid Narva – en gudagåva,” 177, 189–92.

⁷⁵ Ihalainen, *Protestant Nations Redefined*, 154.

⁷⁶ Cf. Östlund, *Lyckolandet*, 105.

⁷⁷ Forssberg, *Att hålla folket på gott humör*, 97–98.

nature of the national covenant was figural, and rather than founded in any manifest act or theological doctrine it was metaphorical: rhetorically it functioned like a figure of thought, moving in time as noted by Northrop Frye and identifying Sweden as a spiritual realization of God's promises to the faithful in the Bible. When Spegel portrayed the jubilee in 1693 as the renewal of a national covenant concluded by the adoption of the *Confessio Augustana* a hundred years earlier, he certainly did not imply that the decision of Uppsala the assembly was to be understood as a positive act of divine election what he actually suggested, was that Sweden's commitment to the Lutheran faith should be interpreted as a spiritual "fulfilment" of God's covenant with Israel on Mount Sinai, with the Christian Bible as correlate to the Mosaic Law, obligating the inhabitants to identify themselves as Lutherans.

On this point, it is worth observing that the identification with Old Testament Israel seems to have been primarily intended for domestic use, to promote a Lutheran identity among the subjects of the Swedish realm. Claims of a unique national destiny are rare, and the references to the Old Testament appear to have been employed neither to propagate contempt for other confessions or nations, nor to suggest that the Swedish people were the only object of God's predilection. This fact should be noted, as we have seen it was possible for several countries – for example Sweden, England, and the Netherlands – to simultaneously identify themselves as peoples of God. The identification certainly meant that one's own country was given a special position, but it was seldom used in order to claim a solitary chosenness or to exclude other states or nations from the Christian community, and it was fully possible to identify one's own country with the biblical Israel without necessarily questioning others' Christian belief or confessional identity.⁷⁸ In his study, Östlund has argued that the recurrent argumentation in the prayer day proclamations in favour of Christian unity in Europe proves that confessional religion was irrelevant to early modern Swedish nationhood.⁷⁹ In light of what has been said about the tradition of figural interpretation it is, however, clear that this is a precipitous conclusion. In the figural mode, people were believed to be able to maintain several levels of religious loyalty (Lutheran, Protestant, Christian), and the identification of one own's country as an elect nation seems generally to have been fully compatible with identifying it as a part of a larger, universal Christian community.

Typical of the Israelite language was thus that several identifications could be appropriated simultaneously, and the fact that Sweden was depicted as Lutheran nation protected by God must not be taken to imply that other nations were believed to be abandoned by God or denied the possibility of recognizing themselves

⁷⁸ Killeen has noted that the Israelite identification in seventeenth-century England was normally imagined to be contingent, without claims to exclusiveness. Killeen, "Veiled Speech," 394.

⁷⁹ Östlund, *Lyckolandet*, 101–03.

as chosen peoples. That God's election had been removed from the Jews and transferred to the Christians was usually considered as a given fact, and at Haquin Spegel's funeral in Uppsala in 1714, the congregation was told that the Swedes had been "coopted" by God "out of sheer love", in the place of the "disobedient" and "obstinate" Jewish nation.⁸⁰ Sometimes the adversaries of the Swedish realm were also compared to the enemies of Old Testament Israel, as for instance in 1623, when the Habsburg empire was paralleled with heathen Babylon, and in 1701, when the attacking Russians were equated with the Egyptians and Amalekites.⁸¹ But on the whole, these kind of parallels are remarkably few, and in general the wars with neighbouring states were portrayed as divine punishments due to the Swedes' religious laxity, rather than godly sanctioned campaigns to conquer foreign nations or raise feelings of national self-esteem. The claims to chosenness were spiritual and figural, and rather than being *the* new Israel, replacing other nations or denominations, Sweden was identified as *another* people of God, equivalent to the ancient Israelites.

⁸⁰ Helander, *Neo-Latin Literature in Sweden in the Period 1620–1720*, 410–11.

⁸¹ Cf. Erik Ringmar, *Identity, Interest and Action: A Cultural Explanation of Sweden's Intervention in the Thirty Years War*, Cambridge Cultural Studies (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996); Forssberg, *Att hålla folket på gott humör*, 90–112; Ullberg, "Segern vid Narva – en gudagåva".

Martin Berntson

Chapter 8

“Our Swedish Moses and Saviour”: The Use of Biblical Leaders as Power Legitimization in Reformation Sweden

The Vasa-regime that seized royal power in the kingdom of Sweden during the early sixteenth century was in urgent need of a power legitimization that could both correspond to well-known traditional symbols and narratives but also at the same time legitimize the new regime and its adherence to the Lutheran Reformation. The use of Old Testament kings and leaders such as David, Jehoshaphat, Joseph, and Moses could thereby function as typologies relating to the Jerusalem Code. However, through relating these Old Testament kings with their responsibility for the peoples’ spiritual needs and with their distinctive biblical foundation, the Jerusalem Code was transformed and adjusted to early modern Lutheran political culture, emphasizing the king’s responsibility for the Church and for the people’s spiritual well-being and the lack of biblical foundation for the Catholic sacramental culture (for example, mass in Latin, pilgrimage, and the use of sacramentals). It could also be argued that the frequent use of figures such as Moses and Joseph was a significant part of the Jerusalem Code in Sweden, signifying both the importance of humility and God’s providence in the secular government.

Introduction

In the kingdom of Sweden the introduction of the Reformation coincided with a national political revolution. The process towards establishing a national Protestant church was to a large extent governed by the political and economic needs of King Gustav Vasa (r. 1523–60) whose regime marked Sweden’s leave-taking from the

Note: This article has been presented as a paper at the Sixteenth Century Society Conference in Bruges in August 2016 and it has also been discussed at a workshop at the Norwegian School of Theology in Oslo in September 2017. I would like to thank all those involved on these occasions for important comments that significantly improved the text.

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Fig. 8.1: King Gustav Vasa of Sweden with a ceremonial sword, symbolizing the king's responsibility to defend the law of God (*Lex Dei*) and the Swedish law (*Lex Svedsiae*). The picture is painted in a law codex at the National Library of Sweden.

Nordic union that had existed since 1397. During his reign there was established both an independent and hereditary kingdom and a nationalization of the church which, even though it never became formally confessionalized during his reign, still was politically, economically, and legally subordinated to and in many ways integrated with secular power. Furthermore, a theological power legitimization was important for Gustav Vasa whose newly established regime was continuously being questioned from powers both inside and outside the nation. With this regime as well as in many other European kingdoms, the Reformation functioned as a way to legitimize governmental power. A common assumption is that the governments' administrative expansion during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was enabled through the fact that the church, both in Catholic and Protestant countries, was reduced.¹ It has even been claimed that the confessionalization process gave rise to a “sacralization” of the king's persona.² However, in relation to this perspective it could be held that even before the Reformation, the secular power was in need of divine sanction. In medieval Europe we find that the king had an almost sacral role and was regarded as more than a human being.³ To be a king of “God's grace” was

1 See Börje Harnesk, “Inledning,” in *Maktens skiftande skepnader. Studier i makt, legitimitet och inflytande i det tidigmoderna Sverige*, ed. Börje Harnesk (Umeå: Institutionen för historiska studier, Umeå Universitet, 2003), 9; Paul Kléber Monod, *The Power of Kings: Monarchy and Religion in Europe, 1589–1715* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999), 7.

2 See Heinz Schilling, “The Reformation and the Rise of the Early Modern State,” in *Luther and the Modern State in Germany*, ed. James D. Tracy (Kirksville: Sixteenth Century Journal Publications, 1986), 26–27; “Confessional Europe,” in *Handbook of European History 1400–1600: Late Middle Ages, Renaissance and Reformation*, eds. Thomas A. Brady Jr., Heiko A. Oberman, and James D. Tracy (Leiden: Brill, 1995), 656–58.

3 See for example Ernst H. Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies: A Study in Mediaeval Political Theology* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1957). In the study of early modern political culture in Sweden, it has become common to focus on questions regarding power legitimization related to royal power. Here many of the impulses come from cultural history and related research traditions, see for example Marc Bloch, *The Royal Touch: Sacred Monarchy and Scrofula in England and France* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1973); Allan Ellenius (ed), *Iconography, Propaganda, and Legitimation* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998); Clifford Geertz, “Centers, Kings and Charisma: Reflections on the Symbolics of Power,” in *Rites of Power: Symbolism, Ritual and Politics since the Middle Ages*, ed. Sean Wilentz (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1985); Monod, *The Power of Kings: Monarchy and Religion in Europe, 1589–1715*; see also the introduction to this research field in Mikael Alm, *Kungsord i elfte timmen. Språk och självbild i det gustavianska enväldets legitimitetskamp 1772–1809* (Stockholm: Atlantis, 2002), 21–24. On Early Modern royal propaganda, see Alm, *Kungsord i elfte timmen*. 21–24. Peter Ericsson, *Stora nordiska kriget förklarar. Karl XII och det ideologiska tilltalet*, Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis. Studia Historica Upsaliensia (Uppsala: Uppsala Universitet, 2002); Malin Grundberg, *Ceremoniernas makt: Maktöverföring och genus i Vasatidens kungliga ceremonier* (Lund: Nordic Academic Press, 2005); Cecilia Nordberg, “Guds ställföreträdare förmedlad. Kungens i kröningspredikan från Gustav I till Karl XIV Johan”, in *Gud, konung och undersåtar. Politisk predikan i Sverige under tidigmodern tid*, ed. Peter Ericsson, Opuscula Historica Upsaliensia (Uppsala: Historiska institutionen, Uppsala Universitet, 2007), Fredrik Söoberg, “Karl X

rather the starting point for medieval royal power, and this was also why the coronation was important.⁴

Furthermore, it is not probable that a new regime, like that of Gustav Vasa, would use a completely new way of legitimizing its authority. In discussions on power legitimization it is emphasized, that in order to gain credibility as a ruler, you are more or less obliged to relate to established norms, symbols, and rules of conduct. A sole individual cannot breach this gathering of symbols in a culture or transform them without being left out of this culture. If a ruler does this, he will lose his power or at least expose it to severe trials. Instead, a connection to well-known symbols can be used to gain power.⁵

In this article it will be argued that during the early Vasa dynasty, we find a recurrent narrative related to Old Testament leaders, such as Moses, Joseph, and David, who all serve as typologies for a leadership where power struggles and sometimes also suffering serve as expressions of God's providence which ultimately aims to deliver the people, either from evil enemies such as Danish kings or from the Catholic church.

However, this narrative was not introduced by Gustav Vasa into Swedish political culture. In Ericus Olai's *Chronica regni Gothorum* (c. 1471) the author uses biblical narratives as a way both to legitimize and to de-legitimize Nordic regents. In the chronicle, most of the Danish union kings are likened with the Philistines or with the Babylonian king Nebuchadnezzar and his evil commander Holofernes whom we meet in the Book of Judith. The author also compares the Swedish leader Engelbrekt's rebellion against the union of King Eric of Pommerania (1382–1459) in the 1430s with the Jewish rising against the Seleucid Empire as related in the books of the Maccabees. Furthermore,

Gustavs kröning. Legitimering av kungamakten via det religiösa budskapet,” in *Gud, konung och undersåtar. Politisk predikan i Sverige under tidigmodern tid*, ed. Peter Ericsson, Opuscula Historica Upsaliensia (Uppsala: Historiska institutionen, Uppsala Universitet, 2007). concerning the power legitimization found in the ideology production that actors like the clergy through their preaching could provide see for example Ericsson, *Stora nordiska kriget förklarar*, 73–132; on the church as an ideological supply for the government, see also Tobias Wirén, “Ideologins apparatur: Reproduktionsperspektiv på kyrka och skola i 1600- och 1700-talens Sverige” (Institutionen för historiska studier, Umeå Universitet, 2006).

⁴ See Martin Berntson, *Mässan och amborstet. Uppror och reformation i Sverige 1525–1545* (Skellefteå: Artos, 2010), 363.

⁵ David I. Kertzer, *Ritual, Politics, and Power* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988), 4–5; Mats Hallenberg, “Kungen, kronan eller staten? Makt och legitimitet I Gustav Vasas propaganda,” in *Maktens Skiftande skepnader. Studier i makt, legitimitet och inflytande i det tidigmoderna Sverige*, ed. Börje Harnesk (Umeå: Institutionen för historiska studier, Umeå Universitet, 2003), 22–23; see also David Beetham, *The Legitimation of Power: Issues in Political Theory* (Basingstoke: MacMillan, 1991).

Ericus Olai also compares the upheaval against Eric of Pommerania with God’s intervention when he heard the complaints of the Israelites in Egypt.⁶ In accordance with this typology, in his struggle against the Nordic union, Engelbrekt is indirectly depicted as a new Moses, as someone chosen by God to deliver the people from oppression. According to Biörn Tjällén this biblical narrative, that is the use of Moses and the Maccabees, was used to legitimize the uprising against the Union king.⁷ As in biblical times, a righteous rebellion was performed against a tyrant who oppressed the people. However, this was not only a legitimization but also an illustration of God’s providence. Engelbrekt’s successful rebellion was interpreted as an expression of divine intervention, as a part of God’s plan for the Swedish kingdom.⁸ Nonetheless, it should also be emphasized that even outside Sweden during the late medieval period Moses was used as a typology for kings. According to the coronation ceremony in *Pontificale Romanum* the bishop prayed for the king to be loyal like Abraham, gentle like Moses, fortified like Joshua, humble like David, and wise like Solomon.⁹

With regard to this use of Old Testament kings and leaders such as Moses and David as ideals or role models for contemporary kings in the benedictions during the coronations or in late medieval propaganda (such as in Engelbrekt’s rebellion) it can be argued that such ideals were part of a Jerusalem Code that was familiar in the political culture of the sixteenth century. As will be argued, during the Reformation it became possible to enforce this kind of typologies. As a presumption for thus study, I suggest that these narratives were expected to be well known among the recipients of royal propaganda and that there existed a common assumption, that this Jerusalem Code, in this case the description of righteous (and sometimes also non-righteous)

6 Biörn Tjällén, *Church and Nation: The Discourse on Authority in Ericus Olai’s Chronica Regni Gothorum (c.1471)* (Stockholm: Historiska institutionen, 2007), 104.

7 Olle Ferm and Biörn Tjällén, “Ericus Olai’s Chronica Regni Gothorum,” *Mediaeval Scandinavia* 14 (2004), 86.

8 Ferm and Tjällén, “Ericus Olai’s Chronica Regni Gothorum,” 88; Tjällén, *Church and Nation*, 105. In fact, a similar narrative had been used in the early fifteenth century, when a cleric from the diocese of Linköping expressed his hope that, just as Judas Maccabaeus rose up against the Seleucids, a group would rise against the Danish regime, Ferm, “Ericus Olai’s Chronica Regni Gothorum,” 88. In the chronicle known as *Sturekrönikan* (c.1500) the author implies that Sten Sture the elder, in his military struggle against the Danish king, was inspired by God. However, God’s support of the Swedes is not explicitly related to any biblical narratives but rather to the burning sword of Saint Eric, made visible in the sky, see Margaretha Nordquist, *A Struggle for the Realm: Late-Medieval Swedish Rhyme Chronicles as Ideological Expressions* (Stockholm: Department of History, Stockholm University, 2015), 128.

9 Pontificale romanum summorum pontificum jussu editum a Benedecto XIV et Leone XIII recognitum et castigatum, (Laudate Dominum Liturgical Editions), https://introibo.net/download/buecher/pontificale_romanum.pdf, 107. This benediction is also mentioned in the Swedish Catholic Olaus Magnus’s *Description of the Northern People* (1555), Olaus Magnus, *Historia om de nordiska folken* (Stockholm: Gidlund, 1982), 643; see also Chapter 5 (Arne Bugge Amundsen), 72–95.

biblical kings, had a normative value and revealed God's plan with both the Israelites and the people of Sweden, a narrative that would be more fully developed during the seventeenth century.¹⁰

As is well known, Old Testament rulers were frequently used as role models for early modern Protestant kings. In Denmark as well as in other parts of Europe, the most significant of these Old Testament kings were David and Solomon, as well as the kings Hezekiah and Josiah. King Josiah became important for Protestants not least due to the fact that he initiated a reform in the cult in Jerusalem and was therefore regarded as a precedent for kings who supported and initiated the Reformation in their realms.¹¹ While King David, for example, was also important in Sweden, it will be argued that the recurrent use of Moses and Joseph was a significant part of the Swedish Jerusalem Code.

Gustav Vasa became in 1521 leader of a rebellion against the union king, the Danish Christian II (r. 1513–23 (Denmark) and 1520–23 (Sweden)), whose regime had been associated with, for example, the Stockholm bloodbath in November 1520, when almost a hundred people, including burghers, noblemen, and two bishops, were executed – an event that could be regarded as a manifestation of the triumph over the Swedes after some years of wars with the nationalistic party in Sweden led by the regent Sten Sture the younger (1493–1520). At the time of the bloodbath, Gustav Vasa had been brought as prisoner to Denmark from where he escaped to Germany where he set about plans to rise against Christian II.

During the first twenty years of his rule, Gustav Vasa was usually very careful not to expose his support for any theological confession too explicitly. Especially during his first ten years of rule, while giving support to Lutheran preachers, he emphatically repeated that there was no “new faith” in the kingdom.¹² Consequently, we do find a tension in the power legitimization of Gustav Vasa, between on the one hand a necessary connection to traditional norms and on the other hand the need to legitimize the new regime which did interact with Reformation theologians.¹³ During the rule of

10 See Chapter 7 (Nils Ekedahl), 119–45.

11 Graeme Murdock, “The Power of Kings: Monarchy and Religion in Europe 1589–1715,” *Sixteenth Century Journal* 29, no. 4 (1998), 1046–47; Tarald Rasmussen, *Hva er protestantisme* (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 2017), 16; see also the introduction to this volume (Eivor Andersen Oftestad), 38.

12 Berntson, *Mässan och armborstet*, 323–30.

13 There exist only a few studies on power legitimization and reformation in Gustav Vasa's rule, for example Kurt Johannesson, “Retorik och propaganda vid det äldre vasahovet,” *Lychnos* 1969–1970 (1971); and Hallenberg, “Kungen, kronan eller staten?”; see also Martin Berntson, *Klostren och reformationen. Upplösningen av kloster och konvent i Sverige 1523–1596* (Skellefteå: Norma, 2003), 283–89; “Reformationstida bilder av kristnandet i Sverige,” in “*Vi ska alla vara välkomna*”. *Nordiska studier tillägnade Kristinn Jóhannesson*, ed. Henrik Janson Audur G. Magnúsdóttir, Karl G. Johansson, Mats Malm, and Lena Rogström (Göteborg: Meijerbergs institut för svensk etymologisk forskning, Göteborgs Universitet, 2008); Berntson, *Mässan och armborstet*, 356–64.

Gustav Vasa we actually see a recurrent use of certain biblical typologies and narratives. However, the way of relating the reign of Gustav Vasa to role models found among the kings in the Bible took various forms and can be separated into two basic categories. First, biblical leaders were used to legitimize and also de-legitimize infringements in the church, for example. Second, biblical leaders relating to the life story of Gustav Vasa were used to reveal God’s providence with both the people of Israel and of Sweden.

Biblical Leaders Legitimizing and De-legitimizing Infringements in the Church

From the 1520s, kings mentioned in the Bible were used to legitimize Gustav Vasa’s right to be king despite the fact that he had attained the throne through warfare and despite his increasing attempts to make infringements on the church, for example through confiscations of monstresses, chalices and silver plates from saints’ shrines, the dissolution of monasteries, etc.

During the early Reformation, Old Testament kings were used to legitimize some infringements against the ecclesiastical institutions. An early example is related to the confiscations of silver in churches and monasteries during the years 1523 and 1524. In response to the opinion articulated by the brethren in Vadstena abbey who called the confiscations “sacrilege”, the royal chancellor Laurentius Andreae (1470–1552) claimed in 1524 that it was impious to protect the church’s money when the people were threatened by enemies, and compared Gustav Vasa’s confiscations with the rules of the Judean kings Joash and Hezekiah who took treasures from the Temple in Jerusalem to protect their people (2 Kgs 12: 17–18, 18:13–16). Even though these kings were not blamed for their acts in the Bible, the brethren had the nerve to blame a Christian king that acted in the same manner.¹⁴ In this discussion, Laurentius Andreae presented an ecclesiology influenced by Lutheran theology:

I agree that the church is the house of God, but not because God lives in it, but because the believers gather in the church to hear the word of God. What the house is for the people, the same goes for the money. It is thus impious, when a danger threatens the people, to claim that you should save the church money, arguing that the enemies might refrain from their attacks, while the poor neighbour, whom Christ commanded us to love and for which he has died, still suffers from hunger and thirst. Does the Lord perhaps care more about rocks and bits of wood than humans?¹⁵

¹⁴ HSH 17: 208.

¹⁵ “Quod ecclesia domus dei est fatear ad bonum intellectum non quod deus illam inhabitet qui non habitat in manufactis sed quia ibi ecclesia fidelium ad ea que dei sunt precipiendum hoc est

Consequently, according to Andraea, the confiscations of silver from churches and monasteries had biblical foundations related to the righteous Judean kings. The narrative of these kings was used in order both to present an alternative ecclesiology and to legitimize the confiscation of church property.

However, a similar biblical narrative was also used by the opponents of his policy. The confiscations were criticized by Bishop Hans Brask (1464–1538) in Linköping who compared them with how King Belshazzar in the Book of Daniel misused the treasures that his predecessor Nebuchadnezzar had stolen from the Temple in Jerusalem, and was punished by losing his rule for seven years. Just like Belshazzar, Gustav Vasa would be punished by God because of his confiscations.¹⁶ However, for some reason the bishop seems to have confused the Babylonian kings. According to the Book of Daniel, it really was Nebuchadnezzar who confiscated treasures in the Temple in Jerusalem (Dan 1:2) which were later desecrated by Belshazzar (Dan 5: 2–4), but it was not Belshazzar who lost his rule for seven years but Nebuchadnezzar (Dan 4:29). This mistake was used by Gustav Vasa who claimed that according to the text, Belshazzar was punished because of pride and extravagance, not because he had desecrated treasures from the Temple. Even though Belshazzar knew what had happened to Nebuchadnezzar, he disdained God and desecrated the treasures through which the service of God was upheld in the Temple. As a consequence, he was punished. According to the king, neither Nebuchadnezzar nor Belshazzar was punished because of their confiscations, since God valued people over silver and gold. The gold and silver that was confiscated from churches and monasteries in Sweden were not taken in order to desecrate the divine, like Belshazzar had done, but rather in order to help the inhabitants in the kingdom. Silver and gold were used to serve the people¹⁷:

So it is clear for everyone who bothers to read the words in Daniel that neither Nebuchadnezzar nor Belshazzar were punished because of treasures made of silver or gold, because God values people more than gold or silver, but [were punished] because they ridiculed him, so dismay was

precipue ad audiendum verbum dei conuenire consuevit. Quapropter sicut domus propter homines ita etiam pecunia propter homines est. Ea de causa impius conuincitur qui vbi populo discrimen imminet argento ecclesiarum parcendum putat ut hostibus fortassis vel furibus in direptionem seruetur & pauperes proximi nostri quos christus diligi precepit & pro quibus mortuus est usque ad penuriam famis & sitis grauari debeant numquid domino de lapidibus & lignis magis quam de hominibus cura est,” HSH 17: 208.

¹⁶ The letter from Brask is referred to in the king’s reply, GR V: 168. On this discussion, see also Berntson, *Klostren och reformationen*, 307–08.

¹⁷ GR V: 69–170. This interpretation could be criticized since it does not do full justice to the text in Dan 5, where it says that Belshazzar was punished because of his paganism and his dismissal of the true God which was expressed in his desecration of the vessels from the Temple in Jerusalem.

the reason for their punishment and not gold or silver. But the gold and silver that has been taken from churches and monasteries here in Sweden were not taken in order to disgrace God like Belshazzar did, but to help the common man in the kingdom.¹⁸

Just like Laurentius Andreae, in his discourse on the biblical kings, the king claimed that the Service of God meant moral behaviour, something which could justify the confiscations from ecclesiastical institutions as long as the resources were used for a morally justifiable aim. The biblical kings and what they tell about God’s providence was in both the king’s and his opponents view regarded as normative for contemporary rulers. Since a certain way of acting was performed by Hezekiah, for example, it was also allowed for later righteous kings to perform the same policy. The punishment of non-righteous kings, such as Belshazzar, could also be used to present moral normative behaviour in a negative way. It was therefore necessary to gain power over the interpretation of such narratives.

Legitimizing the King as a New David or Moses: A Narrative of Suffering and Triumph

From the late 1530s the Swedish king began to use the biblical narratives in such a way as to more closely associate his own rule with biblical rulership and consequently also identify – for good or ill – the Swedish people with the Israelites.¹⁹ As has been emphasized, this typology was not new. It could rather be regarded as a revival of a fifteenth-century narrative in which rebellions against the union king were legitimized through analogies with Moses and the Maccabees. During the seventeenth century, for example in coronation sermons, this way of identifying the kingdom with ancient Israel as a way to connect the inhabitants with the state became quite common. According to this narrative, the king was described as a successor to the pious monarchs in the Old Testament – just like the Old Testament kings, the king was elected by God (and not by the people).²⁰ Despite the use of Old

18 “Szå är nw clartt aff Danielis ordt then ther will eller tagha siig szå stortt omak på och läsa them öffuer, att huarken Nabuchodonozor eller Baltazar worde straffade for the gyldenne och silff clenodier Ty gud achter menniskiona mera än gull eller silff vtan for then hånnett som honum skedde aff them, så atth gudz forszmedilsze war szaken till theris straff, och ecke gull eller silff, Men thet gull och silff, szom her i Swerige aff kirkior och closter tagit är, är ecke tagit i then ackt, ath man skulle göra gudj ther naghon wanheder med szom Baltazar gjorde vthan hielpen then menigeman i riikit”, GR V: 169–70.

19 See Chapter 7 (Nils Ekedahl), 119–45.

20 See Nils Ekedahl, *Det svenska Israel. Myt och retorik i haquin spegels predikokonst*, Studia Rhetorica Upsaliensia (Hedemora: Gidlunds Förlag, 1999), 214–23; see also Nordberg, “Guds ställföreträdare förmedlad. Kungens i kröningspredikan från Gustav I till Karl XIV Johan,” 20, 33.

Testament leadership, this seventeenth-century perspective is not so obvious in, for example, Olaus Petri's (1493–1552) sermon at the coronation ceremony in 1528, when he described how a righteous king should behave. Just like the kings David and Solomon, the king was according to Olaus Petri entrusted to protect the true preaching of God's word and to protect the souls of the people. This exhortation was in the sermon connected to the introduction of the Reformation. It is argued that in the same manner as the king punishes evil bailiffs (*fogder*), he should also supervise bishops and clergy in his country when they neglect their duties, primarily the preaching of the Word of God "as they should",²¹ implying that it was the king's duty – for the sake of the Swedish people's souls – to uphold the decisions from the Diet in Västerås two years earlier, to preach only "the pure Word of God". In this sermon, unlike later sermons during coronations in Sweden, the king is not explicitly understood as God's substitute on earth. Rather, he is equated with his people. He is explained to have the same origin and be under the same juridical authority, and will deal judgments irrespective of ancestry and position. He is not king for his own sake but to protect God's peasantry (*allmoge*) and his fellow brethren. The emphasis on the king's equality with his brethren should be regarded as a way to legitimize the ruler.²² In the sermon, Olaus Petri also used the words in Deut 17:15, where God exhorts the Israelites to set a king over them who God will choose, one from their own brethren who is not a stranger to them. The message is therefore that this king was born in Sweden and is familiar with the customs and practices of this people, and will only see to the benefits of his own country and his fellow men.²³ In his sermon Olaus Petri describes how the land was plagued by foreign people, and how God by his grace gave them a king that saved them from their enemies and created calmness in the land. Consequently, the rule of Gustav Vasa is a warrant to keep this calm. Even though the sermon does not describe Gustav Vasa in person as God's substitute, his royal office as a king is instituted by God.²⁴

However, the kingship ideology is rather different in Gustav Vasa's own propaganda from the late 1530s. At this time the king began more openly to counter Catholic tendencies among the nobility and clergy. Gustav Vasa had been ruling for almost twenty years, and by this time he would have been more confident in his position than ever before. It had been decades since a Swedish king had ruled for such a long coherent time. Even though there had been some uprisings against his regime during the first ten years of his rule, the last seven years had

²¹ Olaus Petri, *Samlade Skrifter*, ed. Bengt Hesselmann vol. 1 (Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1914), 321.

²² The sermon, entitled "En Christelighen formaning til Sweriges inbyggiare vthropat j Vpsala offuer högmectig förstes konung Götzstaffz cröning 1528," is printed in Petri, *Samlade Skrifter*, 313–29.

²³ Nordberg, "Guds ställföreträdare förmedlad," 52.

²⁴ Nordberg, "Guds ställföreträdare förmedlad," 57.

been relatively calm. Concerning the church, the king had ceased to hold economic and juridical rights over it, but during the 1530s he had been anxious not to hasten the Reformation process too quickly. The change of attitude toward the more explicit Lutheran stand seen around the year 1540 had many causes, but one important factor is Gustav Vasa’s change of chancellors. In 1538 the German official Conrad von Pyhy (c.1500–53) became head of the royal chancellery and in 1539 Georg Norman (d.1552/53), who was recommended by both Luther and Melancthon, was appointed as superintendent of the Swedish church. These German officials provided the kingdom with new continental ideals on absolute power over society and church. For example in his presumed Church Order from 1541 Norman portrayed Gustav Vasa as a new Joshua, the leader who brought the people from the desert and into the beloved land, who was called to fulfill the work begun during his predecessor St Eric, indicating that King Gustav should be more honoured than the twelfth-century saintly king.²⁵

This perspective is present in a royal proclamation from the king to inhabitants in the province of Uppland in February 1540.²⁶ The letter commenced with the king reminding the people of how kindly he had governed them during his reign. In a manner similar to the holy Moses among the children of Israel, he had liberated them from the Danish tyrant Christian II. Before his regime, the country was apathetic, the fields were unploughed. He also reminded them about the Danish king Christian’s cruel regime, of how the people had been betrayed by the bishops, until the king himself, through God’s power in his own person and with a small army, rebelled against the cruel murderer and tyrant Christian. After this followed a good peace and the fields bloomed. However, despite all this, the people were not grateful. Now people seemed to think about themselves as schooled and as better learned than the king and other good people in the kingdom, as if they thought they were doctors in exegetics. According to the speech, they wanted to push forward their own rules and teaching and cling to the treason of the old bishops and “papists” rather than the true living God and his gospel. Against these attempts to teach the king how to rule and how to believe, he firmly replied: “No, not like that. Watch your houses, fields, acres, wives, children, animals, and kettle, and don’t put us on any trials or speak against our rule or against the religion.”²⁷ Since the king was on God’s and justice’s behalf, and by all natural reasons, a Christian king on earth, he placed rules and orders for all his subjects. If they wanted to avoid his stern repercussion and anger, they should obey and hear his royal decrees, in both worldly matters and in religion

²⁵ He was also designated as a leader called to Misspelled: “fulfill” the work of his predecessor Saint Eric. According to Norman, Gustav Vasa should therefore be revered more than Saint Eric, see Åke Andrén, *Sveriges kyrkohistoria 3. Reformationstid* (Stockholm: Verbum, 1999), 97.

²⁶ The letter was issued in Uppsala many weeks previously, 8 December 1539, GR XII: 252–59.

²⁷ “Neij icke så, Wackter i edre huss Akrer, engh, hustruer, barn, fä och booschaff, och setter oss inthet måll, eller teell vdij wort regimente, eller religionen,” GR XII: 256.

(Fig. 8.1). In this speech, Moses is mentioned only initially, but the whole narrative used is based on the story in Exodus, of how the Israelites grumbled against Moses and Aaron in the wilderness and longed to return to the pots of meat in Egypt.

Old Testament kings and leaders such as Abraham, Joseph, Moses, and Joshua are also referred to in a royal speech to the estates at the Diet in Västerås in 1544. By this time the king's evangelical stand and the visitations that followed in the early 1540s had met resistance from peasants in southern Sweden, in the provinces of Småland and Östergötland. The uprising known as the Dacke rebellion lasted from 1542 to 1543 and was eventually won by the king. During this rebellion the peasants had demanded old traditions concerning both taxes as well as the old Latin mass and sacramentals such as anointing oil and holy water. Furthermore, the confiscations of church silver were criticized. This conservative stance made the king even more determined to quell the older beliefs and the papists in the country.²⁸

In his speech the king proclaimed that the peasants had been betrayed by preaching about holy water, salt, palms, wax, masses in Latin, cult of saints, and pilgrimage. They had been told that there should be more power in these ceremonies than in the Holy Gospel, in honest faith in Christ, in mass in Swedish, and in love of authorities and their neighbours.²⁹ However, these ceremonies were “delusions” (*villfarelser*) invented by humans and were not even mentioned in the Bible. Rather, the Bible said that the king was elected by God to defend the right teaching concerning God. In the speech the king gave examples from the “pious and holy kings and princes” (*the fromme och helige konunger och furster*) in the Old Testament, like Abraham, Joseph, Moses, Joshua, Gideon, David, Jehoshaphat, Ezekiel, and Cyrus the Great.³⁰ It is well worth noting that leaders such as Abraham, Joseph, Moses, and Joshua are actually designated as “kings and princes”.

According to the speech, the Bible mentioned multiple righteous kings but did not mention saints at all.³¹ On the basis of the Bible, it was declared that these misuses were against the word of God and dangerous for their souls, and therefore should be abolished.³² No one was obliged to obey these ceremonies, but only to indulge in the true knowledge of God, which included a firm belief in God and love of their neighbour, godliness, obedience, and unanimity. It was upon these things

²⁸ Berntson, *Mässan och armborstet*, 330–33.

²⁹ SRA 1:1, 342.

³⁰ SRA 1:1, 343–44.

³¹ Consequently, the clergy and educated people have gathered together with the king and discussed the articles that the common man is annoyed about and deluded about. These articles are: the abolishment of mass in Latin, carrying monstrances, the use of holy water, and the reduction of some “saints days,” SRA 1:1: 347.

³² SRA 1:1: 349–50. It was papists and “zealots” who had introduced ceremonies and rituals into the mass and the hours, through which they had led people from the right path. They have done this to gain more offerings and interest from simple folk, against what is instituted by God, and only because of their own greed.

that their souls’ and lives’ beatitude and welfare were dependent, not upon holy water and other “misuses”.³³ Here the righteous kings were used in combination with the theological notion of *sola scriptura*, denoting that what was not founded in the Bible could not claim the same divine authority as could institutions such as kings elected by God to give providence to His people. Consequently, in comparison with Olaus Petri’s coronation sermon, in which the king’s legitimacy was based on his origin among the ordinary people, here the king is elected by God to defend the right faith in the same manner as Moses and David. In this speech the Jerusalem Code functioned as what church historian Berndt Hamm has termed a “normative centering”, that is a tendency during the late Middle Ages and the Reformation to create a clearer concentration in the sprawling piety culture, to what was deemed as most necessary for salvation,³⁴ implying that obedience to the king was more important for salvation than traditional church piety.

During these years a similar typology was used in the main symbol of royal power at this time. On Gustav Vasa’s ceremonial royal sword (*rikssvärd*) of 1541 we find similar allusions to biblical leaders in their painstaking road to triumph and deliverance of their people. This sword was ordered through the German merchant Claus Heyder, and was bought in Augsburg in 1541 to function as ceremonial sword.³⁵ On each side is depicted Gustav Vasa’s shield of armour.³⁶ On one side of the blade, after the text “Im E(rsten)m// Pu(ch m)ose//A(m 37 C)ap:”, follow episodes from the life of the Old Testament Joseph. We find how Joseph recounts his dream (Gen 37:5–11), is thrown into the cistern (Gen 37:24), is sold to the Midianite merchants (Gen 37:28), runs away from Potiphar’s Wife (Gen 39:12), and is imprisoned by Potiphar who has been informed about Joseph’s presumed assault on his wife (Gen 39:16–20) (Fig. 8.2). Furthermore, we find Pharaoh dreaming about the fat and meagre cows (Gen 41:1–7), the brothers

³³ SRA 1:1: 362–63. The papists and the bishops have through this teaching enhanced rebellions and betrayed the people for several hundred years with things invented by humans that go against God and his scripture, for example masses for the souls, indulgences, pilgrimage, worship of saints, holy water, salt, wax or candles, monastic life, and other forms of “devilish imaginations” (*djävulsspökelse*), only for their own benefit and shameful greed, SRA 1:1: 363–63. Neither the recipients of this proclamation nor their fathers had known what was the true Service of God and what God really demands. Bishops and clergy should perform spiritual things, just like the first bishops in Sweden, Saints Sigfrid, Ansgar, Henrik, David, and others, SRA 1:1: 364–65.

³⁴ See Berndt Hamm and Robert James Bast, *The Reformation of Faith in the Context of Late Medieval Theology and Piety: Essays by Berndt Hamm*, Studies in the History of Christian Thought 110 (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 1–46.

³⁵ Rudolf Cederström, *De svenska riksregalierna och kungliga värdighetstecken* (Stockholm: Livrustkammaren, 1942), 87.

³⁶ The following account is based on Rudolf Cederström, Karl Erik Steneberg, and Livrustkammaren, *Regalietställningen i Livrustkammaren*, Livrustkammarens Utställningar 6 (Stockholm: Livrustkammaren, 1938), 180.

arriving in Egypt to buy grain (Gen 42), and Benjamin being accused of stealing the silver cup (Gen 44:14–17). The last motifs in the story of Joseph, found close to the sharp tip of the sword, depict how the patriarch Jacob goes to Egypt (Gen 46), how his coffin is carried away (Gen 50:7–11), and finally Jacob’s grave at Machpelah (Gen 50:13).



Fig. 8.2: Engraving reproducing the incised decoration on Gustav Vasa’s ceremonial royal sword (*rikssvärd*) of 1541. To the left, Joseph flees from Potiphar’s Wife (Gen 39:12). In the middle, the royal emblem with the three crowns. To the right, Joseph is put in prison by Potiphar (Gen 39:16–20). The Royal Palace (Kungl. Skattkammaren), Stockholm.

The motifs on the other side of the blade commence with the text “Im Andern // Puch Mose // Am 3 Capi:”, after which we follow the life of Moses, beginning with him being called by God in the burning bush, his staff being transformed into a snake (Exod 4:3) (Fig. 8.3), his encounter with the Egyptian priests (Exod 7:10–12), the plagues of Egypt (Exod 7–11), Pharaoh’s army perishing, and finally the Israelites crossing the sea (Exod 14:26–30).



Fig. 8.3: Engraving reproducing the incised decoration on Gustav Vasa’s ceremonial royal sword (*rikssvärd*) of 1541. To the left, God appears in the burning bush before Moses who stands to the right, his staff being transformed into a snake (Exod 4:3; 7:10–12). The Royal Palace (Kungl. Skattkammaren), Stockholm.

It is generally assumed that the motif corresponded to Gustav Vasa’s own life story, depicting how Joseph after hard trials reaches power and honour and how Moses delivers his people from Egypt.³⁷ Consequently, the theological message conveyed on the sword is of the significance of humility, struggle, and simplicity as parts of God’s providence with righteous and eventually triumphant kings and their people. The fact that Gustav Vasa had not reached the throne through royal descent but had rather been raised to power leading a rebellion against a tyrant king after being imprisoned, exiled, and discouraged by his people, was consequently not obscured in the propaganda but rather was used to present his rule as a part of God’s plan, as a foundation for the king’s double redemptive work. Since Gustav Vasa’s own shield of armour is depicted on the sword, it is probable that it was not only bought for him but was in fact ordered for its special purpose.³⁸

This narrative involving the king’s simplicity and his painstaking struggle toward deliverance also appears in the king’s last speech, delivered at Stockholm castle in June 1560. In this speech the king reminded the estates about how he had wandered around in simple clothes in their woods and stables forty years earlier, and through the help of God, who often uses a simple power to defeat stubborn hearts, he was helped just as God had used the young and simple David, when he was serving as his father’s shepherd, and gave him victory against the mighty Goliath, later raising him to royal glory.³⁹ In the speech David is explicitly used to explain how God has helped an unworthy man such as the king, but not for his own sake, “but for your sake, you good Swedes, so that in your hearts you should know to give him an eternal thanksgiving.”⁴⁰ Here David is used in the same way

37 See Cederström, *De svenska riksregalierna och kungliga värdighetstecken*, 87–88; Andrén, *Sveriges kyrkohistoria 3. Reformationstid*, 57. Lena Rangström, *Dödens teater. Kungliga svenska begravningar genom fem århundraden* (Stockholm: Livrustkammaren, 2015), 26. The sword belongs to the royal regalia in the Treasury in the Royal Palace in Stockholm and is under authority of the Legal, Financial, and Administrative Services Agency (Kammarkollegiet).

38 Cederström, Steneberg, and Livrustkammaren, *Regalieutställningen i Livrustkammaren*, 6, 180.

39 Peder Svart, *Åhrapredikning öfver then fordom stormechtigaste, oöfverwinnerlige och högloffligaste furstes och herres K. Göstafs, Sweriges, Göthes, Wändes etc konungz och faders christelige lik* (Stockholm: Sylvester Phrygius, 1620), 83–84.

40 “. . . vhan för edre skuld j gode Swenske, på the tatt j aff hiertet skulle weeta honom een ewigh tacksägelse,” Svart, *Åhrapredikning öfver then fordom stormechtigaste*, 84. The speech is not preserved in its original form but is referred to in Bishop Peder Svart’s funeral sermon. However, even though these words are not derived from an original source, it is not unlikely that they were actually included in the king’s speech. According to the account of the final days of the king, the vicar in Stockholm is said to have reminded the king about his last speech, where he compared himself with David by referring to the simplicity of the king when he came to power, just like David when he had tended his father’s sheep, HH 20: 137. Furthermore, in the acts from the diet, we have a short script with summaries of the propositions which were supposed to be delivered to the estates at the Diet, and this list commences with the king reminding them about the repulsive situation that faced the kingdom in the days of King Christian II in a time when no one other than Gustav

as Joseph and Moses, as examples of God's providence in raising a simple person to kingship in order to save his people.

In the funeral sermon for Gustav Vasa, in Uppsala cathedral on 21 December 1560, this discourse was used by Bishop Peder Svart who emphasized that God often torments his people and make them undergo sufferings before they are elevated to glory. This happened to the pious Joseph, who was sold to the Egyptians before he became a prince, and this also happened to Moses, who fled to Midian for years before he became leader of the Hebrews. According to the sermon, God had acted in the same way with Gustav Vasa. Just like Joseph, Gustav had been a prisoner, and just like Moses he had been exiled, and in his exile had been tormented by rumours of how his people were oppressed by the Danes.⁴¹ Similarly to Moses, he met resistance from his own people when he returned to his land. Just like Moses who tried in vain to reconcile the two fighting Hebrews (Exod 2:13–14), “our Swedish Moses and saviour” (*thenne vår Swenske Mosi och förlossare*) had severe problems in uniting the Swedes against the Danish oppression.⁴²

As may be noted, in his sermon Bishop Svart was actually referring to the motifs in Gustav Vasa's ceremonial sword of 1541, indicating that the king's simplicity and his struggles in life should not be regarded as signs of weakness or illegitimacy but rather as proof of his righteousness.⁴³ The correspondence

came to the rescue, and how he later helped his subjects to both spiritual and corporeal welfare by giving them the correct and unadulterated knowledge of God, SRA 1:2: 672–73.

41 Svart, *Ährapredikning öffwer then fordom stormechtigaste*, 57–58.

42 Svart, *Ährapredikning öffwer then fordom stormechtigaste*, 60. However, he began his struggle against the oppressor Christian II, who was in alliance not only with the emperor but also with other princes in Europe and in liaison with “the mighty and huge Goliath and Antichrist, the pope in Rome” (“then wäldighe store Goliath och Antichrist påwen j Room”), *ibid.*, 62, thus once again indirectly comparing Gustav Vasa with King David.

43 In the sermon the king was also compared with King Solomon. According to Bishop Svart, the king lay beyond all else in his wisdom. Therefore the words from the Queen of Sheba to King Solomon were also applicable to King Gustav, that his wisdom and wealth far exceeded the rumours she had been told in her country (1 Kgs 10:7), Svart, *Ährapredikning öffwer then fordom stormechtigaste*, 70. Yet, the king regarded himself merely as a humble servant, thereby carrying the same spirit that inhabited the heart of King David when he said, after seeing the angel of the Lord standing between heaven and earth with a drawn sword in his hand, stretched out over Jerusalem, “even I it is that have sinned and done evil indeed; but as for these sheep, what have they done?” (1 Chr 21:16–17; in the sermon strangely attributed to 1 Sam 23). It was through this humble spirit that the kings send out letters to the church leaders and exhorted them to admonish the people to penance and repentance, Svart, *Ährapredikning öffwer then fordom stormechtigaste*, 82. At the end of the sermon, the bishop concludes that the king now leads a better life, together with the angels, the prophets, holy kings, apostles, martyrs, and with all the chosen. Furthermore, his bodily remains, together with the remains of his two deceased queens, are transported to the cathedral, in a way that he himself had decided in accordance with examples given by holy fathers and patriarchs, as with Moses and Abraham, Svart, *Ährapredikning öffwer then fordom stormechtigaste*, 86. Svart is especially concerned about how Abraham bought his grave in Hebron and how

between the motifs on the ceremonial sword of 1541 and the funeral sermon is enhanced by the fact that it was probably this sword that was ritually used during the funeral by the Lord High Constable Svante Sture who, standing before Prince Eric (1533–77), loudly proclaimed that King Gustav was dead while three times turning the sword and pointing its sharp tip to the floor. After delivering the sword to the successor Prince Eric the latter was instructed to use it and to rule in the same manner as his father. The ceremonial rendition of this sword, with its Old Testament motifs, signified the transference of royal authority to the new king, Eric XIV (r.1560–68).⁴⁴

The line of arguments in the sermon and the sword is that the similarities between the rule of Gustav Vasa and the rulership of righteous biblical leaders such as Moses, David, and Solomon, prove that the deceased king was elected by God in his great providence to rescue His people from oppression and torments. The ceremonial rendition of the sword to the royal successor could be regarded as the transference of this narrative to future kingship.

Later Use of the Narrative of Deliverance

The narrative of the hardship which righteous biblical kings may have to endure was also actualized in Archbishop Laurentius Petri’s sermon during Eric XIV’s coronation in June 1561. Besides emphasizing the importance of people showing obedience to the secular authorities – which was made with reference to biblical kings who had cared for true religion, such as David, Josiah, Hezekiah, and Jehoshaphat⁴⁵ – he also explained that all authority must also meet difficulties and worries and that it is

he and Sara were buried there, later together with Isaac, Jacob, and Joseph: Gen 23; 49; 50:24; Heb 11:22; Exod 13:19; John 24:32.

⁴⁴ Cederström, Steneberg, and Livrustkammaren, *Regalietställningen i Livrustkammaren*, 6, 177.

⁴⁵ In the sermon kings such as Saul and Jeroboam were also mentioned, who due to their neglect concerning the right religion, saw the land being punished by various plagues. God cared for the land more preferably when David and other righteous kings, which included even pagan kings such as Nebuchadnezzar and Christian kings as Constantine and Charlemagne, sought God’s glory and suppressed idolatry. If a ruler does this, his rule will be sustained just like David’s, Laurentius Petri, *Een christeligh predican om werldzligh Öffuerheet* (Stockholm: Amund Laurentzon, 1561), 11–14, 17. Here Moses appears not as a ruler but more as the law-giver and judge, for example in his advice for judgements in Deut 23 and in receiving advice from his father-in-law Jethro, to select capable men to be appointed as judges for the people (Exod 18:22), Petri, *Een christeligh predican om werldzligh Öffuerheet*, 23, 27. To emphasize the virtue of bravery, he gave as an example how David went into battle with Goliath, who had terrified the Israelite army, thus giving them back their courage, and he attacked the enemy bravely (*manligha*). According to Laurentius Petri people tend to adapt to living examples which appear before their eyes rather than according to words or orders, Petri, *Een christeligh predican om werldzligh Öffuerheet*, 61.

impossible to be a ruler unless he receives comfort and strength from God. This was exemplified with Moses complaining about the hardship of ruling over the people (*almogha*) of Israel in the desert, that he was unable to carry all the people by himself, a burden that was too heavy for him (Num 11:14).⁴⁶ Still, despite all efforts, the regent does not receive any gratitude but rather reprisals, hatred, and persecution. Laurentius Petri related this to King David as he complains in Ps 34 and 120 about the rebellion performed by his son Absalom. Consequently, many princes were not joyful when they were called to government. While Saul hid himself (1 Sam 10:21), Moses was skeptical about being leader of the people (*almogha*) of Israel and bringing them out of Egypt (Exod 3:11) – for even though he was called by God with words and signs, he strived to escape, claiming that he had not the talent for ruling (Exod 4:10).⁴⁷

Even though this narrative on God's providence related to problems facing biblical leaders does not seem to play a dominant role in royal propaganda during the rest of the sixteenth century,⁴⁸ it was sufficiently alive to be used at the Reformation jubilee in 1621. In Sweden there were no official celebrations commemorating Martin Luther in 1617 – instead the Reformation was celebrated in 1621 in memory of Gustav Vasa's election as regent in 1521. Consequently, the celebrations were dominated by the memory of Gustav Vasa's double redemptive work, in liberating the kingdom from both the Danes and the Catholic Church. The celebrations also fulfilled the political function of giving prominence to his grandson King Gustav II Adolf who had inherited the throne in 1611 and had been crowned in 1617. The connection to the Reformation was of utmost importance for the young king since his uncle, the former Swedish King Sigismund of Poland, who had been deposed as king by Gustav II Adolf's father Karl IX in 1598, still had claims on the Swedish throne. The fact that King Sigismund was a Catholic had been widely used by Karl IX during the civil war that ended with Sigismund's defeat. Therefore, the preservation of the Evangelical faith, which Gustav II Adolf's grandfather and namesake had brought into the country, could be regarded as a basic theological foundation for his rule.⁴⁹

⁴⁶ Petri, *Een christeligh predican om werldzligh Öffuerheet*, 62.

⁴⁷ *Een christeligh predican om werldzligh Öffuerheet*, 64–65.

⁴⁸ Because of his short reign (1560–68) Eric XIV did not develop grand narratives about his regime in the same way as his father had done. As a king he was deposed by his younger brothers, and in 1568 his brother Johan III took over the rule. Unlike his father, Johan III did not allow any chronicler to describe his life, but in his propaganda he was described as a liberator from tyranny and oppression represented by the rule of his older brother, Lars-Olof Larsson, *Arvet efter Gustav Vasa: en berättelse om fyra kungar och ett rike* (Stockholm: Prisma, 2005), 302. The funeral sermon for Johan III in February 1594, held by Archbishop Abraham Angermannus, is not preserved, but we do know that he preached about Job 19:25, "For I know that my redeemer liveth," SRA 3:1: 272.

⁴⁹ On the jubilee of 1621, see Carl Axel Aurelius, *Luther i Sverige. Svenska lutherbilder under tre sekler* (Skellefteå: Artos, 1994), 18–22.

According to the royal edict issued before the jubilee, certain biblical texts were to be read and preached in the churches in the kingdom during the days of celebration. The edict stipulated that these texts, all of which were from the Old Testament, were to be read and preached in the towns’ churches (in the countryside, at least two of the readings were mandatory). During the morning on the first day of celebration the text was from Exod 1, the story about the fraud and tyranny that the Israelites suffered under pressure from the “impious Pharaoh,” and at noon the people should hear about the exodus from Egypt through the ocean and the destruction of the Egyptian army (Exod 14). At vespers the story was read about how the children of Israel “with a loud voice and with timbrels gave thanks to God on behalf of the liberation out of the Egyptian house of bondage” (Exod 15).⁵⁰ During matins the text was derived from 2 Chr 19–20, telling how King Jehoshaphat reformed both church and politics and about his wars against the children of Moab and the Ammonites. During the second day of celebration the morning readings were from Deut 8, where the Lord reminds the Israelites how he led them in the wilderness to humble and test them and to discern whether or not they would keep his commandments. During the third day the text came from Deut 11, verses 8–9 with God’s exhortation to Israel to observe all the commandments he had given them so that they should have the strength to walk into the Promised Land, flowing with milk and honey, and live there for a long time.⁵¹

As Carl Axel Aurelius has concluded, the overall aim of these biblical texts is to develop the theological significance of the theme of the jubilee: Gustav Vasa’s double redemptive work. The preachers were also expected to explain the Swedish Reformation and interpret both Gustav Vasa’s and his grandson’s regime in light of God’s redemptive acts with ancient Israel. This was expected to give the listeners insights into how both subjects and authority would reach a rightful relation to God.⁵²

In the court chaplain Johannes Botvidi’s sermons during the celebrations he also emphasized the similarities between the Moses story and Gustav Vasa’s lifetime achievement. In his exposition of Exod 14, he connected the story of how the Israelites were saved from the Egyptian army with God’s way of helping their forefathers from the Danish oppression a hundred years ago. A significant part of this story is how Gustav Vasa actually suffered in his struggle: “What he suffered when he was abducted from the kingdom, and how he came back again, is wondrous to read.”⁵³ In

50 “Quemadmodum enim Moses, cum filiis Israel & voce & tympanis Deo gratulatur, pro admiranda liberatione e domo servitutis Aegyptiacae,” *Analysis sacrorum textuum in Festo Jubilæo Gostaviano* (Stockholm, 1621), Bb3.

51 “Quemadmodum enim Moses,” *Analysis sacrorum textuum in Festo Jubilæo Gostaviano*, Bb4.

52 Aurelius, *Luther i Sverige*, 23.

53 “Hwadh han här öffuer leed, ther han bleff bortfördh aff rijket, och huru han kom igen, är vnderligt til at läsa,” Johannes Botvidi, *Tree jubelpredikningar, om then reformation, som skedde för hundra år sedan vthi swerige, bådde i regementet och religionen, genom . . . K. Göstaf Erickson, . . . hållen anno 1621* (Stockholm: Christoffer Reusner, 1622), 15.

Botvidi's exposition this story reveals God's omnipotence, how he deposits and exalts kings, and how he gives kingdoms to whomever He wants.⁵⁴ This perspective also recurs in the exposition of Deut 11, where Moses exhorts the people to praise God and follow His commandments because of the providence He has shown, in relation to how God miraculously helped Gustav Vasa: "Was it not a miracle and the Lord God's deed, that an empty-handed prisoner would execute all this against such a potentate who not only owned enough land and kingdoms, but was also allied with the prime rulers in Christianity at that time?"⁵⁵

The miraculous aspect of Gustav Vasa's story actually indicated that it was part of God's plan which cannot be defeated, for no one will be able to fight against God (Acts 5:39). In his exposition of 2 Chr 19–20 Botvidi emphasized that, just like Jehoshaphat, Gustav Vasa had not only supplied the land with necessities but also brought order and righteousness when he reformed the religion. In his work to bring God's word into the light again, he had consequently acted as God's instrument.⁵⁶

The discourse about Gustav Vasa receiving divine "inspiration" is related by Aurelius to Lutheran theology, based on the thought that God acts from various *virii heroici*, especially through certain regents who are given inspiration and thereby create great deeds.⁵⁷ However, as we have seen, a similar narrative was used both before and during the Reformation; even the Swedish leaders in the fifteenth century were actually thought to be inspired by God in the same manner as the Old Testament kings. Even though this code was transformed through the Lutheran confessionalization, especially through the idea that the king – rather than the degenerated church – represented the true spiritual continuity in the kingdom, the sole use of Old Testament leaders such as Moses as typologies for secular rulers was not fully dependent on Lutheran theology.

Conclusion

In this article it has been argued that the use of Old Testament leaders as typologies for contemporary kingship was important for Early Modern Swedish regents in their power legitimization. These narratives could be used in many ways. They could justify singular infringements in the church, but biblical stories of the deeds of non-righteous kings

⁵⁴ Botvidi, *Tree jubelpredikningar*, 15.

⁵⁵ "War thet icke itt mirakel och Herrans Gudz wärck, at en fånge tomhänder skulle sådant vthrätta, emoot en sådan potentat, som icke allenast hadhe land och rijker nogh, vhten ock war befryndad, medh the förnämste herrer i Christenheten på then tiden?" Botvidi, *Tree jubelpredikningar*, 33.

⁵⁶ Botvidi, *Tree jubelpredikningar*, 25, 27, 30.

⁵⁷ Aurelius, *Luther i Sverige*, 31–32, 36.

could also be used to de-legitimize the same infringements. Since the theological value of these typologies was shared by both Catholics and Evangelicals, the transformation of them into Early Modern Lutheran rulership ideologies made it possible to legitimize the new regime through the use of the familiar code.

Specific attention has been directed toward the use of biblical narratives of righteous biblical leaders who through struggle, rebellion, and sometimes even suffering acted as inspired by God, as His instruments on earth to carry out His divine plan of deliverance of His people. In a theological perspective a narrative of the hardships faced by for example Moses, Joseph, and Gustav Vasa could be used to emphasize the impact of humility, and the acceptance of labours and hardships as part of God’s plan in His divine providence, something that could inspire both subjects and authorities. However, since the late fifteenth century until the early seventeenth century this narrative was primarily used for political reasons. It served to legitimize rulers such as Engelbrekt and Gustav Vasa who had reached power not through royal descent but rather through rebellions against a lawfully chosen king. Furthermore, it emphasized that a seemingly instable government could be regarded as an exponent of God’s providence. During his later reign Gustav Vasa was not only inspired by Moses and David for example, but also, as it were, merged with them. Now they functioned not only as a legitimization of royal authority, but also as a de-legitimization of Catholic institutions. Just like leaders such as Moses and David, the king is chosen by God for a higher cause, in order to deliver His people from the evilness of both Danes and Catholics. The political moral is therefore that despite temporary weakness and struggle experienced by the leader, he was actually chosen as God’s instrument to rule the realm, and just like the Israelites, the Swedes ought to respect this holy rulership in order to create order in the land floating with milk and honey.



Fig. 9.0: Model of the aedicula surrounding the Holy Sepulchre, brought from The Holy Land to Denmark in 1674. National Museum (Nationalmuseet), Copenhagen.

**Part II: Holy City, Holy Land, Holy Relics:
Geographical and Historical Reorientation**

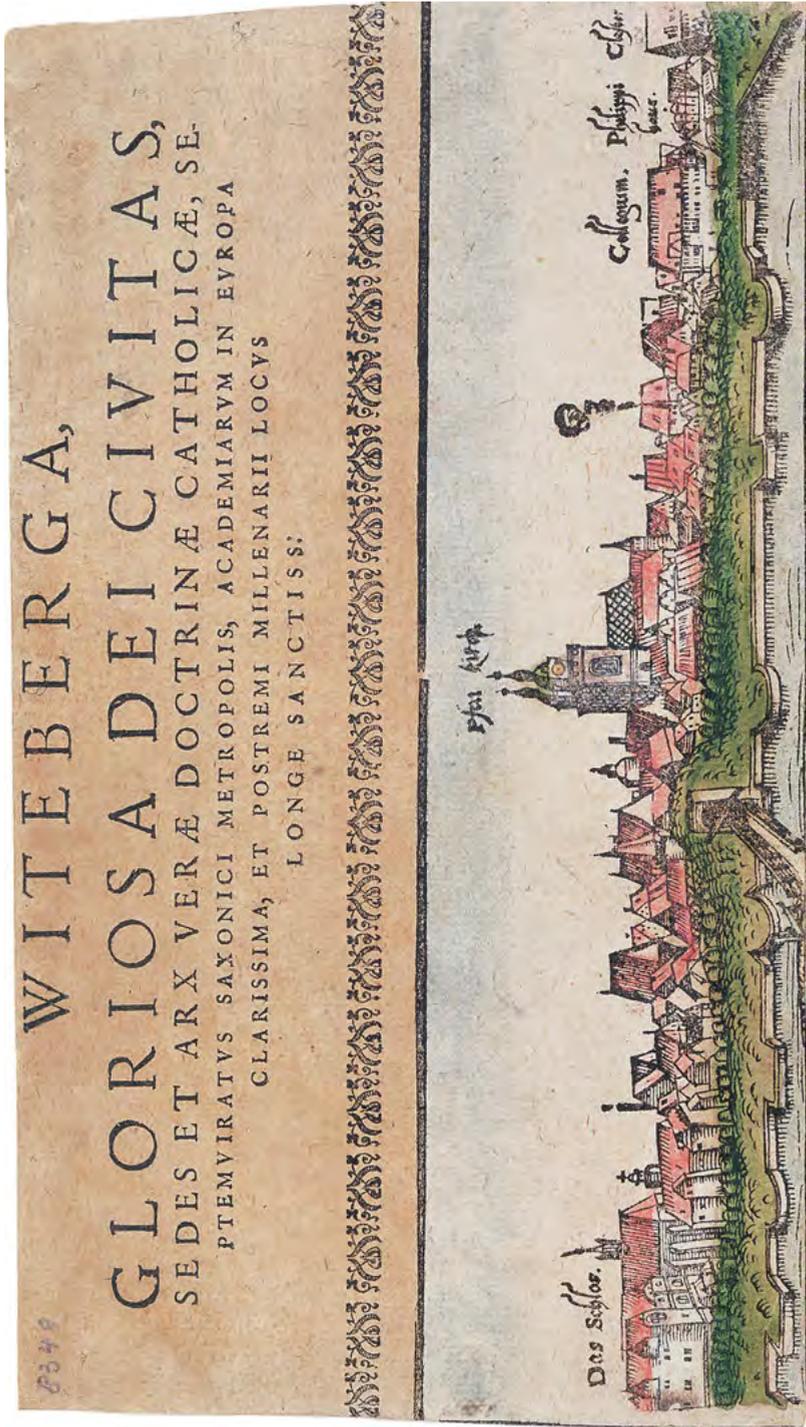


Fig. 9.1: Witeberga, gloriosa Dei civitas, sedes et arx veræ doctrinæ catholicæ, septemviratus saxonici metropolis, academiarum in Europa clarissima, et postreми millenarii locus longe sanctissimus (God's glorious city Wittenberg, seat and fortress of the true Catholic doctrine, capital of Saxony, the most excellent university in Europe, and the holiest of places of the last millennium). View of Wittenberg seen from the South, 1556. Coloured woodcut. Workshop of Cranach.

Martin Schwarz Lausten

Chapter 9

Wittenberg: The Holy City

Part II (Chapters 9–12) in this volume considers transformed perspectives on holiness and the Holy City of Jerusalem. Martin Schwarz Lausten introduces this part with this short chapter on how the Danish kings, Christian II and Christian III, perceived Wittenberg, not Jerusalem or Rome, as the Holy City from where authority sprang forth.

*Wittenberg, die kleine arme Stadt,
Einen grossen Nahmen itzund hat
Von Gottes Wort, das heraus leucht
Und viel Seelen zum Himmel zeucht.
Damit sie ein Glied wird genannt,
Der Stadt Jerusalem verwand¹*

In this excerpt of a poem by Martin Luther, he himself relates Wittenberg to the Holy City. Just as the Christian message had once emanated from Jerusalem, it now came from Wittenberg.² Luther has rediscovered the Gospel – the true word of God – which proclaims the true path to salvation. Luther deliberately refrains from mentioning the intervening period, when Rome was considered to be the Holy City, as in his view this was an age of decay. Thus, Luther draws a direct line from contemporary Wittenberg to the Holy City of Jerusalem.³

In the spring of 1524, ex-king Christian II of Denmark–Norway–Sweden sent a letter to his wife Elisabeth (Isabella). She was at the time residing in Berlin, while he was living in Wittenberg. The letter contained practical information concerning her planned move from Berlin. The letter is marked as “written in the Holy City of Wittenberg”.⁴ To a modern reader this description might seem a bit awkward. Was it not Christian II who, as a brutal regent, had orchestrated the so-called Stockholm Bloodbath in 1520, having roughly eighty Swedish noblemen and a couple of clergy beheaded despite having granted them amnesty? Was he not a man with more than one ruthless action on his conscience? While these things are true, this peculiar man

¹ WA 35,594,15–20.

² See Andersen Oftestad, *Introduction* (Chapter 1) to this volume, p. 12–48.

³ Martin Schwarz Lausten, *Den hellige stad Wittenberg. Danmark og lutherbyen Wittenberg i reformationstiden*. (Copenhagen: Anis, 2002), 7.

⁴ My translation of “skrevet udi den hellige stad Wittenberg.” Christian d. 2 til dronning Elisabeth, Wittenberg d. 5. Marts 1524 Riksarkivet, *Diplomatarium Norwegicum* vol. 10 (Riksarkivet, 1524).

had quite a different side as well. The humanist movement preoccupied Christian II and this intellectual movement demanded reforms of religious life and the educational system, as well as of social affairs. In the years 1521–22, the king had prepared a major reform, with the University of Copenhagen in particular to be modernized. At the king's request, the University of Wittenberg provided men to implement these reforms. Meanwhile, the case against Luther unfolded – declared a heretic and outlaw, he was sent to Wartburg. However, already during Lent 1522 Luther had left Wartburg. At this time many of Luther's controversial writings had already been published, but no one knew what was yet to come. Christian II's planned reforms petered out in the winter of 1522–23, as the *Rigsråd* (Council of the Realm) withdrew their allegiance – seeming tired, or, afraid of him. The king chose to leave the country with his wife Elisabeth, their three children, and a small group of still loyal counsellors and Household. As Elisabeth was the sister of none other than Emperor Karl V, a Catholic by conviction, Christian II hoped to win the support of Karl V and thus receive financial support needed to regain the kingdom. For that reason, Christian II and Elisabeth sailed to the Netherlands, only to be met with a cool reception and subsequently installed in a villa in Lier near Brussels. Yet, his conversion to Lutheranism would prove fatal. In October 1523 Christian II heard Luther preach in the church in Schweinitz, only a couple of hours from Wittenberg. He reportedly responded that: “never before had he heard the gospel preached like that. He would preserve this in his memory for all eternity; indeed, he would rather suffer all hardship (than forget) that Christ had suffered on the cross for a sinner.”⁵ Not only was the king now convinced of the truth in the Lutheran confession he even became a passionate Lutheran. That same autumn, Christian II travelled to Wittenberg for confidential meetings with the great reformer, with the king making many such journeys in subsequent years. Although Luther did not usually engage in political affairs directly, he did so in this heated political issue, openly opting for Christian II. Both letters and notes from Luther's sermons clearly show how closely the two were aligned. In the text *Ob Kriegsleute auch im seligen Stande sein können* (1526), which has played an important role even to the present day, Luther directly condemns the Danish rebellion against Christian II, their crowned and anointed king and supreme temporal authority.⁶

Christian II's fascination with the holy city of Wittenberg would prove costly. Totally dependent on Emperor Charles V and the Catholic powers, this was a political

⁵ My translation. “[...] han aldrig nogensinde havde hørt evangeliet således. Han ville altid bevare dette i sin hukommelse, ja han ville hellere lide alt (end glemme) at Kristus havde lidt korsdøden for en uværdig.” Martin Schwarz Lausten, *Christian 2. mellem paven og Luther, tro og politik omkring “den røde konge” i eksilet og i fangenskabet (1523–1559)*, vol. 3, Kirkehistoriske Studier (Copenhagen: Akademisk Forlag, 1995), 17–19.

⁶ Lausten, *Christian 2*, 19–29, 243–49.

blunder and they instantly turned their backs on him. This does, however, demonstrate how seriously Christian II held his conversion to be, furthermore underwritten by the fact that he immediately had the New Testament translated into Danish. This book, the first ever New Testament in Danish, was printed in Wittenberg and already published in 1524. It included Lucas Cranach the Elder's portrait of the king as well as prefaces by Luther. Thus, Christian II announced to the world that he was now Lutheran.⁷ When he was not residing in Wittenberg, he corresponded with Luther by mail – whom he addressed “Dear Brother in Christ.”⁸ Moreover, he also communicated actively with influential Electoral secretary, Georg Spalatin.⁹ A Dane by the name Peter Kempe, who was running a school in Torgau, noted in one of his numerous letters to Christian II that: “concerning D. Martin, assuredly I say unto you that he loves you implicitly.”¹⁰ Kempe could also report that “all Christians in Wittenberg”¹¹ supported Christian II and promised to serve him faithfully.

Christian II was seized by the intensity in the religious way of life that unfolded around Luther in Wittenberg to such a degree that he adapted this to his little household in exile. Secretly, Christian II had commerce with the Lutheran circles in the Netherlands and he and his household opened their letters with prefatory remarks such as: “The Grace of the Lord Jesus Christ Grace be with you,” “Spes Tua Christus,” or simply “Jesus.”¹² In one of his proclamations, smuggled into Denmark, Christian II even added in his own hand at the bottom of the draft: “Verbum dominj manet in eternum” (Isa 40:8) – the slogan of the Lutherans, often cited in their texts and shown on standards, etc.¹³ In the mind of the exiled king Christian II, Wittenberg had become *the Holy City* – just as stated in the abovementioned letter. Wittenberg was holy because the holy gospel was preached there for the first time.

In the Danish printed edition of the New Testament, the translator, Christian II's chancellor Hans Mikkelsen, had included a religious and political appeal to the Danish commoners. Mikkelsen carried on a controversy against the Danish Catholic bishops while praising Luther's theology and he urged the readers to demand Christian II be reinstated as king.¹⁴ However, the superintendent of the Carmelite Priory in Copenhagen, Paul Helgesen, responded in much the same

7 Lausten, *Christian 2*, 109–37.

8 My translation. “Kære broder i Kristus.”

9 Lausten, *Christian 2*, 69, 143, 480.

10 My translation. “om D. Martin skal I visselig vide, at han elsker Eder i et og alt.” *Ibid.*, 235.

11 My translation. “alle kristne i Wittenberg.”

12 My translation. “Jesus Kristi nåde og barmhjertig være med Eder.” E.g. Christian 2's breve af 5. Marts 1524, Riksarkivet, *Diplomatarium Norwegicum* 10, 345.; 20. Marts 1524, *ibid.*, 350.; 3. April 1524, *ibid.*, 354.; 12. April, *ibid.*, 372. Household letters e.g. 17. February 1524, *ibid.*, 325.; 20. February 1524, *ibid.*, 231.; 24. Marts 1524, *ibid.*, 352.; 4. October 1524, *ibid.*, 86.; 27 January 1526, *ibid.*, 462.

13 Lausten, *Christian 2*, 313–15.

14 *Ibid.*, 122–27.

vein. In an extremely polemical text, Helgesen stressed the importance of true pilgrimage to holy cities like Rome and Compostella as opposed to the heretical Wittenberg. Praising St Bridget of Vadstena who, following a command given to her in a vision of God, had gone on pilgrimage to the holy cities of Rome and Jerusalem, Helgesen underscored that this devotional practice was a serious matter.¹⁵ Building on this, he turned to Mikkelsen's limited studies in Wittenberg.¹⁶ Helgesen makes the ironic remark that, in contrast to the "holiness" Mikkelsen held Wittenberg and Luther to represent, the Catholic Church – even in spite of the sinful acts committed within it – was at least not heretical.¹⁷ Moreover, Helgesen legitimizes the holiness of Rome by tradition: the true Christian faith did not originate in Wittenberg, a city where Luther had been working for only fourteen to fifteen years, nor did it originate in the heretic Johan Hus's city of Prague. Rather, it came from Rome, a city that could look back on centuries of true Christianity.¹⁸ The unkind fate of Christian II is not to be dealt with here. However, it should be noted that sources from his twenty-seven years of captivity indicate that he held onto his Lutheran belief.¹⁹

During the reign of Christian II's successor, Frederik I, there was no apparent contact between Denmark–Norway and Wittenberg. Yet, during the reign of his son, Christian III, interaction was resumed and intensified, as Christian III had been a zealous Lutheran for some time. Already as a young duke in 1526 he had imposed Lutheran reformation on his small dukedom of North Schleswig, having Kursachsen as a model. When proclaimed King of Denmark–Norway after the civil war (the so-called Count's Feud), Christian III introduced the Reformation within the kingdoms. He imprisoned all Catholic bishops, confiscated Church lands, and accused the bishops of causing the civil war. Obviously, this procedure was beyond the countries' jurisdiction, and thus, the king needed justification for his actions – which he found in Wittenberg. In a private letter to the king, Luther personally approved both the cause of action as well as the draft for the Lutheran Church Ordinance (*Kirkeordinansen*) as the foundation for the Danish National Church. In the Royal Charter opening the Ordinance, Christian III emphasizes that the law had been approved by the highest authority in the evangelical world: "We sent it to the venerable father doctor Martin Luther, by whom God's clemency in these last

¹⁵ Paulus Helie and Poul Helgesen, *Till thet ketterlige wcristelige och wbesindige breff* (Rostock: Sancti Michaelis Closter, 1527), 41.

¹⁶ Lausten, *Christian 2*, 6.

¹⁷ Lausten, *Christian 2*, 13–34.

¹⁸ Paulus Helie, *En Kort Og Kristelig Formaning* (København: Marius Kristensen, 1532; reprint, 1935), 13.

¹⁹ Lausten, *Christian 2*, 392–401.

[i.e. eschatological] times has restored the pure gospel of Christ for us. He and the other theologians of Wittenberg approved it.”²⁰

Just as was the case with Christian II, in the eyes of Christian III Wittenberg was *the Holy City*. Wittenberg was sanctified in that it was here God had called upon Luther to proclaim the Gospel, which had been repressed during Catholic rule. Thus, to Christian III Wittenberg became the earthly hub of Christianity. In Catholic times, the religious and spiritual centre had been the ‘Holy City’ of Rome, far removed from the kingdom of Denmark–Norway. However, after the introduction of the Reformation the religious centre of the kingdom was transposed to the ‘Holy City’ of Wittenberg which, while still outside the realm, was closer than Rome. On a practical level, this involved a number of implications for both Church and society. According to Luther, Church and state were to be separated in such a way that the leading clergy were no longer members of the *Rigsråd*. The legal basis for the Church became, as in Kursachsen, the abovementioned Church Ordinance, which followed similar ordinances composed by Johann Bugenhagen. From a theological basis, Christian III referred directly to books by Luther and Melanchthon.²¹ Moreover, the University of Copenhagen was re-established as governed by the King, as opposed to being subject to the Roman Catholic church, as it had been previously. Now, teaching as well as curricula was based on Philipp Melanchthon’s reformed thoughts on education.²² In the years 1505–59, no less than 300 students from Denmark–Norway went to study in Wittenberg, often on royal scholarships.

Christian III held the greatest admiration for Martin Luther, Philipp Melanchthon, Johann Bugenhagen, and other learned men in Wittenberg. He frequently sent them gifts or cash, and the correspondence between the king and Wittenberg includes approximately 300 letters. Christian III wrote personally to each of the Lutheran luminaries and from time to time he even addressed letters merely to “the learned in Wittenberg.”²³ Moreover, when the king needed leading offices filled in the Church, in the educational system, and even in the government, he began by asking Wittenberg for recommendations, who often accommodated. Furthermore they regularly sent

20 “[. . .] misimus ad Reuerendum patrem Doctorem Martinum Lutherum, per quem dei clementia hisce nouissimis temporibus nobis restituit sacri Euangelii Christi synceritatem. Is cum aliis qui Wittenbergae sunt Theologis eam approbavit.” Martin Schwarz Lausten *Kirkeordinansen 1537/39: Det Danske udkast til kirkeordinansen (1537); Ordinatio ecclesiastica regnorum Danicæ et Norwegiæ et Ducatum Sleswicensis Holtsatiæ Etc. (1537); Den Danske kirkeordinans (1539)* (København: Akademisk Forlag, 1989), 150–51.

21 Lausten, *Kirkeordinansen 1537/39*, 230–31.

22 Martin Schwarz Lausten, *Philipp Melanchthon: Humanist og luthersk reformator i Tyskland og Danmark*, Kirkehistoriske Studier 15 (Copenhagen: Anis, 2010), 241.

23 C. F. Wegener, *Aarsberetninger fra det Kongelige Geheimearchiv: Indeholdende bidrag til dansk historie af utrykte kilder: 1*, vol. 1 (Kjøbenhavn: I commission hos C.A. Reitzels bo og arvinger, 1852–1855), 215.

news and notices, and all of the many books they published. To Christian III, Luther was an apostle sent by God to Wittenberg. When Luther died, the king in a proclamation implored God to allow the Gospel to remain in the kingdom so that he (and his subjects) could remain “a man of God and a precious servant, an apostle along with the famous and blessed doctor Luther, and keep the Gospel as he hitherto had done by will of his holy spirit.”²⁴ Time and again, Christian III would stress that the unity between Wittenberg and the Danish–Norwegian Church was indissoluble, calling on the Wittenberg theologians to pray alongside him to preserve this unity,²⁵ in order to retain the Wittenbergian theology, namely the unity of Luther and Melanchthon. However, already during Christian III’s lifetime this unity was revealed as an illusion. When internal disputes broke out among the Lutheran theologians much to the dismay of Christian III, he wrote a strongly worded letter to Philipp Melanchthon concerning “the wretched and despicable agitators and fanatics questioning the very foundations of our faith; a faith brought to the fore by the grace of God in Wittenberg to lay the very cornerstone of the preaching of the Gospel.”²⁶ Addressing another of the feuding theologians, Professor Georg Major, Christian III raged at how they scorned and slandered “the praiseworthy school [i.e. the university] in Wittenberg; the place where the proper, and consolidated divine evangelical truth along with the true justification – found in Christ Jesus through faith alone – was formulated and conveyed for the very first time.”²⁷

Naturally, the leading theologians agreed with their king in this understanding of Wittenberg. They published their books in Wittenberg, and the first Lutheran bishop of Zealand, Peder Palladius, reminisced about the great experience of studying in this city. His brother, Bishop Niels Palladius, referred to Luther as “father” and “man and prophet of God,” while the last great professor of the Age of the Reformation, Niels Hemmingsen, spoke of Luther as the holy prophet whom God in Wittenberg had revived to convey the true message of the Gospel. Hemmingsen

24 My translation. “Guds dyrebare mand og tjener, den berømte og salige doktor Luthers medapostle og disciple og holde fast ved evangeliet, som han med sin hellige ånd havde gjort,” Wegener, *Aarsberetninger*, 245.

25 Wegener, *Aarsberetninger*, 258, 60, 71.

26 My translation. “[...] de elendige og foragtelige uromagere og sværmere, som nu såede tvivl om vor tros grundlag, som ved guddommelig nåde atter blev bragt frem i lyset i Wittenberg, hvor begyndelsen blev gjort til evangeliets forkynnelse.” Christian III to Philipp Melanchton, Copenhagen 14 September 1557, cited from Gustav Wolf, *Zur Geschichte der deutschen Protestanten 1555–1559* (Berlin: Oswald Seehagen, 1888), 382.

27 My translation. “[...] den rosværdige skole (dvs. universitetet) i Wittenberg, hvor den rigtige, grundfæstede guddommelige evangeliske sandhed og den sande retfærdiggørelse, som vi har i Kristus Jesus alene gennem tro, først blev formuleret og fremført.” Christian III to Georg Major, Copenhagen 10 February 1558, cited from Wegener, *Aarsberetninger*, 287.

concluded: “just as we follow the same teaching, so we uphold the same ceremonies as the Wittenbergians.”²⁸ Yet, although at this time in Wittenberg the Lutheranism of Melancthon was now dominant, Niels Hemmingsen still maintained his reverence for Wittenberg, which eventually cost him his office in 1579. This, however, is another story not to be dealt with here.²⁹

28 My translation. “[...] ligesom vi har samme lære, opretholder vi også de samme ceremonier som wittenbergerne.” Martin Schwarz Lausten, *Christian D. 3. og kirken (1537–1559)*, vol. 1, Studier i den Danske Reformationskirke (København: Akademisk Forlag, 1987), 19. *Biskop Niels Palladius: et bidrag til den danske kirkes historie 1550–60*, Kirkehistoriske Studier 27 (København: Gad, 1968), 54–60; Martin Schwarz Lausten, *Niels Hemmingsen. Storhed og Fald* (Copenhagen: Anis, 2013), 108, 288.

29 Lausten, *Niels Hemmingsen*, 305–40.

Erling Sandmo

Chapter 10

Synchronizing the Holy Land: Sacred and Secular Cartography after the Reformation

After the Renaissance rediscovery or reinvention of Ptolemaic geography, cartography was defined by its task of projecting the round globe on a flat plane. Its main objective was to provide exact information about the locations, distances, and proportions of the physical world. This was a radical break from the medieval *mappae mundi*, maps that showed simultaneously a physical, temporal, and spiritual world, centered on Jerusalem. With the new geography and cartography, the world lost its centre – and Jerusalem lost its importance as the axis of the world map – or so it may seem. This chapter discusses the complex exchanges between sacred and secular geography in the early modern period and argues that with the rise of an apparently purely spatial cartography, maps of the Holy Land remain connected to sacred geography and consequently to the Jerusalem code in discrete, but important ways.

The Centre of the Spiritual World

The most famous of all medieval world maps, the Hereford *mappa mundi*, still hangs in Hereford Cathedral. It has been there almost continually since it was made around 1300, roughly at the time when Dante wrote his Divine Comedy. Today, it is on public display – behind glass, of course, facing the present with its back to the wall. This means that one of its most poignant details is hidden from sight: the hole from the compass that was used to draw the perfect circle of the world.¹ The hole is not only the centre of the world; it is also the centre of Jerusalem – the two are one.

The map contains a wealth of information on what can be seen as different levels. One such level could obviously be classified as geography: the Mediterranean Sea is a focal point, reaching downwards, and westwards towards the strait of

1 3D scan images, including images of this perforation, can be seen at Mappa Mundi “Mappa Mundi Exploration,” accessed 09.09.19, <https://www.themappamundi.co.uk/mappa-mundi>.

Note: Thank you to Djoeke van Netten, University of Amsterdam, for her valuable comments to an earlier version of this text.

Erling Sandmo, (1963–2020), Professor of History, University of Oslo; Director, The Map Centre, The National Library of Norway

Gibraltar. Europe covers the lower left quarter of the map, Africa the lower right; the upper half is Asia – although most of the continent is taken up by the Holy Land. This area is filled with images from another level of information – biblical history from Noah’s Ark on Ararat to the crucifixion. The Red Sea is red, divided dramatically by the long, twisted line delineating the Israelites’ journey from Egypt. Other levels are ethnography, natural history, and, finally, images of the temporal conditions of the map and its world: the Day of Judgement, Emperor Augustus sending forth his scribes – drawing a parallel between census and mapping, both as a means of control and discipline – and, possibly, the reader of the map setting out to explore the world and transform it into an object of both knowledge and thought.²

The abundance of texts and images is overwhelming, but arguably the most complex questions of all are contained in the minute hole left by the compass. They are questions about the historical ontology and epistemology of maps, and consequently of the world. Our contemporary maps are typically realistic images of the world, as a whole or as parts – the world understood, then, as a physical phenomenon which can be projected onto a flat sheet, an image created by means of certain techniques and with varying degrees of precision. These maps are representations of physical space, they are a media for knowledge of geography, albeit in a broad sense. They are also typically portable, and at least in principle are possible to take to the spaces they represent – but the maps that have happened to survive to our own times have usually not been made for that purpose. Those that were, are mostly lost.

Analytical concepts such as physicality, spatiality, projection, geography, mediality, and portability are difficult to apply across the centuries. The Hereford *mappa mundi* is not least a map of time and of times: sacred, worldly, eternal, historical. Its juxtapositions of elements from different realms of knowledge remind us of Michel Foucault’s famous essay “Of Different Spaces”: this world is a *heterotopia*, a space which contains different spaces, so to speak, like cemeteries, ships, and hotels.

We might imagine a sort of systematic description – I do not say a science because the term is too galvanized now – that would, in a given society, take as its object the study, analysis, description, and ‘reading’ (as some like to say nowadays) of these different spaces, of these other places. As a sort of simultaneously mythic and real contestation of the space in which we live, this description could be called heterotopology.³

The Hereford map could also be called a *heterochronia*, a meeting-place for different times.⁴ As for projection, the map is an image of the physical world, with rivers, cities, and coastlines, and its proportions are proportions of importance and

² Scott D. Westrem, *The Hereford World Map: A Transcription and Translation of the Legends with Commentary* (London: The Folio Society, 2010), 8.

³ Michel Foucault, “Of Other Spaces: Utopias and Heterotopias,” *Diacritics* 16, no. 1 (Spring, 1986): 24.

⁴ Foucault, *Of Other Spaces*, 26.

meaning – hence the position of Jerusalem, the prominence of biblical history, and the frequency of monsters and horrors on the margins, furthest from the origin of Christianity. In other words, the map is not just a projection of an external, physical world, but of Christian history and thought. While enabling the viewer to explore and remember the Christian world, the map also projects the structure of her own mind: it becomes a site of mystical experience – it is not just a picture of space; the map *is* space, not a model, but a place, a landscape for meditation and inner pilgrimage, and an icon. The Hereford map is not a representation, but an embodiment of the world. The centre of the world is the centre of Jerusalem, the centre of the map, and the centre of the mind, of attention, of concentration. Finally, like the world, the map is not portable, not to be carried, but to be sought and entered.

The *mappa mundi* is a cartographic genre which belongs to a specific historical time, the High Middle Ages – although it could be argued that it is still a concept in later, even recent accounts of biblical history.⁵ Still, technical developments in cartography, and, of course, transformations of the concept of the world, made the *mappae mundi* redundant as a map. The rediscovery of Ptolemaic geography with its use of coordinates gave rise to a cartography which sought to project the physical globe onto a flat sheet while retaining its proportions as faithfully as possible. This basic problem, projecting what is round onto what is flat, does not have any final or perfect solution.

New Maps, Old Meanings

This chapter is concerned with another problem. In terms of physical precision, the Ptolemaic turn was a huge advancement, but it came at a price: it deprived the world of its centre and hence of its spiritual meaning. North was up, and as the zero meridian came to pass through Greenwich, the common world map became a manifestation of the power of the British empire – but even that was not a manifestation of any deeper meaning or of the multi-layeredness of time. The basic premise of the new geography and the modern maps was that all maps would fit into a geometric system which in itself had no depth. Thus – and this is my question – what happened to meaning, to the world’s temporal dimension? More specifically: how could maps adhere to the new, scientific principles of cartography, and still represent the particular quality of Palestine and its surroundings, that it was The Holy Land? The new maps had no hole from the compass – so what would be their point?

⁵ See Chapter 19 (Erling Sandmo), in volume 3, 390–409.

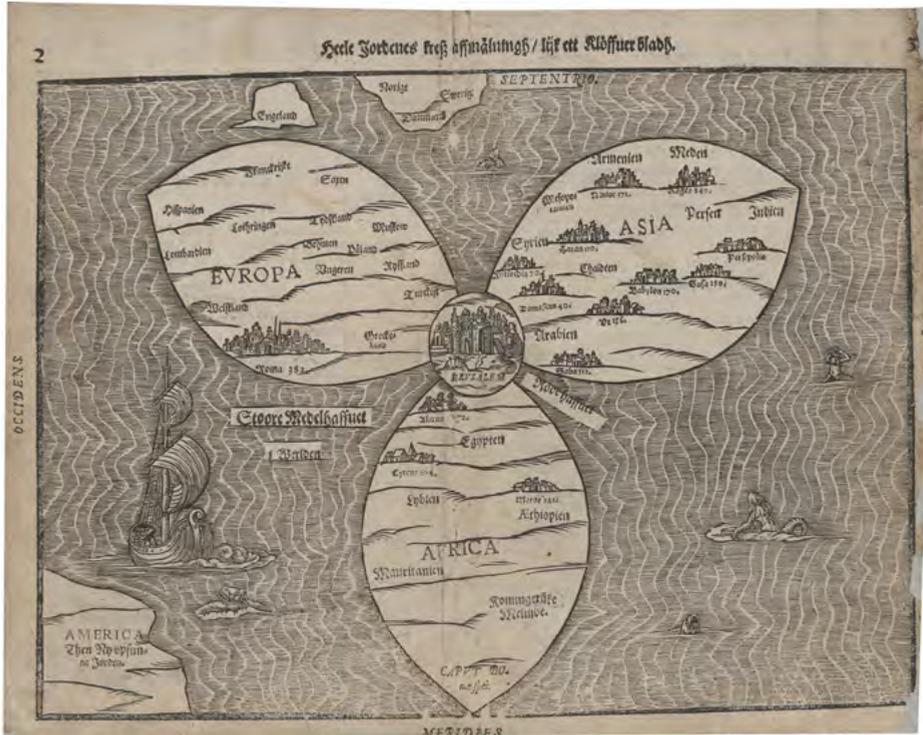


Fig. 10.1: Heinrich Bünting, *Heele Jordenes kretz affmålningh / liik ett Klöffuer bladh* (“The Entire Circle of the Earth depicted / like a clover leaf”) (1595).

In some instances, the point was obvious enough. One such instance was the biblical text itself, underpinned by a long tradition of Bible commentaries with maps and plans of important events and central locations. Such commentaries had been written and drawn since early Christian times, but the Reformation brought with it a renewed interest in biblical or sacred geography. Maps were present in Protestant Bibles from the beginning, included to support and guide reading. This was also the task of other, non-biblical works, such as the German pastor Heinrich Bünting’s *Itinerarium Sacrae Scripturae* (1581 and later editions).⁶ Bünting gave his readers – as his title said – an itinerary for the holy scripture, in the form of maps of the world – Europe, Asia, The Holy Land, Jerusalem, and the Temple – as well as a series of descriptions of important travels from the Old and New Testaments.⁷

⁶ On Bünting’s clover map, see Alfred Hiatt, *Terra Incognita: Mapping the Antipodes before 1600* (London: British Library, 2008), 184ff.

⁷ Heinrich Bünting, *Itinerarium sacrae scripturae, das ist, ein Reisebuch über die gantze heilige Schrift*, (Helmstedt, 1581).

Bünting's work was Lutheran, but it was also an example of a continuity reaching back to the Middle Ages. A striking example of this is another of his maps, a map of the world in the shape of a clover (Fig. 10.1). This map was not Bünting's invention – it was derived from maps going back at least to the first part of the sixteenth century, but still, then, being printed in new editions well into the seventeenth century, also in Scandinavia, both in Swedish and Danish.

The three leaves are the three continents of the Old World Europe, Asia, and Africa, with England placed very close to the European continent. The leaves are joined in Jerusalem. America barely protrudes from the bottom left corner, and Scandinavia from the upper centre. The map's peculiar hybridity lies in the fact that despite its use of the clover both to show how Jerusalem is the centre and – arguably – that the history of the Old World grows from this point, it also has traits from Ptolemaic geography: the frame of the map seems to be the borders of the grid of longitudes and latitudes which defined the geography of the inhabitable world. This is the reason only the southern part of Scandinavia is visible: the rest lies beyond the mappable world.

Bünting's 1595 Swedish edition of the clover map (Fig. 10.1) has a special poignancy: it speaks with the language of the marginalized – a language of people not just on, but beyond the frame of Christian world history. And the marginalization was new. It was imposed by the revival of Ptolemaic geography: the *mappae mundi* maps had only one world and no such borders. This exclusion of parts of Scandinavia – at the time of the clover map, a Lutheran heartland – may appear to be an accidental effect of this spectacular attempt to combine the medieval mapping of time with the Ptolemaic ordering of space. Perhaps there was a kind of compensation in a small detail: the Swedish edition of the clover map added “Norway” to the glimpse of Scandinavia, as if the three Northern countries made up a little peripheral Trinity of their own.

The particular Protestant concern with maps was due both to a need for close reading and explanation of the text and to what was in several cases a ban on images. Maps and diagrams were not depictions in the strict sense, but they still gave the Bibles a visual impact and an explanatory power they would otherwise have lost.⁸ The maps that were eventually printed in Bibles would typically show, first, the Exodus, second, the Land of Canaan (divided amongst the Twelve Tribes of Israel), third, a smaller version of the Holy Land with places mentioned in the Gospels, and finally a map showing places relevant to the Acts of the Apostles.⁹

⁸ Cf. Elizabeth M. Ingram, “Maps as Readers’ Aids: Maps and Plans in Geneva Bibles,” *Imago Mundi* 45 (1993): 29–44; and Justine Walden, “Global Calvinism: The Maps in the Geneva Bible,” in *Shaping the World in the Reformation: Books, Scholars and Their Readers in the Sixteenth Century*, eds. Bruce Gordon and Matthew McLean, Library of the Written Word 20 (Leiden: Brill, 2012).

⁹ Catherine Delano Smith, “Maps in Bibles in the Sixteenth Century,” *The Map Collector* 39 (1987): 6.

Time and Terrain

The intersection between this renewed sacred or biblical geography and the emerging secular geography brings together two historical fields, each with their own abundant literature. This short chapter can only hint at the vast material and point to the questions raised by the existing research. It relates partly to the new history of cartography, with its emphasis on the cultural production of space and on the role of power, partly to book history, and partly to the more specific field of the history of sacred geography and the importance of maps in Bibles. Interested readers should explore the more general literature in each field.

The first known atlas of Palestine or the Holy Land is the strongly anti-papal Erasmian Catholic Jacob Ziegler's *Quae Intus Continentur or Terrae Sanctae*, published in Strasbourg in 1532.¹⁰ By then, maps were already provided by vernacular Bibles. When Christoph Froschauer in Zurich published part of Luther's translation of the Old Testament in 1525, the text was equipped with a double-spread woodcut reproduction of a map drawn by Lucas Cranach. Probably produced at great speed, the map in this first edition was a mirror-image, although most of the names were printed the right way. Subsequent Protestant Bibles featured the Cranach map oriented "correctly", as Catherine Delano-Smith points out – but what was the right way?¹¹ Although the first printings of Cranach's map show how this question could be one of attention and technology, it could be said to go straight to the core of early biblical or sacred geography.

Consider, for instance, this map of the *Terra Sancta* (Fig. 10.2), The Holy Land, from Sebastian Münster's *Geographia* (1542) as an early example of non-biblical appropriation of sacred geography. The map shows the territory inhabited by the twelve tribes of Israel, and the final part of the Exodus and the route taken by the Israelites through the desert. On the map, this route begins in the upper left-hand corner. It passes through a series of numbered places, or stations, beginning with 32 and ending on 41. These numbers signify the years of wandering.

What is of particular importance here is that the journey through the stations is mediated as a feature of geography, embedded in the landscape. It could be seen as a narrative, as an itinerary not just for the Israelites, but for the eye and mind of the beholder. However, this is a map from a *Cosmographia*, a description of the world in terms of geography, ethnography, history, and natural history. It is followed by a map of Taprobane or Sri Lanka, and it is not a devotional map made to accompany

¹⁰ The manuscript of the Ziegler Atlas is the property of the Norwegian National Library, Oslo. Cf. Kristian Nissen, "Jacob Ziegler's Palestine Scandia Manuscript University Library, Oslo, Ms. 917-40," *Imago Mundi* 13 (1956). On Ziegler's biography and theological positions, see Kurt Stadtwald, *Roman Popes and German Patriots: Antipapalism in the Politics of the German Humanist Movement from Gregor Heimburg to Martin Luther* (Genève: Librairie Droz, 1996), 105ff.

¹¹ Delano Smith, "Maps in Bibles in the Sixteenth Century," *The Map Collector* 39 (1987): 4.



Fig. 10.2: Sebastian Münster, *Terra Sancta* (1542).

the reading of the Bible. It is a map of a land in the mid-1500s, visualized both by the fact that the first station on the desert route is number 32 and by the scene at the bottom left, where farmers and travelers go about daily lives that appear to be unrelated to biblical history.

Today, the most striking aspect of this map (Fig. 10.2) is – as suggested earlier – its geographical orientation. West is up, North to the right. Münster often made choices like this during this point in his career. In *Geographia*, the orientation of the maps varies and does not appear to follow any kind of systematic pattern. The maps were designed simply to show their objects as clearly as possible. This does not mean that Münster was unaware or disinterested in projection. The map of the Holy Land is preceded by a map of a somewhat larger area of the present Middle East, “according to Ptolemy’s description.” It shows Palestine and its surroundings with North up. A brief text in the upper left-hand corner informs the spectator that “Palestine is the Jewish land, sealed off by Jordan from the Orient. A particular map will follow.” It is this particular map (Fig. 10.2), then, that followed.

This version of the map of the Holy Land (Fig. 10.2) is of particular interest because of its coordinates. Like the map of the Middle East in Münster’s later *Cosmographia*



Fig. 10.3: Gerard Mercator, *Amplissima Terrae Sanctae* (1537).

(1544), not depicted in this chapter, it is equipped with coordinates, horizontal and vertical lines with numbers for exact reference. However, the coordinates of the two maps do not match. The coordinates of the 1542 map of the Holy Land begin with 1 in the upper left hand corner and continue to 18 vertically and 24 horizontally. The corresponding coordinates of the Cosmographia map of the Middle East are 39 to 29 and 64 to 81. In other words, the latter is shown to fit the Ptolemaic world map which opens the book. The Holy Land does not belong to the world: the coordinates belong to that particular map only and serves to isolate it from others, not to connect to them.

It seems, then, as if the Holy Land has a separate, sacred geography, even in a non-biblical context – although this geography appears to be very similar to that of other lands. The difference is discreet, apparent in a very particular incompatibility with the new Ptolemaic geography: the coordinates reveal how the map of the Holy Land does not fit into the ordinary, physical world of secular cartography.

Münster's map is a bewildering example of this latter point, since north is to the right rather than up. That may obscure the fact that the Holy Land itself is tilted markedly eastwards, retaining the orientation of medieval cartography. This is a revelation of the persistence of meaning, the bond between the Holy Land, the orient, of dawn, and God.

This double particularity of orientation is a lasting part of Palestine geography. If we turn to the Dutch cartographer Gerard Mercator's map of the Holy Land created in 1537, *Amplissima Terrae Sanctae descriptio ad utriusque Testamenti intelligentiam* (Fig. 10.3), a description of the Holy Land "for the understanding of both testaments," the map itself is turned slightly to the east, as can be seen from its central compass rose. The coastline of the Holy Land is very close to horizontal, stretching straight east from the Nile delta.

The map of the Terra Sancta is Mercator's earliest known work. He would become the most prominent cartographer of his time, but his development of what is now simply called the Mercator projection belongs to a later stage of his career. His early maps are of particular interest because they reflect his experimental interest in cartographical technique. Projection is of the essence – and so, of course, is geographical orientation.

If we compare Mercator's *Terra Sancta* map (Fig. 10.3) to the famous double cordiform World Map (Fig. 10.4) made the following year (Fig. 10.4), the most obvious difference is that of projection, but orientations differ as well. In the spectacular heart-shaped map of 1538, the coastline takes a sharp turn northwards west of the Nile.

North in the World Map is located in the upper left corner. The Palestinian coast can be seen to the right of the centre of this detail, oriented north-northeast. It is not marked "Palestine" or "the Holy Land", but "Arabia".

The projections and general outline of Mercator's maps vary greatly. The heavenly directions remain constant – except in the case of the geography of the Middle East. It changed according to the maps' inherent time – biblical or secular

and/or contemporary – and their political territoriality. The coastline of the biblical Holy Land followed the horizontal line from west to east; the coastline of the contemporary Osman Empire between Egypt and Syria ran roughly from south to north. The two regions may appear to occupy the same cartographic space, but this is a superficial identity. Their geographies may be studied through similar maps, but their ontological status is different: one land is sacred and eternal, one worldly and political.

Mercator's *Terra Sancta* (Fig. 10.3) also features the journey of the Israelites from Egypt to Canaan, the Exodus. A suggestive detail is that the parting of the Red Sea is empty, perhaps "inviting the map's viewer to take the Hebrew's place," to quote Mercator's biographer, Nicholas Crane.¹² This may be a tall claim, but it makes for interesting comparisons with other maps, and it could be that the void of the open sea was meant to facilitate identification and devotion.

The itinerary is complete, with numbered stations. This makes for an interesting comparison with Münster's map, which begins with station number 32. In Bible maps, the station numbers corresponded with the number of wandering years, but they would also typically refer to a numbered list of passages to be read and contemplated. It is not altogether obvious that the numbers should be included in maps in other settings. The fact that they are suggests that there is no absolute distinction between the sacred and the secular. The Mercator map was a single map and it seems reasonable that it could have had a devotional function; so was Münster's – but that could not possibly have had such a function, since the number of stations was reduced to the final ten. This could be understood as a deliberate suggestion that the landscape depicted was essentially biblical, united with the more purely spatial function of the map, which was to provide information about Palestine. In other words, Münster's map of Palestine was also an image of another map of the Holy Land. Behind the immediate depiction of Palestine lay another, only partially visible, of the Exodus.

Even more striking in this respect is the depiction of the life and travels of Abraham in the Flemish cartographer Abraham Ortelius's *Theatri Orbis Terrarum Parergon; Sive Veteris Geographiae Tabulae, Commentarijs Geographicis et Historicis illustratae* (Fig. 10.5), a 1586 supplement to his earlier *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* (1570). The *Parergon* is primarily a historical atlas. It contains redrawings of old and antique maps, contrasting examples of older and contemporary cartography, and a series of maps with biblical topics. One of these is devoted to Abraham. We see twenty-two miniature images of scenes from Abraham's life surrounding a map of Canaan – that is, they do not surround a map, but an image of a map, depicted as if hanging from two nails driven into the wall of the page.

¹² Nicholas Crane, *Mercator: The Man Who Mapped the Planet* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 2002), 88.

It is as if Ortelius pre-echoes his much later countryman, the Belgian painter René Magritte: this is not a map, but a picture of a map.¹³ It is a *trompe l'oeil* image, depicted in a way which highlights the map as an object and not just as a representation of its landscape. I would argue that in this case, the representation of the map serves to emphasize how a map of the Holy Land is a map of a particular kind, an object of religious contemplation, even of worship.¹⁴ Although different from the Hereford *mappa mundi* in all technical respects, the Abraham map-image seems to suggest a continuity in the perception of the map as a physical and even sacred place in itself. The *mappa mundi*'s central hole is gone, but the implied holes from the illusory nails seem to retain some of its religious significance.

The peculiar ontological status of the map, which is both a representation of a landscape and an object of devotion, is made even more complex by the care for scale and measurements. The main map shows Canaan; the smaller, inserted map shows the travels of Abraham from Ur in Chaldea to Canaan, Egypt, and Hebron. This map has coordinates which match those of contemporary, secular cartography. The larger map has no coordinates, but both present scale according to two different Roman measures of distance, *leuca* and *mille passus*, both Roman units. *Mille passus* may then have been the unit used by the Romans in Palestine, the depicted land, whereas *leuca* was used in Gaul – that is, in northwestern Europe, the location of the implied reader.

There is no paradox in this concern with both faith and exactitude. Rather the opposite – this is an example of what Zur Shalev has called “devout curiosity”:

Measurement and accuracy were happily adopted as pious modes of dealing with the sacred, in text and image, because they were not seen by contemporaries as emptying the world of its moral and qualitative properties. Curiosity becomes a devout act in itself . . . Devout curiosity meant not only the careful study of biblical and ecclesiastical antiquity, but also mobilizing this study for contemporary devout purposes.¹⁵

The Paradoxes of Orientation

The Hereford *mappa mundi* was a holistic map, an image of a world consisting of different times as well as different spaces. The new Ptolemaic geography rendered

¹³ Michel Foucault, *This is a Not a Pipe*, ed. and trans. by James Harkness. (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1982).

¹⁴ On the persistence of religious thought in sacred cartography, exemplified by Ortelius's *Parergon*, see Walter S. Melion, “Ad ductum itineris et dispositionem mansionum Ostendendam: Meditation, Vocation, and Sacred History in Abraham Ortelius's *Parergon*,” *The Journal of the Walters Art Gallery* 57 (Place and Culture in Northern Art) (1999).

¹⁵ Zur Shalev, *Sacred Words and Worlds: Geography, Religion, and Scholarship, 1550–1700*, History of Science and Medicine Library 21 (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 13.

such maps obsolete. Cartography eventually came to be the visual representation of pure, physical space – even when the space served as the foundation for thematic maps. Conversely, historiography developed into the textual representation of time as the ordering of past events. The cartography of Palestine or the Holy Land shows how slow and nuanced this transition was. Biblical geography produced some of the largest and most detailed maps of the Holy Land, such as those in Gustav Adolf's Swedish Bible from 1618, Elzevier's Dutch States Bible from 1663, and Charles XII's Swedish Bible from 1703.¹⁶ Maps that were not embedded in Bibles also maintained many of the hallmarks of sacred geography and singled out the Holy Land as geographically unique.

One such hallmark was the geographical direction of the coastline of the Holy Land. When mapped as part of a larger region, the world or the Mediterranean, the coastline would typically be pictured as following an almost vertical north/south line. In the maps devoted specifically to the Holy Land the coast would, as mentioned earlier, lean eastwards. Ortelius' image of Abraham's pilgrimages (Fig. 10.5) may already be a subtle example: The larger of the two maps in this image leans noticeably more to the east than the smaller, and the explanation could be that the smaller map shows a land which has not yet become part of sacred history and consequently is not yet leaning toward the east.

The unpredictability and particularity of orientation remained a general aspect of the early modern cartography of the Holy Land – but only so long as it was represented as sacred. In the 1632 edition of Mercator's great atlas, *Atlas sive Cosmographicae meditationes de fabrica mundi et fabricati figura*, the contrast between past and present is very sharp.¹⁷ As part of the Ottoman Empire – "Turcicum Imperium" – Palestine stretches north/; as the Holy Land, it is depicted with east at the top (Fig. 10.7).

The contrast between the two geographies appears to be both pronounced and fading. The eastern orientation of the second map is dramatic, but the geography matches what was by then common knowledge in secular cartography. This is further emphasized by the coordinates, which show that the Holy Land in every geographical sense is identical to Palestine, part of the Ottoman Empire.¹⁸

This particular atlas cannot be taken as proof of a linear development, of a convergence of the geographies of Palestine and the Holy Land. Many of the maps in question were almost certainly based on older models. Only four years later, the

¹⁶ *Biblia, thet är all then heliga skrift på swensko* (Stockholm: Henrich Keyzers Tryckeri, 1703). *Biblia thet är all then helga scrifft, på swensko* (Stockholm: Oloff Oloffson, 1618); Johan Elzevier, *Biblia, dat is, se gantsche heylige schrifture* (Amsterdam: Johan Elzevier, 1663).

¹⁷ Jodocus Hondius and Gerard Mercator, *Atlas sive Cosmographicae Meditationes* (Amsterdam: Cloppenburg, 1632).

¹⁸ This can not be seen as the evidence of a linear development. The map of the Holy Land in the 1636 English edition of Mercator – Hondius – Janssonius Atlas has no coordinates.



Fig. 10.6: *Turcicum Imperium*, Mercator/Hondius (1632).



Fig. 10.7: *Terra Sancta*, Mercator/Hondius (1632).



Fig. 10.8: Joannes Blaeu, Terra Sancta, from *Atlas Maior* (Amsterdam: Blaeu, 1662).

Flemish cartographer Jodocus Hondius and his Dutch colleague Joannes Janssonius published another edition of the *Mercator Atlas* where the map of the Holy Land does not have coordinates (not depicted in this chapter). In Hondius and Janssonius' *Mercator Atlas*, the coastline, although shown as horizontal, slants towards the east: were it not for the wealth of detail, this map could have been made almost a century earlier. Still, it seems that a form of synchronization of geographies is taking place, and in the 1632 atlas (Fig. 10.6), they are the same – the maps are simply two views of the same object, physically speaking. The *Terra Sancta* does not feature the Israelites' journey.

In this respect, the *Terra Sancta* map in the Dutch publisher and cartographer Joannes Blaeu's monumental *Atlas Maior* (Fig. 10.8) is a nod to the previous century, with its horizontal coastline, its eastern slant, and its absence of coordinates. It also features the journey, prominently displayed, even equipped with a small number of references to biblical verses. The Red Sea seems to be pictured as it swallows the Egyptian army, spears and men disappearing in the waves – eye-catching historical drama, but not an invitation for the reader to be drawn into the Exodus, if we are to follow Nicholas Crane's observation of the openness of this scene in

Mercator's map mentioned above.¹⁹ However, the itinerary does not have numbered stations and does not seem to be an aid for reading the text. It is a map which fights a lost cause, that of a particular sacred geography.

Half a century after Blaeu, German cartographer and publisher Johann Baptist Homann included a map of the Holy Land in his *Atlas über die Gantze Welt* (1714).²⁰ Its most spectacular feature is the lower right corner, where two figures – probably Moses and Aaron – are unfolding another map, which shows the journey of the Israelites. Their track has numbered stations, as in the maps of the old biblical geography, and Homann shows the itinerary crossing the Red Sea. However, this pictured map is clearly another object, distinct from the main map of the Atlas proper. It is pondered by the biblical figures themselves, and lost to the implied viewer, recalling rather than recreating tradition.

Conclusion: The Invention of Secular Space

My main concern here has been to outline a slow change in the relationship between biblical and what may be called a secular geography in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Biblical geography had deep historical roots; secular geography was in a period of rapid change, following the renaissance of Ptolemaic geography and a series of discoveries so great that they contributed to a transformation of cartography itself. This transformation may appear to have entailed a loss of meaning, of depth – an early *Entzauberung der Welt*, to quote Max Weber. My examples, on the other hand, suggest that meaning and faith seem to have been maintained in oblique, even surprising ways, also in maps that adhered to the emerging secular geography at a time when the northwards orientation was becoming a standard. Even if the atlases that in several of my examples surrounded these maps of the *Terra Sancta* were oriented in this way, these particular maps were not.

Gradually, the secular inclusion of biblical geography gave way to what – again, simplistically – was a secularization of geography and cartography as a whole. This development could be called the invention of secular cartography rather than its secularization. It was a rupture which, like the Reformation, was both a farewell and a beginning.

The change was gradual, and was not linear. Given the rapid spread of maps and ideas, it may seem surprising that such a marked development was constantly being subverted and set aside – as when the highly secularized Atlas by Mercator in 1632 (Fig. 10.6) was followed only a few years later by a version which was much

¹⁹ Crane, *Mercator*, 2002.

²⁰ Johann Baptist Homann, *Atlas über die gantze Welt* (Nuremberg: Johann Ernst Adelbulner, 1714).

more traditional and biblical in its approach to the Holy Land. The explanation must be found both in the localized nature of the production of maps and in the transnational networks of the cartography business. Different cartographers catered to a multitude of audiences, providing exactitude and mysticism alike. Some readers would desire to follow the Israelites from Egypt to the Holy Land and to behold a foreign geography; others merely wanted to study the different parts of the present Ottoman Empire. Many would have wanted the best of two worlds. By the eighteenth century, those two worlds had separated – but neither had been lost.

Janus Møller Jensen

Chapter 11

Danish Post-Reformation Crusaders: Jerusalem and Crusading in Denmark c.1550–1650

This chapter investigates some of the motives of the Danish nobles who visited Jerusalem after the Reformation roughly in the period 1555–1650. It will demonstrate how several elements of the medieval crusade continued as part of the royal and national ideology, as well as part of the ideals and religious life of Protestant knighthood. It analyses the travel accounts, crusade literature, knightly orders, and expressions of national crusading ideology, which form an important background and context for understanding the continued travels of the nobility to Jerusalem.

In 1684 the Danish statesman and jurist Peder Hansen Resen (1625–88) published Erik Krabbe's (1510–64) sixteenth-century German translation of the old Danish law-collection *Law of Jutland* from the thirteenth century. In the preface he wrote about various subjects. Among others, he described how his brother, Dr Poul Resen (d. 1657), went on a journey to Constantinople and the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem. When he reached the Franciscan monastery on Mount Zion, he was very well received and the monks played music for him. They believed him to be fond of music because he carried a fiddle with him. In the evening, when Poul Resen went to bed, he was placed in a room on the door of which was carved four letters and then "Ottho Schram Danus 1599." Poul Resen had promised to write more of this when he reached Cairo, but unfortunately, he died on the way from the Holy Sepulchre to Cairo in 1657.

A certain Otto Skram had in fact visited Jerusalem in the 1590s. He travelled in the company of three companions from Constantinople as "pilgrims" to Jerusalem after several years in imperial service in Europe. According to his detailed travel account, he visited the holy places and was even knighted at the Holy Sepulchre before returning to Denmark. Otto Skram and Poul Resen were but two of several Danish nobles who visited Jerusalem towards the end of the sixteenth and in the early seventeenth century bearing witness to a continued interest in the Holy City among Protestant nobles.

It has often been argued by both contemporaries and modern historians that they undertook these journeys more for the sake of learning about other cultures than for the sake of religion. Generally speaking, however, the travel accounts of Danish nobles of the sixteenth century did not differ substantially from those of

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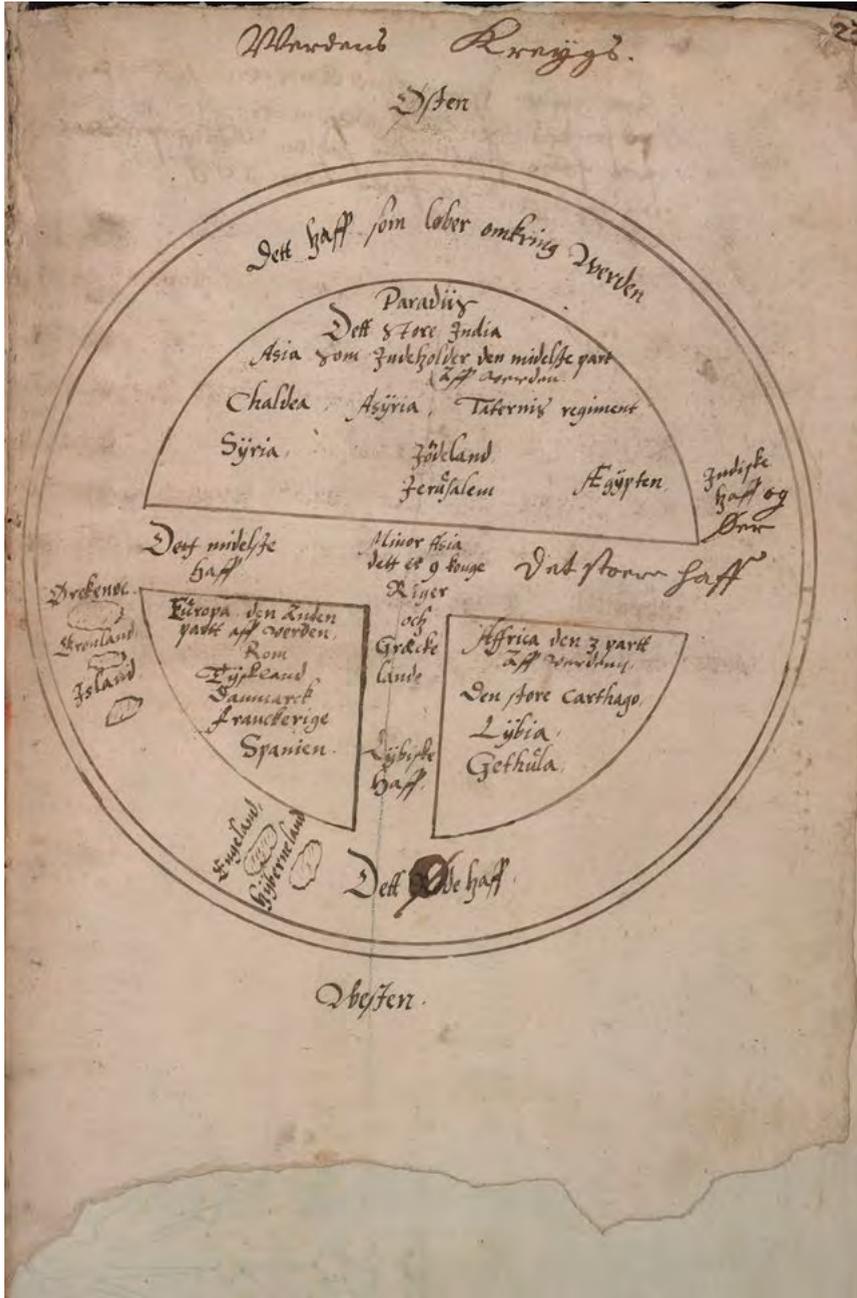


Fig. 11.1: T-O map drawn by the Danish theologian and historian Christiern Pedersen in 1521. Several copies exist. This is probably the oldest, dated around 1550. From ms. Thott 797 2o, fol. 277. (Det Kongelige Bibliotek). Jerusalem and “Jødeland” (“Land of the Jews”) is still central to conception of the world.

their Catholic peers, and the sense of awe at being near the holiest places was genuinely expressed. In general, the pilgrimage elements in the Catholic sense, if not disappearing completely, naturally waned after the Reformation, but as the scene for the passion of Christ Jerusalem of course remained a place of central importance within the Protestant faith. Further, Protestant nobles continued to be knighted at the Holy Sepulchre and there was an outspoken and deliberate identification of being knighted at the Holy Sepulchre with the crusading pre-Reformation past that has not received much attention in modern research. The purpose of the present chapter will be to investigate some of the motives of the Danish nobles who visited Jerusalem after the Reformation roughly in the period 1550–1650. It will demonstrate how several elements of the medieval crusade continued long after the Reformation ostensibly should have put an end to its existence. These elements were parts of the royal and national ideology as well as the ideals and religious life of Protestant knighthood. They hence formed an important background for understanding the travels of the nobility to Jerusalem.

Brief Historiography

The first to write about the journeys to Jerusalem in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were the people who actually went there. Several travel accounts from nobles visiting the Holy Sepulchre have been preserved.¹ They describe in detail the journey itself and what they experienced once they reached Jerusalem. In some of these accounts, the visit to Jerusalem and the Holy Land only formed part of longer journeys, which for instance included visits to Syria and Egypt. Even if some of them describe in detail the visits to all of the scenes of Christ's passion and biblical history in Jerusalem and the Holy Land that indicates both an emotional and religious experience like in Catholic times, they are sparse on actual information concerning the personal motives of the travellers. The journeys are sometimes mentioned and briefly described in contemporary eulogies. In these sources, the motives of those who went to Jerusalem are often described in the context of the official Lutheran-Evangelical confession. The authors often focus on the educational purposes of the journeys and the need to gain knowledge of other cultures to be put to use for the fatherland. Some of the travel-accounts were published as early as the seventeenth century.² Several of the Danish eulogies were printed in their own day too, but published as sources for the history of the nobility and their work on behalf of the fatherland in

¹ Cf. below.

² The first eulogy to be printed in Denmark dates from 1565, cf. Grethe Jacobsen, "Danske ligprædikener 1565–1610. Køn, stand og embede i en litterær genre," *Historisk Tidsskrift* 115, no. 2 (2015).

the middle of the eighteenth century.³ At the same time, there appeared an academic interest in these journeys. In 1740–41, the Danish theologian, historian, antiquarian and – for a period – bishop of Bergen in western Norway, Erik Pontoppidan (1698–1764), published his *Gesta et Vestigia Danorum extra Daniam* in three volumes. It is basically a compilation of sources and secondary works bearing upon the deeds of the Danes and Norwegians all over the world throughout recorded history. The first chapter deals with Danes in the Orient, divided into three groups: pilgrims, who went for religious purposes,⁴ warriors and crusaders,⁵ and those who went for various other purposes.⁶ This third group included some travellers in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The purposes and motives identified by Pontoppidan included lust for travel [*curiositatem peregrinandi*], the study of language, marriage, trade, or simply the result of being exiled or as refugees.⁷ As an example of the first category, the journey of Otto Skram was mentioned in some detail. Pontoppidan remarks that no one else besides the noble Henrik Rantzau (1599–1674) appeared to have visited the Holy Sepulchre out of “curious superstition” after Skram, which of course is not true. The work was a huge antiquarian compilation and achievement, but it was not very critical.

In his work on the pilgrimages of the Northern peoples to “Greece”, which included the Holy Land, published in 1758 the Swedish linguist and professor at Uppsala University Johan Ihre (1707–80) added the Swedes to the picture and included the runic inscriptions as sources.⁸ In 1813, the Danish antiquarian and historian Lauritz Schebye Vedel Simonsen (1780–1858) published a study on Danish participation in the crusades and pilgrimages to the Holy Land, and he continued his investigation to include Danish pilgrims to the Holy Land in the fourteenth, fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries.⁹ This inspired the Swedish historian Ebbe Samuel Bring to publish a similar work in 1827, which focused on the Swedish participation in the

³ Casper Peter Rothe, *Brave danske Mænds og Qvinders berømmelige Eftermæle*, 2 vols. (Copenhagen, 1753).

⁴ Erich Pontoppidan, *Gesta et vestigia Danorum* (Leipzig: Jacob Preuss, 1740–41), 1:5–20.

⁵ Pontoppidan, *Gesta et vestigia Danorum*, 1:20–55.

⁶ Pontoppidan, *Gesta et vestigia Danorum*, 1:55–75.

⁷ The work of Pontoppidan is dedicated to the crown-prince whose love of history, Pontoppidan hoped, may be even more firmly strengthened by reading about the glorious deeds of his subjects, and the work is born from a warm and strong national sentiment. Cf. Michael Neiiendam, *Erik Pontoppidan. Studier og bidrag til pietismens historie*, 2 vols (Copenhagen: Gad, 1930–33), 2:114–16.

⁸ Johan Ihre, *Disputatio academica, sistens peregrinationes gentium septentrionalium in græciam* (Uppsala: L. M. Höjer, 1758).

⁹ Lauritz Schebye Vedel Simonsen, “Historisk udsigt over nordiske valfarter og korstog til det hellige land,” in *Udsigt over nationalhistoriens ældste og mærkeligste perioder*. Vol. 2/2 (Copenhagen, 1813), 3, 151–77. Lauritz Schebye Vedel Simonsen’s work is antiquarian in its scope and not free of some medieval romanticism, but it is nevertheless a huge achievement and the obvious starting point for any investigation of crusading history in Denmark. For a more general evaluation of Vedel Simonsen and his work, cf. Niels Henrik Holmqvist-Larsen, “‘Sagas yndede og trofast hengivne Søn’ – Om Lauritz Schebye Vedel

crusades to the Holy Land. He too included pilgrims from 1291 to the sixteenth century although the reference was very brief and merely consisted of a list of names.¹⁰ Vedel Simonsen clearly believed that the journeys to the Orient of the Danish nobility in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were a direct continuation of the medieval pilgrimage to Jerusalem that gradually developed into the scientific journeys of a later age. Henny Glarbo came to the directly opposite conclusion in her article on Danish travellers to Jerusalem from 1936.¹¹ She stated that it was no longer possible to identify the motives of the travellers but concluded that it appeared as if religious and scientific motives only occasionally had been predominant. According to Glarbo, the men of the Reformation area experienced a communal dread for anything Catholic including pilgrimages, but towards the end of the sixteenth century, when travels had become part of the education of young noblemen, several undertook the journey to the Orient. They did this, however, in order to be acquainted with foreign cultures and they returned with more knowledge, a wider horizon, and wiser as part of their education rather than for reasons associated with the pilgrimage tradition. This appears to be accepted by Benedikt Otzen who, besides providing interesting new material concerning the known journeys of the nobility, thinks that the Protestant accounts both expressed sincere curiosity about foreign cultures and voiced the Protestant scepticism when confronted with the many biblical legends.¹² This has become the predominant view in more recent studies of the educational journeys of the Danish nobility in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.¹³

The historians and antiquarians of the eighteenth and early nineteenth century thus clearly understood the journeys of the nobility to Jerusalem in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Denmark as rooted in the crusading past and to them the continuity was obvious. Only in the case of the succeeding centuries did the travels turn into something else. Later studies, forming the predominant view today, instead saw a clear break with the Reformation and viewed the journeys to the Orient

Simonsen til Elvedgård, 1780–1858,” in *Fynske Antikvarer. Lærdom, fortid og fortolkninger, 1550–1850*, edited by Janus Møller Jensen (Odense: Syddansk Universitetsforlag, 2008), 93–143.

10 Ebbe Samuel Bring, *Om valfarterna och korstågen från Skandinavien till Heliga Landet: En historisk undersökning* (Lund: Berlingska, 1827). The church historian and bishop of Copenhagen Friederich Münter (1761–1830) did treat Sweden briefly, although he cited no evidence for Swedish participation before the Third Crusade, Friederich Münter, “Allgemeine Bemerkungen über die Theilnahme der nordischen Völker an den Krezzügen, und deren Wirkungen auf die Kultur den Nordens,” in *Vermischte Beyträge zur Kirchengeschichte* (Copenhagen: Proft und Storch, 1798), 370–73.

11 Henny Glarbo, “Danske Palæstinafarere i det 16. og 17. Aarhundrede,” *Kirkehistoriske Samlinger* 6, no. 2 (1936–38): 1–32.

12 Benedikt Otzen, “Johan Rantzau og Andre Adelsmænd i Jerusalem,” in *Humanitet og eksistens – en artikelsamling til Børge Diderichsen*, ed. Knud Hansen, Svend Holm-Nielsen, and Bent Hahn (Copenhagen: Gyldendal, 1976), 65–80.

13 Cf. for example Vello Helk, *Dansk-Norske studierejser fra reformationen til enevælden 1536–1660. Med en matrikel over studerende i udlandet* (Odense: Odense Universitetsforlag, 1987).

only as a part of the general trend of the nobility to undertake educational journeys motivated mostly by a lust for travel and to gain knowledge of other cultures. This should, however, be seen against a more general trend in which the Catholic travellers and their accounts also placed increased focus on other aspects than the pilgrimage proper. They describe ancient monuments, plants and animals, cities, and fortifications to an extent where they were criticized by contemporaries for not undertaking these journeys with the proper Christian intentions.¹⁴ Simultaneously, Protestant nobles did take an outspoken interest in holy sites and relics.¹⁵ There can be little doubt that pilgrimage in the Catholic sense were abandoned officially with the Reformation and that the travels undertaken in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries did indeed form part of the education of the nobility. However, few Danish scholars appear to have noticed that these journeys coincide with a growing interest in crusading history as part of constructing a national history in which the Danish kings and nobles had a long tradition for fighting for the true faith. This forms another direct link to the pre-Reformation crusading past in which Jerusalem and the Holy Land hold a central position and importance. It suggests a continuity as seen in the older historiography and opens up for a new investigation of the travels from this perspective.

The continued appeal of crusading ideals on both sides of the confessional divide in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Europe has been the subject of some study in modern crusade scholarship. In the seventeenth century, “the crusade was employed to support a sense of national identity or pride explicitly derived from the pre-Reformation past and deliberately non-confessional”, as Christopher Tyerman has written.¹⁶ Tyerman has also drawn attention to the fact that Protestant nobles continued to take part in the crusades in the sixteenth century from England.¹⁷ Norman Housley has pointed out how the Holy Land and Jerusalem became

14 Marianne P. Ritsema van Eck, “Encounters with the Levant: The Late Medieval Illustrated Jerusalem Travelogue by Paul Walter Von Guglingen,” *Mediterranean Historical Review* 32, no. 2 (2017b), 153–88; Nicole Chareyron, *Pilgrims to Jerusalem in the Middle Ages* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2005), 14–15.

15 Cf. also the travel diary of the noble and royal councilor Christen Skeel (1623–88), who exults in the many relics he encounters on his way through France. He visited, for example, Saint Denis several times in order to see all that was kept there. He later visited the Knights of Saint John on Malta and fought in their ranks against the Turks on a six-week naval expedition, *Christen Skeels Resedagbok 1619–1627*, ed. Lennart Tomner (Malmö: Allhem, 1961).

16 Christopher J. Tyerman, “Holy War, Roman Popes, and Christian Soldiers: Some Early Modern Views on Medieval Christendom,” in *The Medieval Church: Universities, Heresy, and the Religious Life. Essays in Honour of Gordon Leff*, eds. Peter Biller and Barrie Dobson, *Studies in Church History*, Subsidia 11 (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1999). Cf. Matthias Pohlig, “Konfessionskulturelle Deutungsmuster internationaler Konflikte um 1600 – Kreuzzug, Antichrist, tausendjähriges Reich,” *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* 93 (2002).

17 Christopher Tyerman, *England and the Crusades, 1095–1588* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988).

transplanted to the new national monarchies of the late medieval and renaissance Europe. He argues that rather than diminishing interest in the “real” Jerusalem this transfer helped keeping it alive. The role of the Holy Land as a *Patria communis*, however, declined towards the end of the sixteenth century and it simply became a destination for travellers.¹⁸ So far, the Danish travels have not been investigated from this perspective.

Late Medieval Pilgrims to Jerusalem

Crusading and pilgrimage to Jerusalem were an integral part of late medieval political, religious, and noble life. Although we do not have detailed travel accounts from the fifteenth century from Scandinavia, quite a number of named pilgrims to the Holy Land are known through the papal licenses allowing them to go. Several itineraries have been preserved, both the more common ones in Latin – like Burchard de Monte Sion’s – and some in Danish.¹⁹ The journey of two Danish nobles Wulf and Benedikt Pogwisch to Jerusalem is known from a German travel account,²⁰ and from

18 Norman Housley, “Holy Land or Holy Lands? Palestine and the Catholic West in the Late Middle Ages and Renaissance,” *Studies in Church History* 36 (The Holy Land, Holy Lands, and Christian History) (2000).

19 A Danish fifteenth-century itinerary is found in ms. AM 792 4^o edited in M. Lorenzen and John Mandeville, *Mandevilles rejse: i gammeldansk oversættelse; tillige med en vejleder for pilgrimme*, vol. 5, Recueil Des Voyages (København, 1882). An *Itinerarium Hyerosolimitanum* was found in the library of the Cistercian Monastery Øm [Cara Insula] when an inventory was made in 1554 at the request of the king, cf. Bo Gregersen, Carsten Selch Jensen, and Carsten Selch Jensen, *Øm kloster: Kapitler af et middelalderligt cistercienserabbedis historie* (Odense: Øm Kloster Museum; i kommission hos Syddansk Universitetsforlag, 2003), 226. Burchard de Monte Sion’s is found in several manuscripts in Copenhagen and Uppsala. At least one was copied in Vadstena towards the end of the fourteenth century, UUB: C14, fols. 2r–17r. A *Viagium Terrae Sanctae* was copied in Vadstena in the fifteenth century, UUB: C43, fols. 18v–20v. The twelfth-century itinerary by Nikulás of Munkaþverá in Iceland was copied in Iceland in 1387, Kristian Kålund, *Alfræði Íslenzk. Íslandsk encyklopædisk litteratur. I. Cod. Mbr. Am. 194, 80.* (København: n.pub., 1908), 12–23; Janus Møller Jensen, “Christian IV og korstogene,” *Siden Saxo* 21 no. 1 (2004). Perhaps the version of Burchard de Monte Sion’s *Descriptio Terræ Sanctæ* found in UUB: C14 was written in Sweden towards the end of the fourteenth century when it was in Vadstena Library. It is followed in the manuscript by a series of sermons “de pugna spirituali,” cf. Margarete Andersson-Schmitt, Monica Hedlund, and Håkan Hallberg, *Mittelalterliche Handschriften der Universitätsbibliothek Uppsala: Katalog über die C-Sammlung. Bd 7: Supplement, Hauptregister, Supplement, Hauptregister* (Uppsala: Uppsala Universitet, 1988–95), 1:148–49.

20 They were identified by Michael Venge in his book Mikael Venge, *Christian 2.s fald: Spillet om magten i Danmark januar-februar 1523*, Odense University Studies in History and Social Sciences 6 (Odense: Odense University Press, 1972), 92, n. 54. from a German travel account from 1517 published in the middle of the nineteenth century, cf. Otzen, “Johan Rantzau og andre adelsmænd i Jerusalem,” 73–76.

the early sixteenth century, the Danish travel accounts begin to appear. In 1518, the two nobles Holger Gregersen Ulfstand (d. 1532) and Johan Oxe (d. 1534) went to Jerusalem, of which they left an account.²¹ Another early sixteenth-century account of a journey to Jerusalem is preserved in the same manuscripts.²² It was not uncommon that nobles went to Jerusalem shortly after having been involved in heavy fighting. One of King Hans's (1481–1513) admirals, Otte Rud (d. 1510) – who according to the chronicle of the reform-Catholic Paulus Helie (1485–1535) was one of the renowned leaders in the maritime war fought between King Hans and Sweden and Lübeck – went to Jerusalem in 1509 but died on the way in the Bavarian town of Landsbjerg in 1510. Perhaps his pilgrimage is to be seen in connection with his exploits during the wars. In August 1509, he took the city of Åbo (Turku) in Finland with a Danish fleet. The succeeding sack of the city that lasted five days was even according to contemporary standards extraordinarily thorough and harsh. The cathedral of the city was especially plundered.²³ When it comes to the pilgrimage of Johan Oxe in 1518, it has been suggested that it was undertaken for his guilt in the conviction and execution of his brother, Torben Oxe (d. 1517), but the travel account does not provide any evidence for the exact motives.²⁴ The nobleman Mogens Gyldenstjerne (1485–1569) was knighted by Christian II (1513–23) for his part in the conquest of Stockholm in 1520. Afterwards he went to Jerusalem where he was knighted at the Holy Sepulchre. Afterwards he bathed in the River Jordan “where our Lord, Jesus Christ was baptized”.²⁵ Perhaps he felt guilty for his part in the condemning and execution of a large number of Swedish nobles and ecclesiastics in the wake of the Danish victory and reincorporation of Sweden into the Kalmar Union, known as the bloodbath

21 KB: GkS 844 2^o, fols. 235v–39r. Another copy is preserved in KB: NkS 540 2^o, fols. 11r–16r. It has been edited by Holger F. Rørdam, “Danskens rejser til det Hellige Land,” in *Kirkehistoriske Samlinger* 5, no. 1 (1901–03), 484–92.

22 KB: GkS 844 2^o, fols. 240v–245v; KB: NkS 540 2^o, fols. 17v–21r. It has been edited by Rørdam, “Danskens rejser til det Hellige Land,” 698–706, who dated it around 1500, but Benedikt Otzen has provided some compelling arguments for dating the journey it describes rather precisely to 1516, and thus the account immediately after, Otzen, “Johan Rantzau og andre adelsmænd i Jerusalem,” 70–72.

23 Paulus Helie, *Chronicon Skibyense*, in *Skrifter af Paulus Helie*, ed. P. Severinsen, Marius Kristensen, Hans Ræder and Niels-Knud Andersen, 7 vols (Copenhagen: Gyldendalske Boghandel, 1932–48), 6:51–149, at 69–70; Henry Bruun, “Otte Rud,” in *Dansk Biografisk Leksikon*, ed. Sv. Cedergreen Bech (København: Gyldendal, 1982); Paulus Helie and A. Heise, *Lektor Povl Helgesens Historiske Optegnelsesbog: Sædvanlig Kaldet Skibykrøniken*, (København: Karl Schønberg, 1890–91), 44–45, n. 1.

24 Carl Ferdinand Allen, *De Tre Nordiske Rigers Historie: Under Hans, Christiern Den Anden, Frederik Den Første, Gustav Vasa, Grevefeiden. 1497–1536*, Trykt utgave. ed., 5 vols, *De Tre Nordiske Rigers Historie* (Kjøbenhavn: Gyldendalske, 1864–72), 1:158; Rørdam, “Danskens rejser til det Hellige Land,” 484.

25 Rothe, *Brave danske Mænds*, 1:657.

of Stockholm – or the Stockholm massacre – but it cannot be stated with any certainty.

Not all, of course, went for such specific penitential purposes – or at least they are now unknown. Probably just as many went out of devotion alone. Many were knighted at the Holy Sepulchre as were nobles from all over Europe. Henrik Nielsen Rosenkrantz (d. 1537) was knighted in Jerusalem in 1522 and his letter of knighthood has been preserved.²⁶ The dubbing of knights at the Holy Sepulchre had probably been performed since the twelfth century and it became increasingly popular during the fourteenth century. Towards the end of the fifteenth century, the pope handed over the privilege of dubbing knights to the Franciscans, but although the knights performed a vow, received special privileges, and their names were drawn up in a roll, one cannot speak of a knightly order before the middle of the sixteenth century.²⁷ The ritual towards the end of the fifteenth century is described in several travel accounts, for instance by Arnald von Harff.²⁸ A more elaborate liturgy is found in Franciscus Mennenius' work on knightly orders. In the 1613 version the knights also vowed to defend and protect the holy Church and to fight the enemies of the Christian name and Christian faith.²⁹ The pilgrimage tradition and being created a knight at the Holy Sepulchre was thus an integral part of the religious practice of the nobility both before and after the Reformation in Denmark.

26 Konrad Barner, *Familien Rosenkrantz's historie*, 2 vols (Copenhagen, 1874–82), 2:54–55 (no. 45).

27 V. Cramer, "Der Ritterschlag am Hl. Grabe," in *Das Heilige Land in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart* 2 (Köln: Bachem, 1940); V. Cramer, "Das Rittertum vom Hl. Grabe im 14. Und 15. Jahrhundert," in *Das Heilige Land in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart* (Köln: Bachem, 1941); V. Cramer, "Das Rittertum vom Hl. Grabe im 16. Jahrhundert," *ibid.* (1949). "Der Ritterorden vom Hl. Grabe vom Beginn des 17. Jahrhundert bis zur Reform durch Pius X. 1600–1848," in *Das Heilige Land in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart* (Köln: Bachem, 1950); "Der Ritterorden vom Heiligen Grabe von den Kreuzzügen bis zur Gegenwart," in *Palästinahefte des deutschen Vereins vom heiligen Lande* (Köln: Bachem, 1952) [the last work was a summary without reference to the research presented in the other studies]; Kaspar Elm, "Kanoniker end Ritter vom heiligen Grab. Ein Beitrag zur Entstehung und frühgeschichte der palästinensischen Ritterorden," *Vorträge und Forschungen* 26, *Die Geistlichen Ritterordens Europas* (1980), 142–46. A Danish heraldic study of the Jerusalem Cross treats the order briefly: O. H. M. Baron Haxthausen, "Jerusalemkorset," *Heraldisk Tidsskrift* 1 (1960), 303–04.

28 Arnold Harff and Malcolm Letts, *The Pilgrimage of Arnold Von Harff, Knight: From Cologne through Italy, Syria, Egypt, Arabia, Ethiopia, Nubia, Palestine, Turkey, France, and Spain, Which He Accomplished in the Years 1496 to 1499*, Works (Hakluyt Society) vol. 94 (London: n.pub., 1946), 202.

29 Franciscus Mennenius, *Deliciae equestrum ordinum*, (Köln, 1613), 43–49. Cf. the slightly later version, *Militarium ordinum*, (Köln, 1623), 21–24. Mennenius's description of the Danish Order of the Elephant suggests that he knew the collar in its pre-Reformation shape. It made Erich Christian Werlauff and C. F. Wegener, *Om danebrog og danebrogordenen: en historisk undersøgelse* (Copenhagen: Gyldendal, 1872), 83–84, think that Mennenius had his information concerning the order from Christian II while he was in the Netherlands. Werlauff also speculated on earlier editions of his work, but I have not come across any dated earlier than 1613.

Sixteenth-Century Post-Reformation Travels to Jerusalem

After the Reformation, These journeys of the nobility had to be explained from the perspective of the Lutheran-Evangelical confession rather than from the possible original penitential motives of the pilgrims. In the Protestant eulogies for instance the emphasis was placed on the aspect that the nobles undertook these journeys more for the sake of learning about other cultures than for the sake of religion, which of course would be the official explanation. The noble Johan Rantzau (1492–1565) for example – who was knighted at the Holy Sepulchre in 1517 – was praised for having travelled all over the world not for the sake of religion but in order to learn the art of war and other people’s customs.³⁰ The same motives were recorded in a later biography that explicitly excused that Johan still at that time was stuck in the “päbtlichen Irrthümern”.³¹ Mogens Gyldenstjerne was praised in his eulogy for having visited many countries on his way to the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem – among others Cyprus and Rhodes – to gain knowledge of other peoples and their customs, which he used in the service for his *patria*. His eulogy was written by the Danish theologian Niels Hemmingsen (1513–1600) and published in 1570. It is noteworthy that the purpose of the journey appeared quite clearly as a visit to the Holy Sepulchre, where Mogens Gyldenstjerne as mentioned was knighted and later bathed in the River Jordan.³²

It appears as if there was a pause in the journeys to Jerusalem in the decades after the Reformation, but in the last quarter of the century they re-appear in the sources.³³ Between 1578 and 1580 the noble Gert Rantzau (1558–1627) visited the Holy Sepulchre where his grandfather Johan Rantzau had also been knighted. He had travelled from Constantinople via Rhodes, Cyprus, Tripoli, and Jaffa – from where the prophet Esaia set sail, as he commented – before going to Jerusalem, where he saw all of the holy sites. He went to the Mount of Olives, Calvary, bathed in the River Jordan, and saw the Dead Sea. He was on his way to Mount Sinai when disease in his entourage forced him to return and on his way back he visited Lebanon and Damascus.³⁴ In 1587, Steen

30 Christianus Cicilius Cimber, *Belli Dithmarsici* (Basel: Samuel Regius, 1570), 259–60. Cf. Bring, *Om valfarterna och korstågen*, 179–81. On Johan Rantzau, see also Andersen Oftestad’s introduction to this volume, Chapter 1, 13–16.

31 Otzen, “Johan Rantzau og andre adelsmænd i Jerusalem,” 66.

32 Rothe, *Brave danske mænds*, 1:657.

33 The fall in the numbers of pilgrims was even commented upon by some contemporaries like the French noble Greffin Affagart (c.1490–1557) who blamed the heresy of the “wicked lecher Luther” in his *Relation de Terre Sainte* (1533–34), cf. Chareyron, *Pilgrims to Jerusalem in the Middle Ages*, 39–40.

34 He left an account of his journey in his diary, which apparently has not been preserved, but is described in his eulogy by Antonius Burchard printed in 1629. There is an abbreviated account of his itinerary in the Middle East in *Danske Magazin* 4 (1750): 98–100. It says that he saw the Red Sea, which is likely, but as it is mentioned in connection with his bath in the River Jordan it probably should read the Dead Sea.

Bille to Billesholm (1565–1629) visited Jerusalem. Back in Trondheim in Norway he proudly paraded in the clothes he had used on the same journey, probably some that had been adapted to represent local habits in the Orient.³⁵

The Danish noble Sigvard Grubbe (1566–1636) met his peers Christian Barnekow (1556–1612) and Jacob Ulfeldt (1567–1630) in Venice in the 1580s while they were embarking on a trip to the Holy Land. According to his diary, Sigvard was keen on joining them, but he had already made other arrangements. He tried to make a change of plans but was bound by his word of honour, and despite trying to be released from his former agreement, he was left to wave on the shore while his Danish friends sailed off,³⁶ thereby missing some interesting journeys. Christian Barnekow went all the way to Ethiopia after having seen Jerusalem. On his way to Jerusalem he travelled via Rhodes and Cyprus to Syria. From here to Aleppo, Tripoli, Lebanon, Mount Carmel, Jaffa, and through Ramla to Jerusalem “as a true *Jørsalafarer* [the old Nordic word for a crusader or Jerusalem pilgrim] as it was said in this country in old days.”³⁷ Jakob Ulfeldt also fought in the ranks of the Knights of Saint John together with his brother Mogens (1569–1616) in 1588–89 on his way to Syria and Egypt. A handwritten account of the journey exists at the Royal Library in Copenhagen, which in vivid detail describes all of the biblical sites in and around Jerusalem. In this account, Otzen explains, the travellers distance themselves from the legends related by the locals, but agrees that the scepticism becomes less marked although not totally disappearing when they enter Jerusalem and its vicinity.³⁸ Nonetheless, they still faithfully record everything they see including detailed descriptions of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre as well as Jerusalem and its surroundings.

The Journey of Otto Skram

Perhaps the best example is the account of the Jerusalem journey of the noble Otto Skram.³⁹ It is now known through a number of manuscripts, most of them later

³⁵ N. Nicolaysen, *Norske Stiftelse. Samling af Fundatser, Testamenter, Gavebreve, samt historisk-statistiske Efterretninger vedkommende milde Stiftelser i Kongeriget Norge*, vol. 3 (Christiania: Chr. Tønsbergs Forlag, 1858), 859–60. Cf. Helk, *Dansk-Norske studierejser*, 39.

³⁶ Holger F. Rørdam, ed., “Sigvard Grubbes Dagbog,” *Danske Magasin* 4, 2 & 4 (1873–78), 376.

³⁷ C. F. Bricka and S. M. Gjellerup, *Den danske Adel i det 16de og 17de Aarhundrede. Samtidige Levnetsbeskrivelser uddragne af trykt og utrykte Ligprædikener*, 2 vols. (København: Rudolf Klein, 1874–1913), 2:2–20. On terminology, see volume 1, Chapter 2 (Klaus Johan Myrvoll).

³⁸ KB Thott 1294 4°. It has not been published. Cf. Otzen, “Johan Rantzau og andre Adelsmænd i Jerusalem,” 76–78. However, even some Catholic contemporaries explicitly stated that “faith and belief” were prerequisites for believing all they were told by their guides, cf. Chareyron, *Pilgrims to Jerusalem in the Middle Ages*, 88, quoting Greffin Affagart.

³⁹ See also introduction to this volume, Chapter 1 (Eivor Andersen Oftestad), 42–44.

(eighteenth-century) copies and translations into Danish.⁴⁰ Originally it might have been written in German. In 1587, he initiated the journey that would eventually take him to Jerusalem. First he went to Vienna, where he served in the expedition that was led by Maximilian III of Austria (1558–1618) into Poland. He describes in some detail the movements of the army, pitched battles, and other parts of life during a military campaign. In the end, they are defeated and he is ordered to serve as guard at the border into Poland. He was given leave and moved on to Breslau and then to Prague before returning to Vienna. Still in the service of his master, he travelled to Italy in 1589 when the king of Spain hired people in Portugal. The same year, he returned to Vienna. He then took leave and travelled in the company of the imperial envoy to Constantinople, where he stayed until 1591. In that year he travelled in the name of God with his three companions from Constantinople to Jerusalem as “pilgrims.” He then gave a detailed description of his tour through the Holy City and its vicinity, faithfully reporting the exact location of the many biblical events. Only in one place does a “si fides” [if you believe it] creep into the narrative. Finally, he was knighted by “Pater Guardianus” as a Knight of the Holy Sepulchre. His letter of knighthood gave him the privilege to carry “the insignia and coat-of-arms of the Holy Cross, the Holy Sepulchre, and Saint George,⁴¹ secretly and in public according to his own will. Hereafter, as a brave and legal knight he is privileged to enjoy and use all the liberties, rights, and privileges as other knights of the Holy Sepulchre usually do.”⁴²

After Otto Skram had been knighted, he went on to visit other important places in the Holy Land. Then he travelled through Europe back to his fatherland Denmark. In some of the manuscripts the text is followed by a learned note concerning the identity of Otto Skram based on the introduction to *The Law of Jutland* by the historian, jurist, and statesman Peder Hansen Resen published in 1684 and mentioned at the beginning of this article. His brother Poul Resen’s information about the graffiti of “Otto Skram Danus 1599” written at the door of his accommodation must be amended to 1591.

40 KB: GkS 3084 4°; KB: Kallske Saml. 678 8°. The letter is still found in a Latin version: KB: Kallske Saml. 128 2°. Skram’s travel account is partially published by Glarbo, “Danske Palæstinafarere i det 16. og 17. aarhundrede,” 21–32, after the oldest transcript (KB: NkS 2121 4°).

41 Cf. Mennenius, *Deliciæ equestrium ordinum*, 42; “S. Crucis Sanctissimique Christi Sepulchri ac S. Georgii insignia deferre.”

42 KB: GkS 3084 4°, fols. 26^{r-v}: “Före det Hellige Korse[s]: NB! from KB: Kallske Saml. 678 8°, fol. 131], den Hellige Gravs og Sti: Georgii insignia og Vaaben, hemmelig og offentlig, som det hannem selv got siynes, og Han her efter som en tapper og lovlig Ridder med billighed og ret at maa nyde og bruge alle de friiheder, Höiheder, og privilegier, som andre den Hellige Gravs riddere pleier at nyde og bruge”; KB: Kallske Saml. 128 2°: “decernentes insuper Dominum Ottonem Schram à Dano, de cetero libere deferre posse, Sanctæ crucis, Sancti Sepulchri ac Sancti Georgii insignia, secreta aut publice, prout sibi videbitur, nec non in futurum ut verum ac legitimum Militem omni dignitate, Jure optimo frui valere ac debere, omnibus et singulis immunitatibus, præminentis ac privilegiis, quibus ceteri Milites Sancti Sepulchri uti ac frui conservere.” These privileges are important and perhaps it is possible to identify more Protestant knights through the use of these symbols.

Peder Hansen Resen had personally read in an old genealogy that was owned by “Mr. Bircherod” [Thomas Broder Bircherod (1661–1731)] of a noble named Otto Skram of Hammergaard, who had travelled a lot, especially in the Orient. According to the old genealogy, he was stabbed to death in the streets of the Danish city of Viborg by a parish priest by the name of “Mr. Søren in Hornum”. Resen believed this to be the same Otto Skram who was mentioned by his brother and identified by later transcribers of the travel account with its author.⁴³

The account is fascinating for its details concerning the visits to the holy sites in Jerusalem. The same applies to the account of Ulfeldt and Barnekow. Other accounts are more brief, but I would like to suggest that all of the Danish nobles probably experienced the same tour of the Holy City and the scenes of Christ’s passion according to the plan of the Franciscan custodians that often functioned as guides.⁴⁴ This of course does not automatically turn the journey into a pilgrimage. However, at least to contemporaries who were careful not to present their journeys as pilgrimages in the Catholic sense, there was an identification with the former practice of the Jerusalem journey of the Middle Ages. Many of the nobles were also knighted at the Holy Sepulchre. At least some connection was seen in the sixteenth century between being knighted at the Holy Sepulchre and the creation of *Equites Aurati* – golden knights – the common term for knighthood in Denmark. At his coronation in 1559, Frederik II (1559–88) created several “golden knights”.⁴⁵ Johan Rantzau “received the dignity of a golden knight” when he was knighted in Jerusalem.⁴⁶ The later archbishop in Lund, Mogens Madsen (1527–1611), wrote in his historical work *Regum Daniæ Series* from the second half of the sixteenth century concerning King Valdemar IV (1346–76) that he fought against the Lithuanians in Prussia, and that he went on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem where he was knighted, “which we call golden knight”, by Count Erik of Saxony (1354–1412).⁴⁷ Sigvard Grubbe wrote in his diary that the noble Jørgen Lykke of Overgaard (1515–83) was an *Eques Auratus* and the last of this order in Denmark towards the end of the sixteenth

43 Peder Hansen Resen, *Kong Valdemar den Andens Jysk Low-Bog* (Copenhagen: Neuhof, 1684), preface, not paginated.

44 Marianne P. Ritsema van Eck, “Custodians of Sacred Space: Constructing the Franciscan Holy Land through Texts and Sacri Monti (ca. 1480–1650),” (PhD diss., University of Amsterdam, 2017).

45 Frans Hogenberg, “Res gestæ serenissimi potentissimique principis ac domini Frederici II. etc.,” (1589), PL 6; Janus Bircherod, *Breviarium equestre* (Copenhagen: Johs. Laverentzen, 1706), 22–23.

46 Cimber, *Belli Dithmarsici*, 258–59.

47 Mogens Madsen, “Regum Daniæ Series,” ed. Holger Fr. Rørdam, *Monumenta Historiæ Danicæ. Historiske Kildeskrifter og Bearbejdelser af dansk Historie. Især fra det 16. Aarhundrede* (Kjøbenhavn: G. E.C. Gad, 1873–87), 131–32. On Mogens Madsen as a critical historian, cf. Holger Fr. Rørdam, *Historieskrivningen og historieskriverne i Danmark og Norge siden reformationen: 1: Tidsrummet fra reformationen indtil Anders Vedel*, vol. 1 (Kjøbenhavn: Vilhelm Tryde, 1867), 57–60.

century.⁴⁸ It does actually appear as if the practice and tradition of being knighted at the Holy Sepulchre disappeared in the early seventeenth century. However, nobles continued to visit Jerusalem to see the holy sites.

Jerusalem Journeys in the Seventeenth Century

The Jerusalem journey was not just for nobles. A certain Jens or Janus Skierbæk (1553–1633) from Flensburg who later became a doctor in Lübeck visited Palestine and the holy places as well as undertaking extensive travels in Asia Minor and North Africa according to his epitaph.⁴⁹ In 1619, the writer Henrik Albertsen Hamilton (d. 1623), who was a son of the mayor of Copenhagen, Christen Albertsen (1567–1616), travelled to the courts of Europe and beyond. He died of disease in Egypt like Poul Resen, probably in 1623.⁵⁰ It is, however, primarily the journeys of the nobility that we know of. Steen Olufsen Rosensparre (1588–1612) wanted to continue to Jerusalem while visiting Venice in 1609, but was prevented in part due to the dangers of the travel including Turkish corsairs.⁵¹ Between 1613 and 1615, the noble and later colonel in the army of Christian IV (1588–1648), Frederik Rantzau (1590–1645), visited Jerusalem. For unknown reasons he travelled in a caravan from Constantinople over land to the Holy Sepulchre through Asia Minor and Syria before reaching Jaffa and Jerusalem, where he visited the holy places. From there he went to Cairo where he saw the pyramids, across the desert to Sinai before leaving for home on an English ship from Alexandria. On his way home, he visited the Hospitallers on Malta. Besides continuing the family tradition for visiting Jerusalem, he had travelled on official business to Spain before leaving for the Holy Land in the company of Jakob Ulfeldt, who probably had told him of his own travels in the Orient.⁵² The noble and bellicose Jesper Friis (1593–1643) travelled to Turkey, Egypt, Arabia, and Palestine around 1618.⁵³

48 Madsen, “Regum Daniæ Series,” 367.

49 Pontoppidan, “Gesta et vestigia Danorum,” 1:61 and 3:321–23.

50 Jens Worm, *Forsøg til et Lexicon over danske, norske og islandske lærde Mænd* (København: August Frieder Stein, 1771–84), 1:15–16; Holger F. Rørdam, “To Kjøbenhavnske Borgmestre,” *Personalhistorisk Tidsskrift* 2, no. 2 (1887), 299; Helk, *Dansk-Norske studierejser*, 33, 233.

51 Rothe, *Brave danske mænds*, 1:50, 54.

52 Hans Mikkelsen, *En christelig Lijgprædicken aff Wijsdommens Bogs 5. Cap. Der Oberste Fredrich Rantzow til Assdal, hans Lijg bleff nedersat udi Sanct Knuds Kircke udi Odense den 4. Februarii 1645* (Hamburg: Melchior Martzan, 1647); copy in manuscript in the Royal Library in Copenhagen, MS Uldall 444, 4^o. The description of the stay in Jerusalem and the things he saw – the Holy Sepulchre, the Mount of Olives, Bethlehem the burial place of the Kings – is very brief. He definitely saw many more places, but Hans Mikkelsen comments that it would “go too far to mention them all here,” *ibid.*, 96–98.

53 Hans Mikkelsen, *En christelig Lijgprædicken, aff den 51. Kong Davids Psalme, der Jesper Frijs til Ørbeck-Lunde bleff bestædet i S. Knuds kircke i Ottense d. 6. Maij 1643* (Hamburg: Peter Hake, 1645),

There is a tendency from the end of the sixteenth century that the journeys of the nobility included destinations apart from Jerusalem. They continue further to Jordan, Syria, and Egypt, and some even to Ethiopia. It is obvious that several of the destinations are still motivated by stories from the Bible especially the Old Testament, but the pyramids, antiquities, and strange animals were also commented on. For instance, Jesper Friis to Ørbæklunde went from Venice to Constantinople in 1617 and from there he went into the Black Sea to see antiquities. Later he sailed to Alexandria and saw Cairo and the pyramids. He went on to Mount Sinai where the Old Testament stories and events came alive to him.

In 1623, the noble Henrik Rantzau (1599–1674) visited Jerusalem and Egypt, but his travel account was first published in 1669.⁵⁴ He celebrated Easter in Jerusalem and afterwards he visited the many places of worship in and around the city. He was not knighted at the Holy Sepulchre, but his observations still point to some interesting features of what was deemed to be of interest for a noble and educated traveller in the seventeenth century. The great battle at Lepanto was remembered when they reached “Corsolari Isole where the Turk in 1571 lost a great battle against Don Gio di Austria” [the Battle of Lepanto] on the journey through the Aegean Sea. He mentions the fear of Turkish corsairs and then goes on to describe in some detail the clothes and weapons of the Turks. They sailed from Cyprus on 27 March and reached the shores of Lebanon on the 28th. From there, they followed the coast passing Tripoli, Simon, and Tyre before reaching Acre “where the Templars once had their residence.” He spent time looking at what he believed to be the great ruins of the palace of the Grand Master of the Temple and the Church of Saint John. At the church of the Holy Sepulchre, he saw the tombs of Godfrey of Bouillon and Baldwin I.

From Jerusalem, he moved on to Cairo. Near the hostel where he stayed was a church-tower, where Saint George was decapitated. He also went to see the saint’s tomb outside of Cairo. To his great disappointment, he did not get to see any crocodiles or hippopotamuses. Both were supposed to be very tasty, he comments. Generally, Rantzau shows great interest in fortifications, but he also describes in detail churches and mosques. He is a keen observer of customs and he reports a lot about animals. Rantzau seems much more a man of the world than a pilgrim in the 1669 version of his travel account. Only very few pilgrimage elements remain, which are interestingly those connected to the knightly Saint George and the heroes of the First Crusade, Godfrey and Baldwin.⁵⁵ Simultaneously there was an outspoken interest in what could be termed pilgrimage and crusade literature.

125–30. A description of the journey is found at the Royal Library in Copenhagen, KB, NkS 371, 8°, cf. Helk, *Dansk-Norske Studierejser*, 39.

54 Henrik Rantzau, *Reise-Buch auff Jerusalem/Cairo in Ægypten und Constantinopell* (Copenhagen: Christian Wering, 1669).

55 Could it be that special interest in Godfrey and Saint George might be an indication that Rantzau was in fact knighted at the Holy Sepulchre?

Pilgrimage and Crusade Literature

The interest in the pilgrimage tradition was still alive in the decades after the Reformation, at least in literature even if people no longer went in person to Jerusalem. The Franciscans in Denmark translated *Mandeville's Travels* into Danish in the middle of the fifteenth century. The surviving five manuscript copies, however, all date from the second half of the sixteenth century, witnessing the continued interest in the story.⁵⁶ One of the Danish manuscript versions of *Mandeville's Travels* is an abridged version from the second half of the sixteenth century that particularly focuses on the pilgrimage to Jerusalem, reflecting the continuing interest in the Jerusalem pilgrimage.⁵⁷

More importantly perhaps, the introduction to the Danish version, like the original, also exhorted for renewed war against the Turks in order to win back Jerusalem. Special focus was given to the Danish hero, Ogier the Dane, who was one of the twelve peers of the ninth-century emperor Charlemagne, and his deeds as champion of Christendom. He became a role model, as Charlemagne, Roland, and Godfrey of Bouillon were in Europe in general even in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries to crusaders like the conqueror of Mexico, Hernan Cortez, and other nobles.⁵⁸

Ogier played a central role as a champion of the faith in the creation of a Danish national historical discourse. In this the war against the enemies of the faith formed an important part, and Jerusalem figured prominently.

Ogier the Dane as a Crusader Hero

The stories of Ogier the Dane as a crusader or champion of the faith became part of one of the manuscript traditions of *Mandeville's Travels* towards the end of the fourteenth century. In 1481 this role was stressed in the printed German translation

⁵⁶ S. A. J. Bradley, "The Translator of Mandevilles Rejse: A New Name in Fifteenth-Century Danish Prose?," in *Medieval Literature and Civilization: Studies in Memory of G. N. Garmonsway*, eds. D. A. Pearsall and R. A. Waldron (London: Bloomsbury, 1969).

⁵⁷ S. A. J. Bradley, ed. and trans., *The Danish Version of "Mandeville's Travels" in Sixteenth-Century Epitome* (Lewiston: E. Mellen Press, 1999), 24–25.

⁵⁸ The expansion in the New World and India and Asia in the sixteenth and early seventeenth century was also legitimized as crusades. Cortez wrote letters in which he compared himself and his struggles to those of Roland, was obsessed with conversion, and his army carried banners of the cross, cf. Jennifer R. Goodman, *Chivalry and Exploration, 1298–1630* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1998); Norman Housley, *The Later Crusades, 1274–1580: From Lyons to Alcazar* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), 312.

by von Diemeringen.⁵⁹ In this version, his role as *miles Christi* is also stressed: “He called himself God’s soldier, for he fought not for countries or power, but only that he convert people to Christianity.”⁶⁰

The role of Ogier the Dane became much more prominent in the Latin version of *Mandeville’s Travels* and subsequently in the Danish translation. The latter related that after Ogier the Dane’s mysterious disappearance from the court of Charlemagne around the year 800, he conquered all countries from Jerusalem to Paradise, which were believed to be placed in the far East,⁶¹ in the company of “fifteen other nobles of his kin and with 20,000 men” and converted them to the Christian faith with the aid of God.⁶² Some “unreasonable people” believed that Ogier was still alive somewhere in the world, the author wrote: “But I find it more plausible that he lives with God in heaven because he worked so hard for the holy faith and the extension of Christendom.”⁶³

In a brief historical work attributed to the court historiographer of Christian II, Christiern Pedersen (1480–1554), dated 1521, the deeds of Ogier the Dane as a champion of the Christian faith are strongly underlined: “He fought the heathens continuously [. . .] and shed his blood for the sake of God.”⁶⁴ It was also cited by the Franciscan historian Petrus Olai in his *Chronica Regum Danorum* from the 1520s and he further relates how Ogier the Dane had conquered all the lands from “around Jerusalem, which is the navel of the world, all the way to India”, converted them to the Christian faith, and made them tributary. “This is testified by John of Mandeville, who personally visited those parts from Jerusalem to Greater India near Paradise.”⁶⁵

The stories concerning Ogier the Dane, that probably formed the basis for the version in Mandeville, existed in many different forms.⁶⁶ They were gathered and

59 Kirsten Lading Bidsted, “Holger danske i skævinge,” *ICO, Iconographisk Post* 1 (1989); Malcolm Letts, *Mandeville’s Travels: Texts and Translations*, 2 vols. (London: Hakluyt Society, 1953), 1:xli–xlvi. Von Diemeringen’s passages concerning Ogier are printed *ibid.*, 2:483–94.

60 *Mandeville’s Travels: Texts and Translations*, 486.

61 On the geographical location of Paradise, see Alessandro Scafi, *Mapping Paradise: A History of Heaven on Earth* (London: The British Library, 2006). See also Introduction to this volume, Chapter 1 (Eivor Andersen Oftestad), 20–23.

62 Lorenzen and Mandeville, *Mandevilles Rejse*, 5, 162. “andræ femten herræ aff sith slektæ ok met tyuæ tusindæ wæpnæræ.”

63 Lorenzen and Mandeville, *Mandevilles Rejse*, 191: “Jek tror bætær, at han lefuer met gudh udi hemmærigæ, effter thy at han arbeydede sa megit for then helly troo oc cristendoms merelssæ skill.”

64 C. J. Brandt and R. T. Fenger, *Christiern Pedersens danske skrifter*, 5 vols. (København: Gyldendal, 1850–1856), 5:336, 50–53: “[Han] idelige bestride hedninge [. . .] och wdgaff sit blod for Guds skyld.”

65 Petrus Olai, *Chronica regum Danorum*, ed. Jakob Langebek and Peter F. Suhm et al., 9 vols., vol. 1, *Scriptores Rerum Danicarum Medii Ævi* (Copenhagen, 1772–1878), 72.

66 Cf. Kurt Villads Jensen, *Crusading at the Edges of Europe: Denmark and Portugal, c. 1000–c. 1250* (London: Routledge, 2017), 208–15; Janus Møller Jensen, *Denmark and the Crusades, 1400–1650*, *The Northern World* 30 (Leiden: Brill, 2007); “King Erik Emune (1134–1137) and the

translated into Danish by Christiern Pedersen, who had become a follower of Luther in the 1520s, most likely during his second stay in Paris around 1527 and published as *Holger Danskes Krønike* [*The Chronicle of Ogier the Dane*] in Malmö in 1534.⁶⁷ In this version, Ogier fought against the Turks outside Rome: Charlemagne came to Rome as head of an army to fight against the Turks to “prove that they were Christian men,” and Ogier the Dane fought for the holy Christian faith against the Turks.⁶⁸ In his capacity as *miles Christi* and proto-crusader, Ogier functioned almost as a post-Reformation national saint, and he was depicted on several murals like “the nine worthies” also known from Danish wall-paintings of the early sixteenth century. Ogier and the other heroes could be used in political propaganda and as role models for youths both before and after the Reformation.⁶⁹

Just prior to the publication of Ogier’s chronicle, Christiern Pedersen had published *Kejser Karl Magnus Krønike* [*The Chronicle of Charlemagne*] also in Malmö in 1534, mainly because the subject appealed to him:

It told of the deeds in war and battle of the great emperor in company with the twelve peers and other Christian giants, knights and good able courtiers and warriors against the Turks and heathens and many more enemies of the holy Christian faith, who wanted to subjugate and destroy Her [the Christian faith], and how he deliciously defeated and killed several thousands of these heathens in war and battle by the assistance, comfort and mercy of God.⁷⁰

The *Chronicle of Charlemagne* was a Danish translation of the Old Norse *Saga of Charlemagne*. It was translated in the Danish monastery of Børglum in 1480. It was published in Danish by Gotfred of Ghemen (d. 1510) in 1501, and according to Christiern Pedersen again in 1508 and 1509.⁷¹ Although he did change some of the most Catholic elements in these stories, in his version from 1534, to fit his new beliefs, he left enough to be criticized by fellow Protestants – for example, the heroes’ veneration of saints and relics. However, he harshly rejected such criticism. Even if these heroes had been deceived by false preachers to put faith in saints and call for their help, they considered themselves to be good Christians and proved it by

Crusades: The Impact of Crusading Ideology on Early Twelfth-Century Denmark,” in *Cultural Encounters During the Crusades*, eds. Kurt Villads Jensen, Kirsi Salonen, and Helle Vogt (Odense: University Press of Southern Denmark, 2013).

⁶⁷ Brandt and Fenger, *Christiern Pedersens danske skrifter*, 5:532–35; C. J. Brandt and Christiern Pedersen, *Om Lunde-Kanniken Christiern Pedersen og hans skrifter* (Copenhagen: Gad, 1882), 174–75, 269–73.

⁶⁸ Brandt and Fenger, *Christiern Pedersens danske skrifter*, 5, 146–47.

⁶⁹ Bidsted, “Holger danske i skævinge,” 29–30.

⁷⁰ Brandt and Fenger, *Christiern Pedersens danske skrifter*, 5:127. Cf. Brandt and Pedersen, *Om Lunde-Kanniken Christiern Pedersen*, 265–69.

⁷¹ Brandt and Pedersen, *Om Lunde-Kanniken Christiern Pedersen*, 266–67.

risking their possessions and lives for the sake of religion, he argued.⁷² Even in this chronicle, Ogier played a central role as a champion of the faith, which places it alongside *The Chronicle of Ogier* as part of the national history.

When Christiern Pedersen published his *Chronicle of Ogier the Dane* in 1534, he expressed the hope that the work would inspire young Danish nobles to war.⁷³ We know that it did. Henrik Holck studied in Sedan in 1618 together with numerous other young Lutheran nobles who prepared to fight for the evangelical union in the wars of religion, but he ended up as imperial field marshal twenty-five years later. As a child he always played “Christians and Turks” – war-games – inspired by “*The Chronicle of Ogier the Dane* and ballads telling of the adventures of old heroes” as was reported in a eulogy.⁷⁴ This literature is important in forming the background for the travels of the nobility of the sixteenth and seventeenth century. The nobles also read about the historical crusades and the war to liberate Jerusalem and the Holy Land.

Reading of Crusade Chronicles

During the second half of the sixteenth century, a renewed interest in crusading history surfaced in Denmark. For instance, the chronicles of the First Crusade were being read. Several were being translated into the vernaculars in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The chronicle of Robert of Rheims, for example, was translated into German in five independent versions in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, as well as into Dutch and Italian.⁷⁵ Robert’s chronicle was found in Scandinavia in at

⁷² Brandt and Pedersen, *Om Lunde-Kanniken Christiern Pedersen*, 273–78. From another perspective cf. Anders Sørensen Vedel’s arguments based on a Melanchtonian perception of history for publishing the chronicle of Adam of Bremen in 1579, despite the fact that it described veneration of saints and relics and other papist practices, analysed in Karen Skovgaard-Petersen, “Skal den katolske fortid komme til orde? Anders Sørensen vedels dilemma ved udgivelsen af Adam Af Bremen i 1579,” *Fund og Forskning* 43 (2004).

⁷³ Brandt and Fenger, *Christiern Pedersens danske skrifter*, 134–35.

⁷⁴ S. M. Gjellerup, “Kejserlig Feltmarschal Henrik Holck. En biografisk studie,” *Historisk Tidsskrift* 5, no. 4 (1884), 648–49.

⁷⁵ Friedrich Kraft, *Heinrich Steinhöwels Verdeutschung der Historia Hierosolymitana des Robertus Monachus: Eine literarhistorische Untersuchung*, Quellen und Forschungen zur Sprach- und Culturgeschichte der Germanischen Völker 96 (Strassburg: Trübner, 1905); Barbara Haupt, “Historia Hierosolymitana von Robertus Monachus in deutscher Übersetzung,” in *Beiträge zur Literatur des XV. bis XVIII Jahrhunderts* 3 (Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1972). The Anglican priest Samuel Purchas (1577–1629) translated in 1625 parts of it, as well as parts of the chronicles of William of Malmesbury and Matthew Paris that related to the crusade, Samuel Purchas, *Hakluytus Posthumus or Purchas His Pilgrimes. Contayning a History of the World in Sea Voyages and Lande Travells by Englishmen and Others*, vol. 22 (Glasgow, 1905–1907), 7:420–527.

least two twelfth-century Latin versions.⁷⁶ The first was placed in the royal library in Bordesholm where it had been transferred from the monastery of Neumünster in Holstein. The chronicle most certainly was read in the fifteenth century. At the scriptorium at Bordesholm, excerpts of the *Gesta Francorum*, which told of the conquest of Jerusalem, were being copied in the fifteenth century and bound together with the manuscript containing Robert's chronicle.⁷⁷ The chapters of the *Gesta Francorum* copied at Bordesholm correspond to a series of chapters which are also found in the other extant manuscript version of Robert's chronicle found in Uppsala that also contains other parts of the *Gesta Francorum*. In the Uppsala manuscript the crusading chronicles are followed by a description of the Holy Land from the early twelfth century, a list of names of the bishops, patriarchs, kings (from Godfrey of Bouillon), and princes of the crusader states as well as the churches in Jerusalem and finally some texts about Pontius Pilate and Judas Iscariot. This manuscript was owned in the sixteenth century by the Danish royal chancellor Johan Friis to Hesselagergård (1494–1570).⁷⁸

When Henrik Rantzau saw the tombs of Godfrey of Bouillon and Baldwin I, he undoubtedly was familiar with their stories. The great heroes of the First Crusade were still remembered among the Danish nobility;⁷⁹ perhaps he had even read about them in the *Chronicles of the First Crusade* – either in manuscript form or as published by the French diplomat and historian Jacques Bongars in 1611, who did in fact visit Denmark as an ambassador and singled out Denmark as one of the crusading countries of all time.⁸⁰ It is also very reasonable to think that he read about them in the great crusading poem *Gierusalemme liberata* by Torquato Tasso (1544–1595) that came out in numerous translations – although not in Danish (until the nineteenth century).⁸¹ Tasso's poem was cited as a source for the history of the First Crusade

⁷⁶ KB: GkS 2159 4° (from Bordesholm); UUB: C691.

⁷⁷ KB: GkS 2159 4°. Cf. Ellen Jørgensen, *Catalogus codicum latinorum mediæ ævi bibliothecæ regiæ Hafniensis* (Copenhagen: Gyldendal, 1926), 381–82; August Wetzel, “Die Reste der Bordesholmer Bibliothek in Kopenhagen,” in *Die Klosterbibliothek zu Bordesholm und die Gotorper Bibliothek. Drei Bibliographische Untersuchungen*, eds. Emil Steffenhagen and August Wetzel (Kiel: Commissionsverlag der Universitäts-Buchhandlung, 1884), 153–55. The latter dates the fragment to the fourteenth century, but I agree with Jørgensens's dating to the fifteenth century.

⁷⁸ UUB: C691. Cf. Andersson-Schmitt, Hedlund, and Hallberg, *Mittelalterliche Handschriften Der Universitätsbibliothek Uppsala*, 6:298–301.

⁷⁹ As early as the 1490s, Swedish prelates fantasized that a part of the papal crusading army being planned at the time was going to be directed against the Russians “as in the time of Godfrey of Bouillon,” *Handlingar Rörande Skandinaviens Historia*, 40 vols. (Stockholm: Elméns och Granbergs Tryckeri, 1816–60), 1:76. Cf. Gösta Kellerman, *Jakob Ulvsson och den svenska kyrkan under Äldre Sturetiden 1470–1497: 1: under Äldre Sturetiden 1470–1497*, vol. 1 (Stockholm: SKD, 1935), 182–83.

⁸⁰ Jacques Bongars, *Gesta Dei per Francos sive Orientalium expeditionem et regni Francorum Hierosolimitani historia* (Hannover: Wechel, 1611).

⁸¹ Torquato Tasso, “Gerusalemme Liberata” (Ferrara, 1581); Cf. Charles P. Brand, *Torquato Tasso: A Study of the Poet and of his Contribution to English Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University

well into the nineteenth century.⁸² But many other possibilities are ready at hand, like the German Johan Carion's *Weltchronik* that was read in German and came in several Danish translations, or other historical works that he and other nobles undoubtedly would have access to.⁸³

The publication and compilation of crusade texts was often intended to arouse renewed crusades against the Turks.⁸⁴ For example, Robert's chronicle was translated into German as late as 1584 in an anonymous work the main aim of which was to call to resistance against the Turks and encourage re-conquest of the lands lost to them.⁸⁵ It also served as one of several sources for the German *Zimmerische Chronik*, written by the count of Zimmern, Froben Christoph (1519–66) in the sixteenth century telling of his family ancestors' as well as a number of German nobles' participation in the First Crusade. As Alan V. Murray has argued, Froben Christoph's information about the German participation "is dubious in the extreme," but he testifies to the "perception of the First Crusade in Germany in the late medieval and early modern period" in face of the Turkish advances, when he turned "the genesis of the entire crusading movement into an enterprise initiated by a faithful servant of the German emperor, in which the bravest and best fighters were German."⁸⁶ The same can be seen in Denmark.

Press, 1965), 54–55. For the crusade at Tasso's time, see Housley, *The Later Crusades, 1274–1580*, 118–50; Kenneth M. Setton, *The Papacy and the Levant, 1204–1571*, 4 vols. (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1976–84), 4:829–1104.

82 Elizabeth Siberry, *The New Crusaders: Images of the Crusades in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries*, The Nineteenth Century (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000); "Nineteenth-Century Perspectives of the First Crusade," in *The Experience of Crusading, Vol. 1: Western Approaches*, eds. Marcus Bull and Norman Housley (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003).

83 Johan Carion, *Chronica M. Johan Carion paa thet flittigste sammen dragen, huer mand nytteligt att læse oc er nu fordansket aff M. Joenn Tursson: Medt een skøn oc herlig register som indholder alle fornemste handel oc Historier som seg fraa Verdens begyndelse ind til Carolum V begiffuit haffue* (Wittenberg: Jurgen Rhauues arffuinger, 1554), 208; Johan Carion, *Chronica. Forbedret aff Philippo Melanthon* (Copenhagen, 1595), 145v–47v; Albert Krantz, *Chronica Regnorum Aquilonarium: Daniae, Suetiae, Norvagiæ* (Strassburg: Hans Schotten, 1546), 179; Cornelius (the younger) Hamsfort, *Rebus Holsatorum vicinarumque gentium præclare gestis, Libri IV*, ed. Ernst Joachim de Westphalen, *Monumenta inedita rerum Germanicarum præcipue Cimbricarum et Megapolensium* (Leipzig: Johann Christian Martini, 1739–1745), 1680 telling of Godfrey and the First Crusade. Krantz was later also quoted by Lambertus Alardus, *Nordalbingia*, ed. Ernst Joachim de Westphalen (Leipzig, 1739–1745), 1772–1773, telling of Godfrey and the crusade. On Carion's Chronicle, see also the introduction to this volume, Chapter 1.

84 Cf. for instance G. Burger, ed., *A Lytell Cronycle: Richard Pynson's Translation (1520) of Hethoum's 'La Fleur Des Histoires De La Terre D'orient'* (Toronto: Toronto University Press, 1988); Christopher Tyerman, *The Invention of the Crusades* (Basingstoke: MacMillan, 1998), 104–05.

85 Haupt, "Historia Hierosolymitana von Robertus Monachus," 227. Cf. Tyerman, *The Invention of the Crusades*, ed. Reinier Reineck (1541–1595), 105–06.

86 Alan V. Murray, "The Chronicle of Zimmern as a Source for the First Crusade: The Evidence of the Ms Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, Cod. Don. 580," in *The First Crusade: Origins*

In 1584, the Danish historian Anders Sørensen Vedel (1542–1616) wrote a preface in Latin to a twelfth-century copy of the chronicle of Robert of Rheims that he planned to publish. There can be no doubt that the purpose of his publication of Robert's chronicle was to incite to war against the Turks as well as to inspire young Protestant nobles to follow the example set by the first crusaders fighting for the faith when they captured Jerusalem on the first crusade. Apparently, his work was never published but the foreword still exists in manuscript bound together with the chronicle.⁸⁷ The manuscript also contains a very beautiful map of Jerusalem. Vedel further had a printed version at his disposal, which he compared with his manuscript. He dedicated his work to a young noble named Erik, probably the alchemist Erik Lange (d. 1613), and encouraged him to follow the example set by the first crusaders when they won the palms of martyrdom in the Holy Land in battle against the Turks.⁸⁸

This would not at all have been a strange thought for a young Lutheran noble. Martin Luther promised that those who died in battle against the Turks would become martyrs and saints. Luther claimed that if you went to war in obedience to your lord at God's will and command, you would become the executioner of God and your hand and lance would be the hand and lance of God.⁸⁹ Or one is tempted to say: *gesta Dei per Lutheranos*. It was only natural that this idea would develop into the general concept that death in war for the *patria* would lead to martyrdom.⁹⁰ It surfaces in a broad range of different sources in Denmark, like the old folk ballads that became extremely popular among the nobility towards the end of the sixteenth century and which describe how fighting for the king and country resulted in heavenly rewards.⁹¹ Another example would be rhymed family chronicles like *Billeslægtens Rimkrønike* [*The Rhymed Chronicle of the Bille Family*], written by the poet and historian C. C. Lyschander (1558–1624) at the beginning of the seventeenth century. It

and Impact, ed. Jonathan Phillips (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997), 91–92. Cf. Alan V. Murray, "Deutsche Anführer beim ersten Kreuzzug in der Geschichtsschreibung der frühen Neuzeit. Zur Kreuzzugsdarstellung der zimmerischen Chronik," *Zeitschrift für Württembergische Landesgeschichte* 61 (2002).

⁸⁷ UUB: C691. Edited by Jørgensen 1909–11, 777–85 and in RHC Occ.: 3:lII–lV. I would like to thank Karen Skovgaard-Petersen for initially providing me with a copy of the manuscript.

⁸⁸ Vedel knew the printed version of Henricus Petri from 1533. For the preface, see now Karen Skovgaard-Petersen, "A Lutheran Appropriation of the First Crusade: The Danish Historian Anders Sørensen Vedel's Apology for an Edition of Robert of Rheims," in *Fighting for the Faith – the Many Crusades*, ed. Kurt Villads Jensen, Carsten Selch Jensen, and Janus Møller Jensen (Stockholm: Sällskapet Runica et mediævalia, Centre for Medieval Studies, 2018).

⁸⁹ WA 30/2,174,12–22.

⁹⁰ Cf. Norman Housley, "Pro Deo et Patria Mori: Sanctified Patriotism in Europe, 1400–1600," in *War and Competition between States*, ed. Philippe Contamine (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000).

⁹¹ Cf. Anders Sørensen Vedel, *Hundredvisebog* (København: Reitzel, 1993). On the folksongs, see Flemming Lundgreen-Nielsen and Hanne Ruus, eds., *Svøbt i mår. Dansk folkevisekultur 1550–1700*, vol. 4 (København: Reitzel, 1999–2002).

assured the reader that if you died in war against the Swedes you would become a martyr and go straight to heaven.⁹²

The Ringsaker Tabernacle

The theme of martyrdom and the war against the Turk on the general background of crusading history was also expressed in church art. A fascinating example is the tabernacle from the Norwegian Ringsaker Church. The church was placed on one of the main arteries of communication in Norway in a north–south direction. Originally, it belonged to the bishopric of Hamar but from 1539 this was placed under the jurisdiction of the bishopric of Oslo. The tabernacle was produced in Antwerp around 1530 and was donated to the church as a votive gift by the parish priest in Ringsaker and prominent canon in Hamar of noble family, Arnstein Jonsson (Skanke).⁹³ The doors of the tabernacle are dominated by scenes of martyrdom and the motifs have been interpreted as an expression of fear of the Turks in the light of their advances in the early sixteenth century.⁹⁴ On the outside of the northern door the martyrdom of Saint Sebastian is depicted, the saint pierced by arrows shot by a Turk (Fig. 11.2). In the branches of the tree to which Saint Sebastian is tied, is painted a red coat of arms with a golden Jerusalem Cross, which was the mark of the Kingdom of Jerusalem and associated with Godfrey of Bouillon – and of course the symbol of the knights of the Holy Sepulchre.⁹⁵ This coat of arms is not otherwise known from Norway, but it was of course allowed for knights of the Holy Sepulchre to carry it.⁹⁶ It naturally underlines the crusade context of the entire motif. The tabernacle is a fascinating evidence of the use of crusade motifs to adorn a Norwegian church just before the Reformation.

Arnstein Jonsson, who commissioned the Ringsaker tabernacle, probably died in 1547. An undated note in the archives of the diocese of Hamar states that he was sent on a three-year journey abroad to gain proper knowledge of the Lutheran

⁹² Flemming Lundgreen-Nielsen and Erik Petersen, eds., *C. C. Lyschander's Digting*, 2 vols. (København: Reitzel, 1989), 1:86. See also *ibid.*, 1:24–25.

⁹³ Bente Lavold, "Kultus og status. Kirkeinventar som kilde til kulturelle, sosiale og økonomiske forhold på 1500-tallet," in *Alt mellom himmel og jord*, ed. Hans Hosar, Skrifter fra Norsk lokalhistorisk institutt 39 (Oslo: Norsk lokalhistorisk institutt, 2003). I am indebted to Bente Lavold for sending a copy of her article to me and drawing my attention to this piece of evidence.

⁹⁴ Nils A. Ytreberg, "Ringsakers kirkes alterskap i kulturhistorisk lys," *Kunst og kultur* 61 (1978).

⁹⁵ Mennenius, "Deliciæ equestrium ordinum," 39–42, 46.

⁹⁶ Lavold, "Kultus og status" 103, 10–11; Ytreberg, "Ringsakers kirkes alterskap i kulturhistorisk lys." Was Arnstein a knight of the Holy Sepulchre?

faith.⁹⁷ He would have found nothing to counter the purpose and message of the motifs. The themes of martyrdom in the light of the Turkish advances would of course fit perfectly into Luther's writings on the war against the Turks and would be as relevant after the Reformation as before. It was therefore in no way strange that Anders Sørensen Vedel should encourage a young Danish nobleman to fight against the Turks to become a martyr, or that he should take the first crusaders as an example. Among those was a very good example that Vedel especially told Erik to follow: the story of the Danish Prince Svend.

Prince Svend

According to the German chronicler Albert of Aachen, who wrote his chronicle of the First Crusade at the beginning of the twelfth century on the basis of testimonies of returned crusaders, the Danish Prince Svend died in an ambush together with his Burgundian fiancée Florina and 1500 men in Asia Minor on his way to Jerusalem during the First Crusade.⁹⁸ The story was made famous by Tasso's cru-



Fig. 11.2: Detail from the Ringsaker tabernacle, produced in Antwerp in the 1530s, depicting the martyrdom of Saint Sebastian. A shield with a Jerusalem-cross is placed in the tree above his head.

⁹⁷ Lavold, "Kultus og status" 104.

⁹⁸ Aquensis Albertus and Susan B. Edgington, *Albert of Aachen: Historia Ierosolimitana = History of the Journey to Jerusalem*, History of the Journey to Jerusalem (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2007), 222–25. Albert's chronicle was edited by Jacques Bongars in 1611. Cf. Kurt Villads Jensen, "Denmark and the Second Crusade: The Formation of a Crusader State?," in *The Second Crusade: Scope and Consequences*, eds. Jonathan Phillips and Martin Hoch (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2001); Janus Møller Jensen, "Danmark og den hellige krig. En undersøgelse af korstogsbevægelsens indflydelse på danmark, ca. 1070–1169," *Historisk Tidsskrift* 100, no. 2 (2000), 295–96.

sading poem.⁹⁹ In forewords to the various editions and translations of the poem it was hoped that this story would “once more inspire to erect the theatre of Mars at the gates of Jerusalem.”¹⁰⁰ Tasso described how the sword of Prince Svend was found after the battle by a Danish knight named Karlo. He passed it on to Godfrey of Bouillon, who in turn gave it to a German knight by the name of Rinaldo, ordering him to revenge the death of Svend. This Rinaldo set out to do and in his hand the sword of Svend became the first Christian sword to enter the walls of Jerusalem when the city fell to the crusaders in 1099. The story gave Denmark a special role in the history of the First Crusade which was fully exploited during the reign of Christian IV.

Before 1642 Christian IV had the scene of the recovery of the sword from the hands of the dead Prince Svend depicted in a great painting (Fig. 11.3).¹⁰¹ In 1616 a miniature sword was given to twelve Danish nobles who had distinguished themselves in the battle of Kalmar in southern Sweden in 1613,¹⁰² when Christian IV founded a new knightly order called the Armed Arm. Its symbol was an arm clad in armour holding a sword (Fig. 11.4).

It is very likely that this sword represented the sword of Prince Svend. On a medal struck in 1625, the Armed Arm is shown standing on a bible with a lit candle symbolizing the evangelical light with the words *pro religione et libertate* engraved around it and on the other side a picture of Christian IV (Fig. 11.5).¹⁰³

The knighting ceremony is described by the priest and writer Niels Heldvad (1564–1634):¹⁰⁴ the first to be knighted was the chancellor Christian Friis to Borreby (1556–1616). A herald told him, “Christian IV wants to make you a knight for your

99 Torquato Tasso, Edward Fairfax, and Willem van de Passe, *Godfrey of Boulogne: Or the Recouerie of Ierusalem. Done into English Heroicall Verse, by Edward Fairefax Gent, And now the second time imprinted, and dedicated to His Highnesse: together with the life of the said Godfrey.* (London: Printed by Iohn Bill, printer to the Kings most Excellent Maiesty, 1624), Chan. 8, st. 2–42. See above pp. 216–17.

100 Cf. Tyerman, *England and the Crusades*, 369.

101 Steffen Heiberg and Council of Europe, *Christian IV and Europe: The 19th Art Exhibition of the Council of Europe, Denmark 1988*, Christian IV og Europa (Copenhagen: Foundation for Christian IV, 1988), 102–03. In a letter dated the 2 February 1642, the learned Stephanius mentions a recent discussion with Ole Worm concerning the identity of Svend, whom he believes to be a grandson of Svend Estridsen (1056–1076), Ole Worm, *Breve fra og til Ole Worm*, ed. H. D. Schepelern, 3 vols. (Copenhagen: Munksgaard, 1965–68), 2:317–18 (no. 1001).

102 Cf. also Bircherod, “Breviarium equestre”.

103 Reproduced in Johann Heinrich Schlegeln and Niels Slangen, *Geschichte Christian des Vierten, Königs in Dännemark: 3: Drittes Buch bom Jahr 1613 bis 1629: Mit einigen Medaillen*, vol. 3 (Kopenhagen, 1771), facing p. 396; Jensen, “Christian IV og Korstogene,” 10.

104 That the sword is the sword of Prince Svend has also been suggested by H. D. Schepelern in Heiberg and Council of Europe, *Christian IV and Europe: The 19th Art Exhibition of the Council of Europe, Denmark 1988*, 155–56. Cf. Anemette S. Christensen, “Herremandsliv i Danmark 1500–1660,” in *Svøbt i mår. Dansk folkevisekultur 1550–1700*, eds. Flemming Lundgreen-Nielsen and Hanne Ruus (Copenhagen: Reitzel, 1999–2002), 36.



Fig. 11.3: The body of Prince Svend is discovered and his famous sword recovered. Painting by Karel van Mander III (1609-70), commissioned by Christian IV before 1642. National Gallery of Denmark (Statens Museum for Kunst), Copenhagen.

manly and chivalrous deeds, which you performed during the war with Sweden.” Then Christian Friis respectfully stepped forward and kneeled before the king. The king then dubbed him with a “richly endowed” sword, first on the right shoulder, then on the head and the left shoulder, and afterwards handed him the collar of the order. Then the herald proclaimed: “Nun hat S.K.M. Christian Friis würdig geachtet und zum Ritter geschlagen” to the sound of trumpets and drums.¹⁰⁵ Then the same was repeated for the others in turn.

¹⁰⁵ Cf. Schlegeln and Slangen, *Geschichte Christian des Vierten*, 3, 58–61, where the name of the eleven other knights are also given. The description is found in KB: Thott. 797 2^o a copy of the *Regum Daniae Icones*, fol. 256r.



Fig. 11.4: Christian IV's Order of the Armed Arm. Rosenborg Castle, Copenhagen.

Knightly orders of chivalry were an important and central part of knightly and royal ideology in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The Danish Order of the Elephant was created in the middle of the fifteenth century. Its collar was formed of golden elephants with a pendant depicting Saint Mary and the three nails of the crucifixion.¹⁰⁶ However, in the middle of the sixteenth century the origin and history of the order had become somewhat obscure, when initial steps to have it revived were taken during the reign of Christian III (1536–59). It was, however, left to Christian III's son, Frederik II, to revive the Order around 1570, when it became known as the Order of the Elephant. Its symbolic meaning originated according to its role in the Book of Maccabees, where the war-elephant was interpreted as a symbol

¹⁰⁶ Vivian Etting et al., *Fra Christian I's Italiensrejse 1474: En latinsk hyldesttale af Filippo Nuvoloni* (Copenhagen: Det kongelige Bibliotek and Museum Tusulanum, 1984), 70: "porcum, serpentem, aquilam, corvum."



Fig. 11.5: Medal struck by Christian IV showing the Armed Arm standing on a Bible, spreading the Evangelical light. Reproduced from Schlegel 1771: facing p. 396.

of the champion of the faith, who became incensed at the sight of the blood of Christ. In connection with fighting for the faith this fit perfectly into the Protestant princely ideology that became markedly more offensive during the reign of Frederik II.

Frederik Douglas Lockhart has demonstrated how there was a shift in the foreign policy during the reign of Frederik II compared to his father's policy, which had favoured the preservation of the Lutheran faith and well-being of his own subjects above the general course of Protestantism. Frederik II instead immediately went to war in Ditmarsken in 1559 and revived knightly ideals and ideology. He began a more offensive foreign policy, initiated a war with Sweden 1563–70, and involved himself in the early wars of religion against the Catholic powers.¹⁰⁷ In the spring of 1578, for instance, he recommended several young Danish nobles to serve in William of Orange's (1533–84) armies in the Netherlands against the imperial forces, and even allowed one of his mercenary captains to bring a full cavalry force to the rebel army. From 1583, he joined a Protestant alliance that meant that he should intervene militarily against the Catholics.¹⁰⁸ It is thus not surprising that Frederik II revived the Order of the Elephant in the 1570s or that it should have some connection to fighting for the faith. This royal order later swallowed other orders like The Armed Arm. The insignia designed for Christian IV still depicted the Armed Arm, though, and the Armed Arm was awarded again in 1633 and 1634 (Fig. 11.6).

¹⁰⁷ Cf. in general Paul Douglas Lockhart, *Frederik II and the Protestant Cause: Denmark's Role in the Wars of Religion, 1559–1596*, *The Northern World* 10 (Leiden: Brill, 2004).

¹⁰⁸ Lockhart, *Frederik II and the Protestant Cause*, 202.



Fig. 11.6: Christian IV's collar of the Order of the Elephant depicting the Armed Arm. Rosenborg Castle, Copenhagen.

In its fundamental ethos, the Order of the Elephant was connected to the ideology of the crusades. In the seventeenth century, the historians had invented a theory that the order originated with Danish participation in the crusades to the Holy Land. Thus, official Protestant royal ideology took in traditional crusading ideology when creating the history of the royal Order of the Elephant. Perhaps that is why we no longer hear of nobles being knighted at the Holy Sepulchre in the seventeenth century (unless, of course, Henrik Rantzau and others were knighted secretly). Being knighted at the Holy Sepulchre had been overtaken by being knighted by the Danish king in his capacity as representing and fighting for the true faith: the Lutheran-Evangelical confession. However, stories about the first crusaders and their use as examples of heroes circulated widely and probably inspired young Protestant nobles not only to fight for the faith and *patria*, but also to a continued interest in travelling to Jerusalem.

The Legend of Dannebrog

It would go far beyond the scope of the present study to investigate in depth how the militant Protestantism developed during the reigns of Frederik II and Christian IV. It was intertwined with ideas of Denmark as the only realm in the world where the true faith ruled unchallenged, which was celebrated during the first Reformation Jubilee in 1617, and ideas of Denmark as a northern Jerusalem or a safe haven for the church was widespread.¹⁰⁹ In this process, a national history was created in which the Danish kings and their subjects had always fought for the faith. The Danish national symbols like the national flag and the white heraldic cross in the Danish coat of arms were believed to originate in Danish participation in the crusades.

The legend of the Danish national flag – called Dannebrog – that fell from the sky at Lyndanisse in 1219 was created in the sixteenth century. The two early sixteenth-century historians, Christiern Pedersen and Petrus Olai (1490–1570), knew a source which described this event but told of it in combination with an otherwise unknown crusade in Livonia in 1208. It was Petrus Olai who connected the event to the great Danish crusade to Estonia of 1219. In 1560, the Danish historian Hans Svanning (1503–84) wrote of King Hans's utter defeat in the campaign against Ditmarschen in 1500 that “the banner of the Kingdom with a cross in red and white that according to tradition had fallen from the sky during Valdemar II's (1202–41) war against the Livonians – at that time enemies of Christendom – was captured by the enemies when the commander of the army Hans Ahlefeldt was killed.”¹¹⁰ Frederik II recovered it during the second Ditmarschen campaign in 1559.¹¹¹ At his funeral procession in 1588, Dannebrog was placed over his coffin.¹¹²

A contemporary song relates that during the first assault on the city of Meldorf in Ditmarschen in 1559 the Danes placed the cross-banner at the church tower and remembered the legend of Emperor Constantine's vision of the cross at Ponte Molle in 312, where a huge cross appeared in the sky and a voice declared “*In hoc signo vinces*”. The Dannebrog legend found its final form that we know today in the chronicle of Arild Huitfeldt (1546–1609) of 1599, in which he gave a vivid description of the battle based on Exod 17, making a parallel between the Danish Archbishop Anders Sunesøn praying like Moses with his hands extended towards Heaven for victory,

109 Cf. Jensen, *Denmark and the Crusades, 1400–1650*, 30.; Paul Douglas Lockhart, “Dansk Propaganda under Kejserkrigen 1625–1629” *Jyske Samlinger* 2 (1998): 229–42.

110 Hans Svanning, *Chronicon sive historia Iohannis regis Dania* (Copenhagen, 1560). Svanning does not give the year, which could then be either 1208 or 1219.

111 Cf. Johan Rantzau, *Warhafftige unnd kurtze Verzeychnisz des Krieges* (Strassburg: Theodosius Rihel, 1569), fol. L3.; Cimber, “Belli Dithmarsici,” 246–47.

112 See the illustration in Hogenberg, “Res gestæ serenissimi potentissimique principis ac domini Frederici II. Etc.,” plate 15.

and Constantine's vision of the cross.¹¹³ The picture of Moses stretching his hands towards heaven while Joshua fights Amalek was in fact often used in the sixteenth century to defend the church's active role in the war against the Turks.¹¹⁴ In his chronicle, Huitfeldt introduced a question of great importance for the present study, when he left it for the reader to decide whether the flag was given to Valdemar by the pope as sign of a crusade – *cruciata* – or whether it should be taken as a symbol that victory is granted by God alone.¹¹⁵ Johannes Isaksen Pontanus (1571–1639), who was commissioned by Christian IV to write a Danish history in Latin for the European public in 1618, followed Huitfeldt's suggestion that it was perhaps granted by the pope for the crusade.¹¹⁶

In 1676, however, the learned historian and doctor Thomas Bartholin (1616–80) completely rejected the thesis that it was given to the king as a sign of a crusade. He published a history of the Order of Dannebrog that had just been founded by King Christian V (1670–99) in 1671. He agreed that the flag fell from the sky during the 1219 crusade, and he believed that the Order of Dannebrog had originally been founded on that occasion.¹¹⁷ According to Bartholin, Valdemar II had founded the order in commemoration of this great event and to celebrate the two origins of his victory: God and the courage of his soldiers. But Bartholin cannot agree with Huitfeldt and Pontanus that this banner was granted by the pope “when all the reliable Danish annals simply do not mention that this expedition was a crusade [*Cruciata*] with a single word.”¹¹⁸ According to Bartholin there could be no doubt that the banner fell from the sky as a true miracle. There were plenty of examples

113 Arild Huitfeldt, *Danmarks Riges Krønike*, 10 vols. (Copenhagen: Rosenkilde og Bagger, 1976–78), 6:106–07. On the use of the figure of Moses, see also Chapter 8 (Martin Berntson), 147–67.

114 Michael J. Heath, *Crusading Commonplaces: La Noue, Lucinge and Rhetoric against the Turks*, *Travaux d'humanisme et Renaissance* 209 (Geneva: Librairie Droz, 1986), 17–18.

115 Huitfeldt, *Danmarks Riges Krønike*, 6:107.

116 Johannes Isaac Pontanus, *Rerum Danicarum Historia*, *Libris X* (Amsterdam: Johan Jansson, 1631), 306–07. Cf. for Pontanus and his work Karen Skovgaard-Petersen, *Historiography at the Court of Christian IV (1588–1648): Studies in the Latin Histories of Denmark by Johannes Pontanus and Johannes Meursius* (Copenhagen: Museum Tusulanum Press, University of Copenhagen, 2002).

117 Thomas Bartholin, *Equestris Ordinis Danebrogici* (Copenhagen: Georg Gödian, 1676). It was translated into Danish by Gustav Ludvig Baden in 1814: *Om Danebrogordenens Oprindelse* (Odense: Chr. Iversen, 1814). The translation is equipped with a historical commentary, which Baden respectfully placed in endnotes “in order not to offend the strong believer” with his “heretical remarks immediately below the text of Bartholin.”

118 The Danish annals (cf. the editions in M. Cl Gertz et al., *Danmarks middelalderlige annaler* (Copenhagen: Selskabet, 1980)). of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries use the term “expeditio”, which of course was the most common term for crusade at the time.



Fig. 11.7: Model of the Holy Sepulchre, brought from The Holy Land to Denmark in 1674. National Museum (Nationalmuseet), Copenhagen.

in history of how God had intervened and performed miracles to convert the heathens.¹¹⁹ The banner was given to Valdemar by God, because Valdemar wanted to convert the heathens and to expand Christendom.¹²⁰

During the reign of Christian IV, however, it was Huitfeldt's version of the legend that was authoritative. It was taken over by royal ideology and used in its propaganda. In the early 1590s, Christian IV minted gold coins in imitation of the Portuguese gold coins called *portugues* or *portugaløser* in Danish, which combined heavenly visions of crosses – symbolized by the Christ-cross – and the Portuguese crusades. In 1603, a new coin was struck in Denmark, which depicted the Christ-cross surrounded by Christian IV's motto "*regna firmat pietas*" and "*in hoc signe vinces*" engraved around it.¹²¹ As the Danish heraldic specialist, Niels Bartholdy writes: "In this way this type of cross was also in Denmark connected to the ideology of the *christianitas militans*. The

119 Bartholin, *Equestris Ordinis Danebrogici*, 6–7. Bartholin may have used the work *De Cruce Christi* of the Jesuit Jacob Gretzer, who wrote a chapter on all recorded cross-visions of which Bartholin mentions several, Jacob Gretzer, *De Cruce Christi* (Ingolstadt: David Sartorius, 1600), 1: 527–54. At least the work was used by Lars Norrman in Uppsala to argue against the legitimacy of the crusades to the Holy Land in 1687, Lars Norrman, *Dissertatio historico-politica de expeditionibus cruciatis* (Uppsala: J. G. Eberdt, 1687).

120 Bartholin, *Equestris Ordinis Danebrogici*, 12.

121 Niels G. Bartholdy, "Broderskab – selskab – ridderorden. Ordenens ældste historie," in *Fra korsridder til ridderkors. Elefantordenens og dannebrogordenens historie*, ed. Mogens Bencard and Tage Kaarsted (Odense: Odense Universitetsforlag, 1993), 43–45.



Fig. 11.8: Casket with relics from the Holy Land, brought to Denmark in 1674. National Museum (Nationalmuseet), Copenhagen.

addition of the famous sentence no doubt was due to Huitfeldt's chronicle that had been published just a few years prior."¹²²

Huitfeldt explicitly linked the cross in the Danish coat of arms to the Danish involvement in the crusades in the Baltic: "For this reason – that King Valdemar planted the Christian faith in Livonia – the white cross is carried in the Danish

¹²² Bartholdy, "Broderskab – selskab – ridderorden," 44.

arms.”¹²³ He even acknowledged that this was granted to the Danish kings by the pope. Under the year 1249, he wrote of King Erik Plovpenning (1241–50): “previous popes had given his father *cruciatam*, that is the Christian cross to carry in his coat of arms.”¹²⁴ Crusading ideals thus became an important part of shaping Danish royal and national ideology. It should come as no surprise that the nobles who read stories about the crusaders’ struggle in Jerusalem, the heroes of the first crusade from Godfrey of Bouillon to Prince Svend, and the war against the enemies of the faith by the Danish proto-crusader Ogier the Dane, became inspired to undertake the journey to Jerusalem. Pilgrimages in the Catholic sense might have waned and finally disappeared. However, the medieval crusade as part of Danish national history and identity created in the sixteenth century, continued to appeal to Lutheran nobles and in this respect, the continuity from the medieval past is much more obvious.

Conclusion

With the Reformation in Denmark the medieval pilgrimages to Jerusalem that had been common and an important part of late medieval religious life came to a contemporary halt. They were revived in the second half of the sixteenth century where they became part of the educational journeys of the Danish nobility. The travel accounts, however, reflect a strong interest in the many holy and biblical sites and places. Even if some of the authors of the accounts only record what is said at the holy sites, they still faithfully report all they see and are told. Beside the interest in the scenes for the passion of Christ, a particular interest in crusading history and being knighted at the Holy Sepulchre are singled out. This coincides with a renewed interest in crusading history that became part of Danish national history and identity in which both the kings and nobility had a long tradition for fighting for the true faith. This is reflected in both official and authoritative historical writing and literature. The nobles read about the wars and battles of Ogier the Dane as a kind of proto-crusader and champion of the faith. They read about the first crusades and the Danish crusading heroes like Prince Svend and fought under national banners and symbols that explicitly were believed to have originated in the crusading past of Denmark. There was a deliberate identification of being created a knight of the Holy Sepulchre and being a golden knight in Denmark. This situation changes at the turn of the seventeenth century when the nobles apparently no longer were knighted at the Holy Sepulchre but

¹²³ Huitfeldt, *Danmarks Riges Krønike*, 6:106–07: “For denne Aarsage Skyld, at Konning Woldemar [II] udi Liffland haffuer indplantet den Christelige Tro, føris udi Danmarckis Vaaben det huide Kaars.”

¹²⁴ Huitfeldt, *Danmarks Riges Krønike*, 6:191: “fordumme Paffuer haffuer giffuet hans Herrefader Cruciatam, det er det Christne Kaars udi Vaben, Menendis sig oc der met at vinde en Fortieniste hos Gud.”

instead were created knights of the new orders of chivalry in Denmark that were also believed to originate in the crusading past of Denmark. Fighting for the faith and the struggle to liberate Jerusalem and the Holy Land thus need to be taken into consideration when investigating the motives behind the Jerusalem journeys in the sixteenth and seventeenth century. In this respect, they are linked to the medieval crusading past that became part of the national Protestant crusading ethos of the sixteenth and seventeenth century. Fighting for the faith became identified with fighting for Lutheran-Evangelical confession and the *patria*. Jerusalem thus slowly became less important as a destination in itself. Instead, it became one of several important biblical sites that travelers had to visit including Egypt and Ethiopia in particular. During the seventeenth century, this antiquarian interest in biblical events became increasingly predominant, as will be further explored in volume 3 of this publication. Rather than forming part of the education of the nobility, scholars began to visit these places for the study of languages and other scholarly interests, which might be seen as forerunners for the high-profile scientific expeditions of the eighteenth century. The literary interest in crusading history and stories in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries undoubtedly kept the idea of going to Jerusalem and being knighted at the Holy Sepulchre alive as part of or an extension of a medieval tradition. Only slowly did this turn into something else when Jerusalem, as argued for other European countries, became a symbol for the new national monarchy, and fighting for faith became identified with the wars of the *patria*.¹²⁵ Jerusalem like the other crusading symbols thus became overtaken and nationalized by the ever stronger national monarchy in Denmark.

¹²⁵ Cf. Housley, “Holy Land or Holy Lands?”; “Pro Deo Et Patria Mori”.

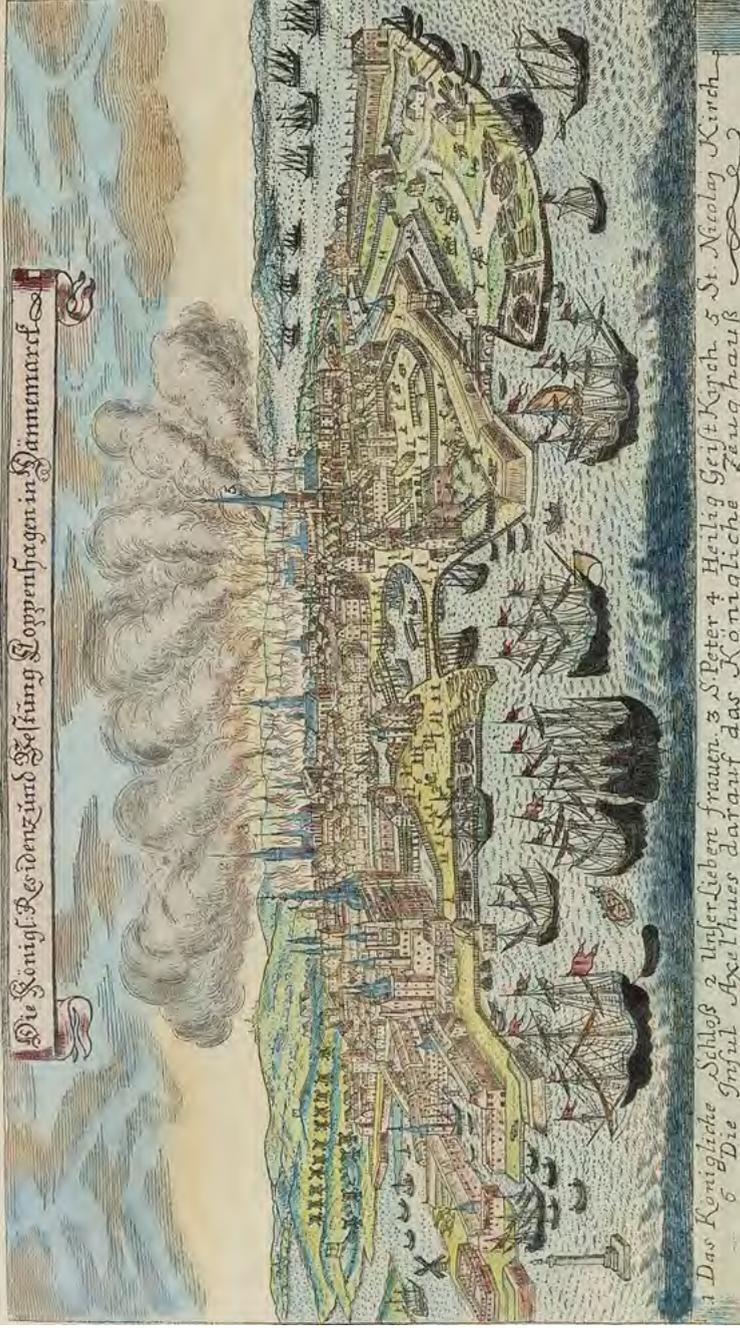


Fig. 12. 0: Fire of Copenhagen 1728. Hand-coloured woodcut of unknown provenience.

**Part III: Jerusalem Destroyed and Rebuilt:
The Chosen People and the Pedagogy of God**

Eivor Andersen Oftestad

Chapter 12

“Who Can Approach our Jerusalem without Weeping?”: The Destruction of Jerusalem in Danish Sources, 1515–1729

The Roman destruction of Jerusalem in AD 70 was an important event in the Christian storyworld. Nine sermons which treat this event, on the tenth Sunday after Trinitatis, from 1515 to 1762, make up the core of this article. In these early Protestant texts, the destruction of Jerusalem was not primarily understood according to the chronology of the triumphant Church replacing the defeated synagogue. It was rather understood as a response to a certain continuous human status in front of God. The history was a warning and the presence of the catastrophe became urgent when the preachers no longer viewed the Roman emperors as proto-Christian heroes defeating Judaism, but placed their congregation in line with the Jews of Jerusalem. What had happened to Jerusalem could also happen to Copenhagen. The survey of sermons from a span of almost two hundred years demonstrates how the preachers adapted their message to new historical situations. It also demonstrates that as time passed, however, the warning message loosened its tie to the historical city of Jerusalem. This happened while the function of the story shifted from being a tool of discipline for the government to becoming an internal and individualized Jerusalem memory.

Copenhagen – As in Jerusalem

In his ten-volume chronicle, the Danish historian Arild Huitfeldt (1546–1609) described the siege of Copenhagen in 1536.¹ It was a terrible sight, just before the final surrender to the party of the reformation king, Christian III. The city lacked food supplies and heartbreaking scenes of starvation were played out with people collapsing and dying in the streets. Children were suckling blood from their dead mothers' breasts. There had never been any hunger like this in the memory of man, Huitfeldt could insure the

¹ Arild Huitfeldt, *En kaart historiske Beskriffuelse, Paa hues merckeligt, som sig Aarlige under Kong Christian Den Tredie . . . haffuer tildragit* (Copenhagen: Matz Vingaard, 1595), fol. Aa.iii.

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Fig. 12.1: Title page of Peder Tideman, *Jerusalemis oc Jødernis Jemmerlige oc Yncelige forstöring / kaartelige aff Josephi Historie fordansket* (*The pitiful and miserable destruction of Jerusalem and the Jews briefly recorded in Danish after Josephus' Historia*) (1587). The illustration shows the Romans' destruction of Jerusalem in AD 70.

reader. The only comparable example people could imagine, was what had once happened during the siege of Jerusalem. Huitfeldt described the capital as the “Jerusalem of Copenhagen” (*Københavnske Jerusalem*). The resemblance was close, but not total. When people went to the City Major and the magistrates of Copenhagen to complain of their misery and hunger, it was only to hear that they had not yet eaten their own children, as they had done in Jerusalem.² The text is an early example of how the inhabitants of early modern Denmark–Norway used the destruction of Jerusalem in the year AD 70 as a main model and a mirror when they interpreted their own times and the lives of their citizens. It was easy to imagine that what had happened to Jerusalem in AD 70 could also happen to Copenhagen or any other city.

The main question addressed in this article is how the early modern pastors construed this bridge between the listener’s situation in early modern Denmark–Norway and the situation in Jerusalem. The sources show how the allegorical interpretation of the text gradually loosened the tie from the actual history of the destruction. At the same time, the function of the story shifted from being a tool of discipline for the government to becoming an internal and individualized Jerusalem memory.

The “Judensonntag”

In their Sunday sermons, the pastors in early modern Denmark–Norway often referred to Jerusalem. The images of the city differed according to the Gospel of the day. During the liturgical year it varied from the city on the hill, the dwelling place of God, the scene of Christ’s entrance on Palm Sunday, of the crucifixion and the resurrection, the city of sin, and the future goal, the heavenly city. At least once a year it was the destruction of Jerusalem that was painted before the eyes of the audience.³ In German-speaking areas, at least from the sixteenth century onwards, it was called the “Jüdensonntag.”⁴ Each tenth Sunday after *Trinitatis* the pastor read the Gospel according to Luke 19:41–48 – Christ cries over Jerusalem and predicts its coming catastrophe, because the Jewish citizens did not recognize the time of visitation. It was a widespread interpretation to explain the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans in AD 70 as the fulfillment of Christ’s prophecy. During

2 “Vaar der oc saadan hunger i Kiøbenhaffn/ at mand aldrig aff saadan haffde hørt at sige/ lige fast ved den i Jerusalem. Oc naar nogen gick til Byes Borgermestere oc Øffrigheden/ oc klagede deris Nød oc hunger/ da gaffve de dennem kaarte svar/ bade dennem gaa hiem igjen/ de haffde icke endda ædit deris egne Børn/ som de gjorde i Jerusalem,” Huitfeldt, *En kaart historiske Beskriffuelse*, fol. Aa.iii.

3 The epistles and Gospel texts were taken from the Roman *Missale*.

4 Irene Mildemberger, *Der Israelsonntag – Gedenktag der Zerstörung Jerusalems. Untersuchungen zu seiner homiletischen und liturgischen Gestaltung in der evangelischen Tradition* (Berlin: Intitut Kirche und Judentum, 2004), 30–34. See also Evelina Volkmann, *Vom “Judensonntag” zum “Israelsonntag”. Predigtarbeit im Horizont des christlich-jüdischen Gesprächs* (Stuttgart: Calwer, 2002), 20–95.

the Catholic period the history of the destruction was read as a narrative celebrating the military and ideological triumph of Christianity.⁵ Lutheran hermeneutics, however, prepared the way for a new reading of the Gospel and a new function of the history of the destruction. According to these hermeneutics, the early modern congregation was placed in the same situation as the Jews in Jerusalem. Like the Jerusalem Jews, the Christian congregation was also confronted with a new presence of the Word of God. The reading of the Gospel and the subsequent destruction thus turned into a warning.

Nine sermons on the tenth Sunday after *Trinitatis* in various postillae from 1515 to 1762 comprise the core of this article.⁶ This survey of sermons, spanning almost two hundred years, demonstrates how the preachers adapted their message to new historical situations.

The knowledge of the history of the Roman destruction of Jerusalem in early modern Denmark–Norway derived from Flavius Josephus’s description of the catastrophe, transmitted in *De belli Judaica* (75–79).⁷ The text had been revised into a German version in 1534 by Johannes Bugenhagen,⁸ and this version became the basis for the Danish version published by Peder Tideman in 1539 (*Jerusalem oc Jødemis jemmerlige oc yncelige Forstöring //kortelige aff Josephi historie fordansket* (Fig. 12.1)).⁹ Tideman’s version of the event gained an almost canonical status in post-reformation Danish culture. In Danish literature, this tract became the most widespread and long-lived polemics against Jews and Judaism. In Germany, Bugenhagen had since 1534 added his version to his Gospel harmony of the Passion (1524), while in Denmark, Tideman’s version was added to Tausen’s postilla (1539), and to Peder Palladius’s translation of Bugenhagen’s Gospel harmony, as well as to bibles, psalm books, and different kinds of devotional literature.¹⁰ Bugenhagen’s and then Tideman’s version of the destruction were thus both liturgical and pedagogical parts of the explanation of the Gospel. Since Bugenhagen’s time it was a widespread tradition, at least in Germany, to

5 See also Chapter 3 (Beatrice Groves) 54–61.

6 The row of fixed biblical texts for each Sunday of the church year constituted the basis for a vast publication of different *postillae*.

7 Josephus wrote his work in Greek, and most of the medieval preachers relied on one of the two Latin translations, both from late antiquity, Jussi Hanska, “Preachers as Historians: The Case of the Destruction of Jerusalem in 70 AD,” *Anuario de Estudios Medievales* 42, no. 1 (2012): 32. On the Christian use of Josephus’s writings, see Heinz Schreckenberg, “Josephus in Early Christian Literature and Medieval Christian Art,” in *Jewish Historiography and Iconography in Early and Medieval Christianity*, eds. Heinz Schreckenberg and Kurt Schubert (Maastricht: Van Gorcum, 1992).

8 Johan Bugenhagen, *Das leiden und Aufferstehung vnsers HERRN Jhesu Christi* (Wittemberg: Georg Rhaw, 1544).

9 Lausten, Martin Schwartz. *Kirke og synagoge. Holdninger i den danske kirke til jødedom og jøder i middelalderen, reformationstiden og den lutherske ortodoksi (ca. 1100–ca 1700)* (Copenhagen: Akademisk Forlag, 1992), 303.

10 Lausten, *Kirke og synagoge*, 312.

read Josephus’s account at vespers on this particular Sunday, the tenth Sunday after *Trinitatis*.

This Sunday consisted of the concurrence of three elements: the Gospel text from Luke 19:41–48, the specific history of the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus and Vespasian, and the knowledge that the specific celebration concurred with the Jewish mourning of the actual destruction.¹¹

The tenth Sunday after *Trinitatis* was part of the mobile liturgical year, and was most often celebrated in August. This was also the month when the Jews commemorated and mourned the destruction of their Temple, at the day of *Tisha B’Av* (9th of Ab). Already the church father Jerome (347–420) had referred to the Jewish mourning in Jerusalem on this particular date.¹² He contrasted the pitiful procession of lamenting Jews encircling the city of Jerusalem with the golden crosses overlooking them from the summit of the Mount of Olives and from the dome of the Holy Sepulchre.¹³ It was a visualization of the main model – defeated Judaism and triumphant Christianity.¹⁴ Amnon Linder has shown how the Christian Church had already evolved a proper liturgy and texts to commemorate the destruction of Jerusalem, analogous to the Jewish 9th of Ab, during the pontificate of Gregory the Great in the sixth century.¹⁵

The Jewish mourning and the Christian triumph were intertwined, and sometimes their interdependency was expressed even more clearly. A pregnant example is from *San Giovanni in Laterano*, the papal basilica in Rome.¹⁶ From at least the

11 According to Amnon Linder, the Gospel of Luke 19 was introduced as the Gospel lesson proper to this Sunday in about the middle of the eighth century: Amnon Linder, “The Destruction of Jerusalem Sunday,” *Sacris Erudiri* 30 (1987–88), 263. The commemoration of the *Destructio* of Jerusalem on the tenth Sunday after *Trinitatis* was fixed from the eleventh century Linder, “The Destruction of Jerusalem Sunday,” 269. He traces, however, the intended concurrence between the text of the Christian liturgy and the time of the Jewish celebration back to the origin of the commemoration by Gregory the Great (see below, n. 17). Irene Mildener’s sources and observations differ slightly from Linder’s (Mildener, *Der Israelsonntag*, 54–57). According to Mildener the Gospel of Luke 19 was part of the readings on the tenth Sunday after *Trinitatis* from the eleventh century onwards (at least). The earliest reference she knows for the concurrence of the destruction and the Jewish mourning occurs from the twelfth century, Honorius Augustodunensis, “Gemma Animae,” in *PL* 172. While Linder uses a vast number of liturgical sources, Mildener has only investigated the sermons, which provide less evidence.

12 There existed, however, different liturgical systems. The particular Gospel was read on the tenth Sunday after *Trinitatis* according to Parisian or Dominican liturgy, or on the ninth Sunday after Pentecost according to Franciscan or Roman liturgy, Hanska, “Preachers as Historians,” 31.

13 Hieronymus, *Commentariorum in Sophoriam*, ed. M. Adriaen, CCSL 76 A (Turnhout: Brepols, 1970), 673. According to Linder, “The Destruction of Jerusalem Sunday,” 253.

14 “The Destruction of Jerusalem Sunday,” 253–92, 53.

15 Linder, “The Destruction of Jerusalem Sunday,” 253–92. Lindner argues that the concurrence with the Jewish mourning was intended in both the origin of the commemoration during the time of Gregory the Great, and during the period of reintroduction and reconfirmation in the eighth century. Linder, “The Destruction of Jerusalem Sunday,” 275–78.

16 See also Chapter 3 in volume 1 (Eivor Andersen Oftestad), 49–55.

twelfth century it is reported how the Roman Jews observed that the columns of the canopy were sweating on this special day of mourning.¹⁷ The columns were allegedly *spolia* from the Temple of Solomon, brought to Rome after the destruction of Jerusalem.

The concurrence of these three elements, the Gospel text, the history of the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus and Vespasian, and the Jewish mourning, points to a certain connection between history and message. To the Lutheran congregations in the sixteenth century, the bridge from the situation in Jerusalem and the subsequent destruction of the city to the sermon in the city church, was not a physical link like sweating columns, but depended on the reception of the Gospel.

History, Allegory, or Both?

Throughout the Middle Ages the explanation of Luke 19 shows a variety of interpretations.¹⁸ The great homiletic, Pope Gregory the Great (c.540–604) paved the way with his allegorical and moralistic explanation of the text. It was originally delivered at the Lateran Basilica (590–92), but was later included in his collection of homilies, so that it was spread through hundreds of copied manuscripts and widely quoted by later preachers.¹⁹ To Gregory, the destruction of Jerusalem by the Roman Emperors was the evident reason for the tears of Christ in Luke 19:41: “No one who has read the story of the destruction of Jerusalem brought about by the Roman rulers Vespasian and Titus is ignorant that it occasioned the Lord’s weeping.”²⁰ This historical fulfillment of Christ’s prophecy, or rather, the reason for Christ’s foreseeing, is merely a fact in Gregory’s explanation, and the actual situation in the Gospel

17 Benjamin of Tudela, *Itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela: Critical Text, Translation and Commentary*, trans. Marcus Nathan Adler (London: Oxford University Press, 1907), 7. “In the church of St John in the Lateran there are two bronze columns taken from the temple, the handiwork of King Solomon, each column being engraved ‘Solomon the son of David.’ The Jews of Rome told me that every year upon the 9th of Ab they found the columns exuding moisture like water. There is also the cave where Titus the son of Vespasian stored the temple vessels which he brought from Jerusalem.”

18 Mildenerger, *Der Israelsonntag*, 30–57.

19 For example Bede in his *Expositio Lucae* (709–15); the *Glossa Ordinaria* and several late medieval biblical commentaries, see Hanska, “Preachers as Historians”. Mildenerger notes several sermons that referred to Gregory’s account and explanations, mostly German, Mildenerger, *Der Israelsonntag*, 43–48, 49. (t.ex Johannes Tauler (1300–61)). Gregory’s text is not necessarily linked to the tenth Sunday after *Trinitatis*, as there is no indication on which liturgical occasion the sermon was delivered, cf. Magnus Gregorius, *Forty Gospel Homilies*, Cistercian Studies Series 123 (Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications, 1990), 357–69. See also Linder, “The Destruction of Jerusalem Sunday,” 263.

20 Gregorius, *Forty Gospel Homilies*, 123, 357.

is therefore not worthy of more than a short literal explanation before Gregory develops the moral interpretation. Since earthly Jerusalem and the Temple had lost its religious significance, it was the allegorical message that was the focus:

But we know that Jerusalem has already been overthrown, and transformed into something better by its overthrow; we know that the robbers have been banished from the Temple, and the Temple itself torn down. Since this is so, we must extract some inner similitude from these external events; these overthrown buildings must cause us to fear the ruins of our lives. *For seeing the city, he wept over it, saying, If only you at least had known.*²¹

According to Gregory’s interpretation, the city of Jerusalem was a symbol of a perishing soul, and the Temple was the life of religious persons, as well as the heart and conscience of the faithful.²² The message of Gregory was, in order to be recognized at Judgement Day, one must cleanse one’s heart, repent, and unite orthodox faith with good deeds, by doing good even to the repulsive and contemptible among us.²³

Gregory’s allegorical-moral interpretation influenced a certain line of the tradition where the allegorical significance was emphasized. At the same time, another line emphasized the *history* of the destruction in addition to the allegorical interpretation inherited from Gregory. The Carolingian theologian Walafrid Strabo (808/9–849) was one of those who described in detail the horrors of the Roman siege of Jerusalem, before he turned to the allegorical interpretation of Gregory.²⁴ In the Danish tradition, Christiern Pedersen explains the Gospel of Luke 19 according to Nicholas of Lyra, in his *Jærtegnpostille* from 1515 (cf. Fig. 12.2).²⁵

According to Pedersen’s explanation, Christ cried out of compassion for the Jews because of their sin and his knowledge of the coming wrath. He introduces both the history of the destruction of Jerusalem, according to Josephus, as well as eyewitnesses to the ruins of Jerusalem in the sixteenth century, as evidence of the fulfillment of Christ’s prediction.²⁶ Pedersen does not emphasize any particular significance of the destruction, but highlights a certain historical detail, namely the most dramatic event according to the tradition of Egesippus (second century) and Josephus, about the mother Mary who roasted and ate her own baby because of the hunger caused by the Roman siege. This story obviously upset the audience, and

²¹ Gregorius, *Forty Gospel Homilies*, 359.

²² Gregorius, *Forty Gospel Homilies*, 362–63.

²³ Gregorius, *Forty Gospel Homilies*, 365–68.

²⁴ For the use of history and historical sources in the sermon on the destruction of Jerusalem, see Hanska, “Preachers as Historians.”

²⁵ Christen Pedersen (1480–1515). In addition to comments on all Sundays of the liturgical year, he also added short examples, miracles or other significant stories, which gave the publication its name, *Jærtegnpostillen*.

²⁶ Christiern Pedersen, *Alle Epistler oc Euangelia, som lesiss alle Søndage om aared* (Paris: J. B. Ascensius, 1515), fol. clxi.



Fig. 12.2: Illustration to Christiern Pedersen's explanation of Luke 19 on the tenth Sunday after *Trinitatis*: Jesus in the Temple ("And he went into the temple, and began to cast out them that sold therein, and them that bought", Luke 19:45). From Christiern Pedersen, *Alle Epistler och Evangelia som lesiss alle Søndage om aared* [. . .] (*Jærtegnpostillen*) (1515), fol. clxi.

was what was particularly remembered for generations, as Huitfeldt’s description of the hunger in Copenhagen in 1536 has suggested. In Pedersen’s explanation, the *sensus historicus* is emphasized without any special allegorical or tropological consequences. There was no direct link between the history and his own situation, neither historically nor morally. This situation changed with the reformation when the motive of the destruction gained renewed importance.

History and Presence

In his sermon on the tenth Sunday after *Trinitatis* on 13 August 1525, the German reformer Martin Luther made a direct move from the past to the present historical situation in his own time. It was clearly expressed in the title: “A sermon on the destruction of Jerusalem. In like manner will Germany also be destroyed, if she will not recognize the time of her visitation. What the Temple of God is.”²⁷ It was towards the end of the peasants’ war, and Luther legitimated the slaughtering of the peasants as part of God’s salvation plans in the same way as the destruction of Jerusalem had been part of His plans. During the spring of 1525, between Easter and Pentecost, they had lost almost hundred thousand men, and now Luther feared God would lay the whole of Germany to ruin if the rejection of the Gospel continued. The slaughter was just the beginning of the evil winds, of what he interpreted as God’s awful work. According to Luther, it was a warning to all Germans to receive the teaching of the reformers, unless something even worse would happen.

Luther identified his audience with the Jews in Jerusalem – God’s call in Jerusalem and in Germany was the same. How did Luther construe this bridge? It was all about the true recipients of the Word of God. The first-century Jews and the sixteenth-century Germans met the same Word of God. It was “one and the selfsame Word, the very same God, and the identical Christ, the Jews themselves had; therefore the punishment in body and soul will also most certainly be the same.”²⁸ Luther’s starting point was still nothing other than the *sensus historicus* of the Gospel. This was not Christ’s weeping, but what he wept about, namely the punishment of Jerusalem, caused by the sins of the people. The sin was to despise the Word. This was what happened to the Jews in Jerusalem and was about to happen in Germany as well,

²⁷ Martin Luther, “Eyn Sermon von der Zerstörung Jerusalem. Das teutsch Landt auch also Zerstört werd/ wo es die Zeyt seiner Heymsuchung nicht erkent. Was der Tempel Gottis sey,” (Nürnberg: Andreae, 1525). See also Winfried Frey, “Das Motiv der Zerstörung Jerusalems als Exempel in deutschen Texten des 16. Jahrhunderts. Ein Versuch,” *Derekh Judaica Urbinatensia* (2002): 42.

²⁸ “Denn es ist gleich ein wort/ eben der selbig Got einerley Christus/ wie es die Juden gehabt haben/ Darumb wirt gewislich die straff an leyb und an seel auch geleych sein,” Luther, “Eyn Sermon von der Zerstörung Jerusalem,” fol. Aiiiiv.

according to Luther. The situation was in other words exactly the same. In this way, Luther moves the attention from the Jews to a continuous sin, to despising the Word of God. His interpretation does not depend on a certain relation between Jews and Christians. Everyone who has committed this sin could mirror themselves in the Jews.

This was the time of visitation, and if Germany failed to react, she would be destroyed like Jerusalem had been. According to Luther, the fate of Jerusalem was thus a warning to the Christian congregation: “If they are punished who do not know the time of their visitation, what will be done to those who persecute, blaspheme and disgrace the Gospel and the Word of God?”²⁹

To Luther, the history of the destruction was an example of God’s anger and hence a call to fearing God and to conversion:

And the clearer the Word is preached the greater the punishment will be. I fear it will be the destruction of all Germany. Would to God I were a false prophet in this matter. Yet it will most certainly take place. God cannot permit this shameful disregard of his Word to go unpunished, nor will he wait long, for the Gospel is so abundantly proclaimed that it has never been as plainly and clearly taught since the days of the Apostles, as it is at present. Hence it applies to Germany, as I fear it will be destroyed.³⁰

The Time of Visitation in Copenhagen

With the evangelical preaching, the dismissal of the Catholic bishops, and King Christian III’s new Protestant church order in 1536/7, the time of visitation came to Denmark–Norway.

Hans Tausen (1494–1561), the “Danish Luther”, was the reformer most inspired by Martin Luther in Denmark,³¹ and his church postil from 1539 was the most important homiletic publication from the Danish Reformation.³² In his sermon on the

29 “Werden die gestrafft die nicht erkennen das sie sind heymgesucht/ was wirt denen geschehen/ die es vervolgen/ lesteren und schenten,” Luther, “Eyn Sermon von der Zerstörung Jerusalem,” A ii. See also Hans Tausen *Sommerdelen aff Postillen* (Magdeburg: Hans Walther, 1539), CXCVII – CXCVIIv.

30 “/unnd ye heller das wort ist/ ye grösser die straff wirt sein. Ich fürcht es werdt das ganz Teutschlandt kostenn/ Gott well das ich eyn falscher Prophet sey im der sach/ Es wirt aber gantz gewis geschehenn/ Gott kan die büberey ungerochenn nicht lassenn/ es wirt auch nicht lang zu sehenn/ den das Evangelium ist so reych geprediget/ das es so klar nicht is gewesen zu der Apostelzeyt. Darum wirt es Teutschlant gelten/ das sorg ich / es mus in grund ghen,” Luther, “Eyn Sermon von der Zerstörung Jerusalem,” fol. Aiv–Aivv.

31 Jens Chr. V. Johansen, “Preacher and Audience: Scandinavia,” in *Preachers and People in the Reformations and Early Modern Period*, ed. Larissa Taylor, *New History of the Sermon 2* (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 308.

32 Martin Schwarz Lausten lists Peder Palladius and Hans Tausen under common headings in his book, *Jews and Christians in Denmark*, since these two theologians had the same views on Jews and Judaism (Martin Schwarz Lausten, *Jews and Christians in Denmark: From the Middle*

tenth Sunday after *Trinitatis* (cf. Fig. 12.3), Tausen insists on the Christian congregation as the direct addressee of Christ’s warning. The move from history to presence comes immediately after the Gospel text. As for Luther, the bridge is the new preaching of the Gospel which establishes the similar situation and *the time of visitation*. While God has offered himself to everyone through his holy Gospel, and offered forgiveness for all sins, eternal blessings, and endless joy, people are nevertheless blinded.³³ The blindness of the Jews and the blindness among the Christians of Tausen’s own time is the same.

In Tausen’s text the destruction of Jerusalem constitutes a certain break in Salvation history. According to Tausen, the catastrophe completes a long line of God’s harsh wrath towards ingratitude, from Noah’s time onwards. Tausen is familiar with Bugenhagen’s version of the history of the destruction that was translated into Danish the same year (1539), and the history refers in detail to Josephus, Egesippus, and Eusebius before it returns to the contemporary message.³⁴ The destruction of Jerusalem was the final punishment towards the Jewish people,³⁵ and the loss of the Jews’ status as God’s chosen people was part of the final punishment. Hans Tausen emphasizes this point as the Christian Church correspondingly is “put

Ages to Recent Times, ca. 1100–1948, Brill Reference Library of Judaism 48 (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 25–28, 25). In comparison to Martin Luther, with whom they had both studied in Wittenberg, Schwarz Lausten concludes: “these two leading Danish reformers were in agreement with Luther in their theological views of Jews and Judaism, but nowhere did they cite or refer to the three anti-Jewish texts written by Luther in 1543 [. . .]. They neither imitated Luther’s vulgar polemical tone nor repeated his suggestion of punishing Jews and casting them out of Christian society. It cannot be determined whether the simple reason was that there were no Jews residing in Denmark yet, or whether it was that they disapproved of this side of their great master,” Lausten, *Jews and Christians in Denmark*, 28.

33 Tausen, *Sommerdelen aff Postillen*, fol. CXCIIIv.

34 Tausen was probably influenced by Bugenhagen’s version of the story, as he had translated Bugenhagen’s Gospel harmony into Danish in 1538, but had omitted Bugenhagen’s appendix on the destruction of Jerusalem, which nevertheless was translated and published by Tideman the following year. When Tausen incorporated the passion story into his sermon collection (Tausen, *Sommerdelen aff Postillen*, fol. CXCIIIv.), attached to different sermons, he incorporated the destruction (Luke 19) into the tenth Sunday after *Trinitatis*. The retelling of the history of the destruction and the previous warning fills 4 pages (fols. CXCIIIv–CXCVIv). The total explanation of the Gospel text is rendered from fols. CXCIIv–CXCVIII.

35 “Det skede seg saa wed xl. Aar efter Christi himmelferd/ der Jøderne hadde nu lenge nog dræbt/ fengselet oc foriaget hans troo Christne/ oc wilde jeg y ingen maade lade besige/ at det hellige Evangelium motte bleffuet hørd hoss dennom/ da wilde Gud nu føre sin endelige straff offver dennom/ thi lod han dennom falde wdi ett stort howmod emod de Romerske herrer til deres egen forderffuelse.” (*It happened 40 years after the ascension of Christ/ when the Jews for long enough had killed/ imprisoned and haunted his faithful Christians/ and I would in no way let it be said/ that the holy Gospel was heard among them/ then God would bring his final punishment on them/ and because of this he let them fall in great pride against the Roman masters to their own destruction.*) Tausen, *Sommerdelen aff Postillen*, fol. CXCIVv.

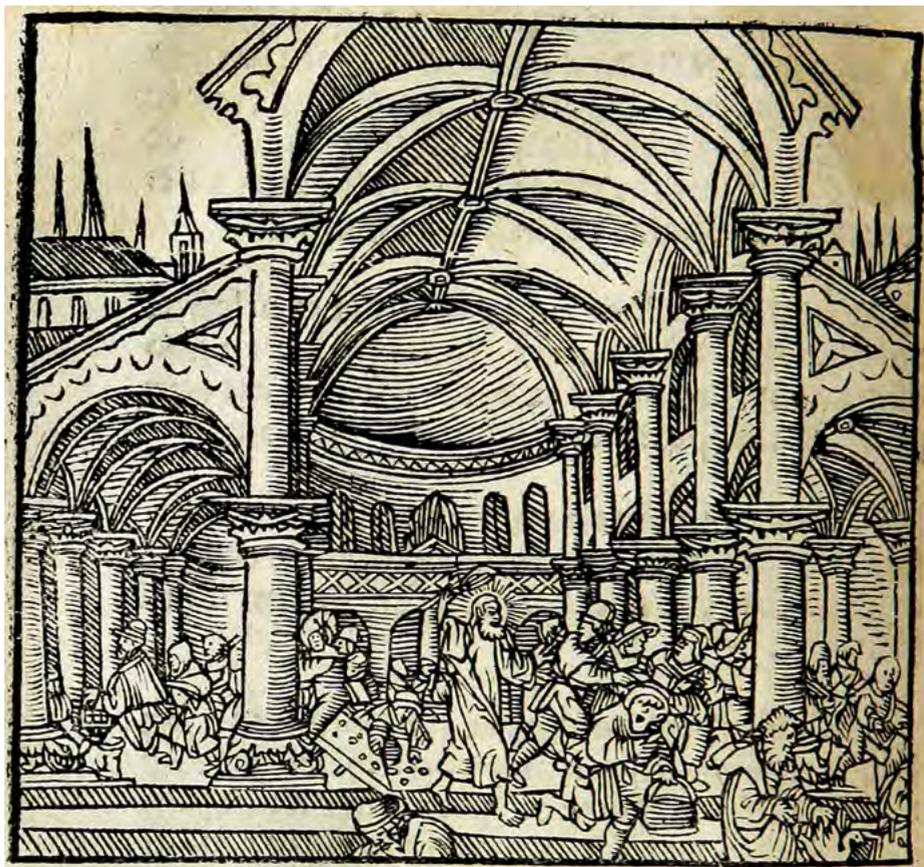


Fig. 12.3: Illustration to Hans Tausen’s explanation of Luke 19 on the tenth Sunday after *Trinitatis* (Jesus in the Temple, according to Luke 19). From Hans Tausen, *Sommerdelen aff Postillen berid aff M. Hans Taussen/Predickere i Kiøbenhaffn* (1539), fol. CXCliv.

in their [the Jews’] place.”³⁶ The loss of the Jews’ status as “chosen” was evident both regarding the holy city, and the holy people. The city was destroyed, and the people were forced into slavery. It was a reversed position which according to Tausen had continued until the present time.³⁷

³⁶ Tausen, *Sommerdelen aff Postillen*, fols. CXCvii–CXCviii.

³⁷ “[. . .] huilken forachtelse dennom endu paahenger/ att ehwor de ere y werden/ da ere de ickun andet folks abern (e?)/ der som de før wore ett hederligt folk for alle andre offuer all werden/ Ja en Guds besynderlig eyndom oc ett helligt wdwold folk.” (“[. . .] a contempt that still clings to them/ that wherever they are in the world/ then they are just other people’s monkeys [aberne?] they who previous were a righteous people to all others above the whole world/Yes, a particular property of God and a holy chosen people.”) (*ibid.*, fol. CXCv).

The sin of the Jews was in not recognizing the mercy offered to them in this special time of visitation.³⁸ As Luther had also explained, the destruction was thus a necessary consequence of their own blindness. There had been several signs before the destruction to open their eyes, and Tausen refers to a certain star, a comet, a monstrous lamb, and other warnings, that all were elements of the literary transmission of Josephus, rendered in different versions by both Bugenhagen and Tideman,³⁹ but “neither knowledge nor instruction, tokens or signs from heaven/ that they would know the time of grace.”⁴⁰ At last, Tausen returns to his own time, the present *time of visitation*: “This horrible and awful example we should also indeed heed/ and take notice of/ that God has also visited us in this time of grace/ after we have been in great aberration/but we did not pay much attention to this.”⁴¹ And he concludes with the obvious warning: “Because if God did not save such a beloved people [. . .] why should he save us heathens who have been put in their place.”⁴²

In 1539, the same year as Tausen’s *Postilla*, Peder Tideman’s version of Josephus/Bugenhagen was also published. Compared to Bugenhagen’s version it was harsher towards the Jews, and even more polarized, to the advantage of the Romans against the Jews.⁴³ One reason for this was probably the fact that, unlike in Germany, there were no known Jews in Denmark–Norway in the sixteenth century. In the history of the siege of Jerusalem and the destruction of the city, the Jews were merely a rhetorical tool for the message of conversion.⁴⁴ Their example was meant

[. . .] for us to see / in what way God has always punished his people because of their Sin/ and that we should learn by that/ to behave according to the Word of God/ and let it penetrate our hearts/ that such torment and disaster/ will not assault us/ as happened to them.⁴⁵

38 Tausen, *Sommerdelen aff Postillen*, fols. CXCI, CXCV.

39 Tausen, *Sommerdelen aff Postillen*, fols. CXCV–CXCVI. Schwartz Lausten discusses the different variants of the tradition of the signs, cf. Lausten, *Jews and Christians in Denmark*, 313–14, 320–21.

40 “der hialp hwercken lærdom eller undervissning iertegne eller himmeltegne/ att de wilde kende den naadelige tyd,” Tausen, *Sommerdelen aff Postillen*, fol. CXCVI.

41 “Dette gruelige oc forfærelige exempel skulle wii alt ocsaa achte noget/ oc tencke der paa/ att gud haffuer ocsaa besøgt oss ii denne naadelige tiid / effter storr wildfarelse wii haffve weret wdi / men wii skicke oss altho lidet der effter,” Tausen, *Sommerdelen aff Postillen*, fol. CXCVII.

42 “Thi sparede Gud icke saadant ett hiærte kiære folk [. . .] hvi skulde han spare oss hedninger som udi deres stæd ere komne,” Tausen, *Sommerdelen aff Postillen*, fols. CXCVII–CXCVIII.

43 Martin Schwartz Lausten, *Kirke og synagoge. Holdninger i den danske kirke til jødedom og jøder i middelalderen, reformationstiden og den lutherske ortodoksi (ca. 1100–ca 1700)* (Copenhagen: Akademisk Forlag, 2000), 303–28, 323–28. The 1581 edition had a slightly different title that clearly states that the destruction concerned not only the city of Jerusalem but also the Jews: *Jerusalem oc Jødernis Jemmerlige oc Yncelige forstørninge/kaartelige aff Josephi Historie fordansket*.

44 Schwarz Lausten emphasizes that, despite the strong anti-judaistic tendency, the main target was not to accuse the Jews, nor to argue against the Catholics, but rather to appeal to evangelical Christians to live according to penitence and conversion, Lausten, *Kirke og synagoge*, 327.

45 “[. . .] at wi skulle see/hvor Gud altid haffver straffet sit folck for Synden/ Oc at wi skulle lære der aff/ at skicke oss effter Guds Ord/ oc lade det gaa oss alverlige til hierte/ paa det at saadan

As it had been for Tausen, as well as for Tideman, it was the Word of God that was at stake, to the biblical Jews as well as to his contemporaries in sixteenth-century Denmark.⁴⁶ The important pedagogical point was, as in Tausen, to reflect upon the fact that even when God punished this people, which he himself had ordained, how much more would he then punish the heathens, who have received his Gospel purely by his grace, if they did not appreciate it.⁴⁷

Hemmingsen: The Time of Blindness

Some decades after Tausen and the Reformation, the most influential Danish theologian in the sixteenth century appeared to be Niels Hemmingsen (1513–1600). His *postilla* was printed in 1561 (Latin version)/ 1576 (Danish version). In his sermon for the tenth Sunday after *Trinitatis*, he identified the true believers as the citizens of Jerusalem, and then paralleled the contemporary situation to the situation Christ had confronted in Jerusalem. But now, times had changed, according to Hemmingsen. The time of visitation, which meant the time of the Reformation when the Gospel was preached in truth, had passed. Now it was the time of blindness. The Gospel was despised, and God had now visited the realm with war, hunger, and pestilence. Where Luther, Tausen, and Tideman had insisted on conversion, Hemmingsen insisted on repentance. In Hemmingsen's theology, repentance replaced love as the constant effect of faith. Without repentance, God's destruction would follow, as it had in Jerusalem. The wrath of God was directed towards those who do not repent.

Firstly, we who believe in Christ/ and who are God's holy Jerusalem/ should listen and obey the voice of Christ/ which cries over our sins/ and because of this learn what mind and kind heart he has towards us. Thereafter we should know in which time God has so graciously visited us: because he has greatly, abundantly, and mysteriously visited us in these two Kingdoms. At first with his Word/ that truly is preached clearly and rightly in all churches in the kingdoms of

plaffve oc Wlycke/ icke skal offverfalde oss/som dem er verderfaret," Peder Tideman, *Jerusalem oc Jødernis jemmerlige oc ynckelige Forstøring* (Copenhagen: Johan Balhorn, 1587), fol. Bvii.

⁴⁶ Tideman highlights the Word in contrast to the Jews' status as the chosen People of God, the descendants of the Patriarchs, the people to whom the promises were given, and to whom the Prophets were sent, and to whom even Christ belonged according to the flesh. Even this people God punished because they despised his Word, and "at mand icke kand læse nogen større Straff oc Plage om noget Folk I den ganske Verden," Tideman, *Jerusalem oc Jødernis jemmerlige oc ynckelige Forstøring*, fol. Aiiv (Peder Tidemand til Læseren/the introduction).

⁴⁷ Tideman identifies the time of visitation as that time when the Gospel of Christ was preached and proclaimed to them, when they did not receive it. He concludes that the example is so harsh that a heart which is not moved by it, must be made of Steel or Stone ("Det hierte maatte ocsaa i sandhed være aff Staal eller Steen/ som icke forfærdis for saadant it grueligt Exempel"), Tideman, *Jerusalem oc Jødernis jemmerlige oc ynckelige Forstøring*, fol. Aiiv (Peder Tidemand til Læseren/the introduction).

Denmark and Norway. But because we did not pay attention to the Gospel/ God visited us with War/ Hunger and difficult times/ Pestilence/ and he has punished each and every one in different ways. And if we do not repent in time/ then he will truly visit us again with War/ Pestilence/ Hunger and difficult Times/ and at last destroy us/ as he did with the Jews.⁴⁸

A clear Lutheran teaching had secured the confessional identity and the position of Denmark – Norway as a leading example of true evangelical religion. According to the ideology of the Danish kings they defined their role as protecting the true religion established in 1537.⁴⁹ In 1569 the Foreign Articles, composed by Niels Hemmingsen, were published by Frederic II.⁵⁰ These articles were supposed to be a tool to avoid Catholic and Calvinistic immigration, and hence to secure confessional and doctrinal purity in the realm. Immigrants, who trespassed concerning the articles, could be punished with the loss of their lives. However, the problem in Hemmingsen’s sermon, quoted above, was that doctrinal purity was not enough when the audience despised the Word – they also had to embrace the Word, repent, and lead a Christian life. Thus, a central question to Hemmingsen’s authorship was what the necessary principles for a Christian life were.⁵¹ His answer was regret and contrition because of sin; faith and a new obedience.⁵² Only by repentance could the wrath of God be avoided.

After Hemmingsen, the exhortation to repentance becomes the standard interpretation of Luke 19 and the destruction of Jerusalem. The Norwegian superintendent

48 “Først skulle wi som tro paa Christum/ oc ere Guds hellige Jerusalem/ høre oc atlyde Christi røst/ som begræder vore synder/ oc heraff lære hvad Sind oc Hiertelag hand haffver til oss. Der næst skulle wi kiende den tid som Gud saa naadelige haffuer besøgt oss udi: Thi hand haffuer saare rigelige oc underlige besøgt oss her i disse tu Riger. Først met sit Ord/ som i Sandhed predicis reent oc ret i alle kircker udi Danmarckis oc Norigs rige. Men efterdi at wi saare lidet haffue actet Evangelium/ da haffuer Gud besøgt oss met Krig/ Hunger oc dyr Tid/ Pestilenze/ oc straffet huer i besynderlighed i atskillige maade. Oc der som wi icke giøre Penitente i tide/ da vil hand visselige besøge oss igjen met Krig/ Pestilenze/ Hunger oc dyr Tid/ oc endelige slæt ødelegge oss/ som hand gjorde ved Jøderne,” Niels Hemmingsen, *Postilla eller Forklaring offuer Euangelia* (Copenhagen: Gutterwitz oc Stöckelsmands Arffuinge, 1576), fol. LXXVII (Tenth Sunday after Trinitatis).

49 See preface (Kongens kundgjørelse) by King Christian III in *Ordinatio Ecclesiastica* 1537; cf. Terje Ellingsen, *Kirkeordinansen av 1537* (Oslo: Cappelen Damm Akademisk, 2017), 25–32.

50 Holger Fr. Rørdam, ed. *Danske Kirkelove . . . 1536–1683*, vol. D. 3. Vol. D. 3 (Copenhagen: Selskabet for Danmarks Kirkehistorie, 1889), 126–34; Cf. also Bjørn Korerup, *Den danske lirkes lærebekendelse og kirkeordinans af aar 1561 = Confessio et ordinatio ecclesiarum Danicarum anno MDLXI conscriptae* (Copenhagen: Gad, 1953), XLII.

51 For example in his work see, Niels Hemmingsen, *Liffsens Vey: Det er: En vis oc Christelig Underuisning om huad det Menniske skal vide, tro oc giøre, som det euige Liff vil indgaa* (Copenhagen, 1570).

52 Cf. The Strangers’ Articles, § 10: “Om de bekiende, at en salige Penitente er it Menniskis omuendelse til Gud, ved troen til Jesum Christum: huilcken Penitente staar i disse try stykker, som ere Anger och ruelse for Synden, Troen oc en ny Lydactighed.” (“If they confess, that a blessed penitence is a Man’s conversion towards God, in the faith of Jesus Christ: the penitence consists of these three, which are repentance and regret because of Sin, Faith, and a new Obedience.”) Rørdam, *Danske Kirkelove*.

Jens Nilssøn's sermon from 1583 is a clear example.⁵³ His sermon points to God's continuous call for repentance through his prophets, his Word (Jesus), and through the preachers of his own time. God threw the glorious Jerusalem from the highest height to the lowest disgrace because they did not know the time of visitation. To know this time is nothing other than to listen to and receive the Word of God, believe the Gospel, and do penitence.⁵⁴

As well, Nilssøn refers to the history of the destruction, as known through Josephus, and he refers to the signs that preceded the catastrophe. His question is the same as his predecessors: if God could destroy Jerusalem and scatter the Jews until this day, what will he do to us if we proceed in the way of ungodliness? In Nilssøn's sermon, the punishment draws even closer through the description of familiar experiences:

I wonder if perhaps also we, with our places and towns, houses and homes, in the same way could be knocked over, be destroyed and ruined, Either with Thunder and lightning, or because of stormy wind or deluge or earthquake, Or because of war, naval war, and haemorrhages, or because of hard pestilence (as this affliction has already begun// and that fire is fermenting among us) or also because of other torments.⁵⁵

If God punishes, it is well deserved, Nilssøn states. Nilssøn refers to the neglected signs of warning: eclipses of sun and moon, unnatural weather, several comets, and the new star, brighter than all others, that appeared in 1572.⁵⁶ The threatening catastrophe was never far away.

From City to Heart

In the first part of the seventeenth century, Europe was afflicted by the Thirty Years' War (1618–48). The Danish King Christian IV entered the war in 1626, and Denmark was threatened from the south. Hunger, pestilence, and bloodshed followed in the footsteps of war. In this historical context, the central theologian in this period of

⁵³ Jens Nilssøn, "Den thiende Søndag effther Trinitatis Anno 1583. Euangelium Luc. 19. Om Jerusalems Forstørring," in *To og Tredivte Prædikener holdt i Aarene 1578–1586 av M. Jens Nilssøn*, eds. A. Branderud and O. Kolsrud (Kristiania: Aschehoug, 1917), 320.

⁵⁴ Nilssøn, "Den thiende Søndag effther Trinitatis Anno 1583," 329–30.

⁵⁵ "Mon icke vi medt voris Steder och byer, hus och hiem, I lige made kunde omkuld kastis forstørris och ødeleggis, Anten formeddelst Torden och Liusildt, eller formeddelst Stormvind eller vandflo eller iordskelff, Eller formeddelst krig, orlog, och blodstyrtning, eller formeddelst svar Pestilens (som then plage er nu allerede begynt // och den ild er potent iblant oss) eller och formeddelst andre plager," Nilssøn, "Den thiende Søndag effther Trinitatis Anno 1583," 336.

⁵⁶ A supernova in the constellation of Cassiopeia was observed for the first time in November 1572 and described by Tycho Brahe in *De nova stella* 1573.

Danish orthodoxy, Jesper Brochmand (1585–1652), utterly institutionalized the piety of penance. As the war certainly was an expression of the God’s wrath, the fear of God and the piety of the people was overarchingly important to assuage his anger.

Since 1551 three annual days of prayer and penance had been practiced in the Church of Denmark–Norway. However, during the experience of war in 1626, this was not enough. The king ordered prayer days every Friday in the cities, and on one Wednesday a month in the countryside. The regulations of penance from 1626, and later the regulations from 1629 concerning church discipline,⁵⁷ were arranged and written by Brochmand. The intention was to assuage “the rod of God’s righteous wrath” that was increasing in all neighbouring countries “with War and Killing, horrible diseases, difficult times and miserable crops and in several different ways.”⁵⁸ The regulation stated that the only way to avoid the punishment was to convert to the Lord in true and pious “contrition and sorrow” over one’s own sin.⁵⁹ The reasoning and practice of the prayer days was built on the pedagogics of the destruction of Jerusalem. The regulation of 1629 utterly sharpened the collective piety by issuing a group of helpers to all the local priests. In that way the discipline of the people could be supervised even more and guided on the right path.

In his sermon on the tenth Sunday after *Trinitatis*, printed in 1638, Brochmand explains the history of the destruction in a new manner compared to the sermons from the previous century. He moves directly from Christ’s entry in Jerusalem to the piety and the hearts of the listeners.

According to Brochmand, the citizens of Denmark causes Christ’s weeping as well as his death on the cross, as much as the citizens of Jerusalem had done. The addressee is notably different in this orthodox/pre-pietistic sermon compared to the previous generations. The goal is an identification between Christ’s tears and one’s own penitential tears:

Come forward, you people/ who until now have given Christ the reason to weep for your sins/ and regard with a devoted heart the brave tears of Christ/ and say: oh/ how could we sadden Jesus with our sins. We will allow ourselves be led to change for the better. In that way we

57 26.09.1616 (*Danske Kirkelove*, 119–25), 27.03.1629 (Rørdam, *Danske Kirkelove* 140–57).

58 26.09.1616 (Rørdam, *Danske Kirkelove* 119). The entire paragraph reads: “Efterdi att daglig Forfarenhed vdwiser, huorledis Gudtz rettferdige wredis Riis tid efter anden sig vdbreder \ di alle omliggende Lande med Krig och Blodtz vdstyrning, forskreckelige Siugdomme, Dyrtid och Landenødt och vdi andre adtschillige Maade, och allewegne endochsaa hos neste Naboer tiltager och formeris: befinde wij dett Christeligt och tilbørligt att were, att wij alle och enhuer for sig vdi disse Riger och Lande wdi en sand Omvendelse med bodtferdige hierter indstille os for den Almechtige Guds naadige Ansicht, och betimelig wdi den salige och Gud sielff well tæckelige tid bede om naade och miskundhed hoes hannem, att saadan hans optende wredis Riis fra os for Gudtz Søns Jesu Christi døds och blods Schyld maatte affwendis eller naadeligen for os formildis.”

59 Rørdam, *Danske Kirkelove* 122.

would look at the tears and weeping of Christ/ that we by that would allow ourselves to be moved to the weeping of our hearts for the sake of our sins.⁶⁰

In Brochmand's sermon there is no distance between the scenery in Jerusalem and the heart of the Christians in Denmark. The situation takes place here and now, and Christ sees not only the sins of Jerusalem, but every sin in the hearts of the present: "If it does not move you/ that Jesus sees everything you do/ and that Jesus cries bloody tears because of your sins/ then listen to your judgement."⁶¹ Brochmand warns the listeners (or readers) not to lose their time of conversion, and thus end in *the hardening* as the Jews had done.⁶²

The next scenery in the Gospel, the cleansing of the Temple, is also moved directly into the hearts of the listeners. The body and soul of the believers is the Temple of the Lord:

When you dedicate your bodies to the achievements of sinful deeds/ your soul is occupied by evil desires: don't you then convert the Temple of God into a den of thieves? If Jesus got angry/ because there were buying and selling in the outer Temple of Jerusalem, how much more will Jesus be angry/ when your bodies and souls/ which he has redeemed with his holy blood/ that they should become the house of God and the Holy Spirit/ becomes the residences of Satan and sin?⁶³

The message is the Christian moral, and the means is the regimentation of the body.

Brochmand's piety of penance dominated theology in Denmark–Norway for generations. His postil was one of the most popular devotional books for two centuries. It exhorted a powerful demand for penance and "living faith" fortified through religious scrupulosity and resistance to temptations.

The Destruction of Copenhagen 1728

When the catastrophe finally struck Copenhagen and a devastating fire burst out in October 1728, the destruction of Jerusalem was the obvious model suitable for

⁶⁰ "Kommer nu frem I mennisker/ som hid indtil have givet Jesu aarsag til at græde over eders synder/ og beskuer med hjertens andagt Jesu modige taare/ og siger: ach/ at vi have bedrøvet Jesum med vore synder. Vi ville lade os av Jesu taare føre til bedring. Vi ville saaledes ansee Jesu taare og graad/ at vi der af ville lade os bevege til hiertens graad for vore begagne synder," Jesper Brochmand, *Huus-Postill* (Copenhagen, 1719), 308.

⁶¹ "Kand det ikke bevege eder/ at Jesus se alt hvad I gjøre/ og at Jesus græder over eders synder de blodige taare/ da hører eders dom," Brochmand, *Huus-Postill*, 308.

⁶² Brochmand, *Huus-Postill*, 310.

⁶³ "Naar I nu hengive eders legemer til syndige gierningers bedrift/ eders siel indtages af onde lyster: monne I da ikke gjøre Guds tempel til en røverkule. Fortørnes Jesus/ fordi der drives kiøb og sal i den udvortes Jerusalems tempel; hvor meget mer vil Jesus fortørnes/ at eders legemer og siele/ som hand haver med sit hellige blod igienkiøbt/ at de skulle være Guds og den Hellig Aands bolige/ blive henvendte til syndens og satans bolige?" Brochmand, *Huus-Postill*, 312.

explaining the disaster. Even the mind of a child, Carl Friederich Reiser (1718–86) who later wrote his memoirs, produced the images of Jerusalem when his eyes gazed at the fire of Copenhagen. More than fifty years later, the old *stadt-Chirurgus* described his horrible experience as a ten-year-old boy.⁶⁴ His narrative explained how the capital was made almost entirely into ashes by the fire of God’s wrath. It was a “terrible play,” and Reiser painted the horrible scenes “in this destroyed old Jerusalem of Copenhagen” to his readers.⁶⁵ The images that came to the mind of ten-year-old Reiser, were the punishment of Sodom and Gomorra from the Old Testament, the final judgement, and not least the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans in the year AD 70.

Alas Lord Jesus Christ, have mercy upon me, I cried. It was in front of our eyes just as if it was the final judgement day . . . and we all thought God would do with us poor sinners as he once did with Sodom & Gomorra & c.: beams and stones flew around the square, and through streets and alleys in the way that we could have sworn that just as in Jerusalem, in our unfortunate Copenhagen there would not be left any trunk or stone upon another.⁶⁶

God had punished the people in Copenhagen in a way that resembled “the wretchedly and terrible destruction of Jerusalem,” Reiser explained.⁶⁷ As in Jerusalem, all the towers of Copenhagen were turned into gravel. Reiser described how tears flowed down his cheek while he remembered the sound of the mechanical construction [*sangverk*] that played “by itself” regularly every hour at the Church of the Holy Spirit (Helliggeistes-Kirke). The last melody played while the tower was collapsing and melting, was a cry to God to turn away his wrath: *Wend ab deinen zorn lieber Gott mit gnaden*.⁶⁸ It was as if the building itself accompanied the tragic theatre and underscored the meaning of the destruction.

In 1729, the year after the fire, pastor Hans Buch (1698–1751) preached on the tenth Sunday after *Trinitatis* in the Garrison Church of Copenhagen, *Den Herre Zebaoths kirke*. The sermon was published with the title *About the weeping of Christ*

64 Carl Friedrich Reiser, *Historiske Beskrivelsse over den mærkværdige og meget fyrgterlige store Ildebrand 1728* (Copenhagen: H. P. Møllers Forlag, 1858).

65 “Jeg gaaer da viidere i min fyrgterlige Ildebrands=Historie og siger at der er endnu mange fyrgterlige Scener tilbage i dette Skrekkelige Skue=Spil! Ja endog de Allerforskrekkeligste i dette forstyrrede gamle kiøbenhavnske Jerusalem!” Reiser, *Historiske Beskrivelsse*, 22.

66 “Ak Herre Jesu Christe raabte jeg forbarme dig over mig der var ret for vores Øyne som den yderste Domme=Dag var kommen. . .og vii tænkte alle vist nok at vor Herre vilde spille med Os arme Syndige Mennisker som fordem med Sodoma og Gomorra & c.: bielcker og steene fløy ommkring paa Torvet agder [sic] og stræder saa vii vilde have Svoret at ligesom Jerusalem, at vores arme, Kiøbenhavn aldrig var bleven stock eller steen til overs,” Reiser, *Historiske Beskrivelsse*, 26. (Cf. Luke 19:44), cf. also Reiser, *Historiske Beskrivelsse*, 43.

67 “Jerusalem’s jammerlige og skrekkelig Forstyrrelse.” The readers probably knew this reference well as it referred to the title of Tideman’s version of the event, as written previously in this chapter, see page 238.

68 Reiser, *Historiske Beskrivelsse*, 38.

*because of Jerusalem and an Admonition to Copenhagen to amendment because of the weeping of Christ/ the ashes of Jerusalem and the City itself.*⁶⁹

When Buch delivered his sermon, the catastrophe was a fact, and he identified the ashes of Copenhagen with the ruins of Jerusalem. What made up the identification were the sins of the inhabitants. This transfer of the reason for the ruins of Jerusalem (the sins) to the ruins of Copenhagen and to the readers' own life, was part of the detachment of the destruction of Jerusalem, as an example, from its historical context. Jerusalem's destruction, which had previously been identified as the main historical example, was now "far away," and possible to replace with a local catastrophe.

What has reduced Copenhagen to Ashes if not the sins of Copenhagen/ an Example of the righteous penalty of God is now far away/ and because of that scarcely visible, [namely] in Jerusalem; while another [example] is nearby/ yes, it is even evidently *within* this city burnt down to ashes; soon we could do a comparison between Jerusalem and ourselves/ when it comes to an ungodly and nonrepentant life/ because even if we did not crucify Christ bodily, we have probably crucified him spiritually with the governing Sins that pierced through a Seam/ Spear and nails; How long is there not gathered wood for the fire by despising the Gospel and the Grace of God [. . .]⁷⁰

The listed sins of the inhabitants were exactly what the Protestant preachers had warned against – the consequence was God's necessary punishment. With respect to the fire of Copenhagen in 1728, this explanation could excuse the actual cause of the fire which was a seven-year-old boy named Iver who had carried candles with him up to the loft, which had led to the ignition of his family's house, followed by the neighbouring buildings. Buch's explanation assured, however, that the fire was caused by God himself because of the inhabitants' sins. Any other reason – he mentions ravens or murderers – was just a means in the hand of God, as the Romans had been during the destruction of Jerusalem.

To Buch the tears are the main point of his sermon. The necessary consequence of God's wrath was the urgent need – anew – for repentance and conversion. To Buch's listeners the ashes of Copenhagen became inner images [*sinnbilder*] that should lead to an internal penitence. As the inhabitants did not already live in penitential tears, God himself had to push them forth.⁷¹

⁶⁹ Hans Jacobsen Buch, *Om Christi graad over Jerusalem og formaning til Kiöbenhavn af Christi graad/ Jerusalems og byens egen aske til bodfærdighet* (Copenhagen: Joachim Schmidtgen, 1729).

⁷⁰ "Hvad har vel lagt Kiöbenhavn i Aske uden Københavns synder/et Eksempel på Guds retfærdige straf findes nu langt borte/ og derfor saa vit usynligt, i Jerusalem; mens et nærmere hos/ ja øyensynligt i denne nedaskede bye; vi kunde snart gjøre en ligning mellem Jerusalem og os/ i henseende til et ugudeligt og ubodfærdigt levnet/ thi om vi ikke legemlig har kaarsfæstet Christum, saa har vi aandelig viis kaarsfæstet ham med herskende Synder som igiennem borede Søm/Spyd og nagler; hvor lenge er her ikke samlet træ til Ilden ved Evangelii og Guds Naades foragt [. . .]," Buch, *Om Christi graad over Jerusalem*, 38–39.

⁷¹ Buch, *Om Christi graad over Jerusalem*, 46.

The tears of Christ when he approached Jerusalem should be imitated by the Christians of Copenhagen, “our Jerusalem”: “If the saviour could not keep his tears back because of the catastrophe he could see 40 years forward in time, should we not weep, when the disaster and penalty is just above our heads: who can approach our Jerusalem without weeping?”⁷²

In Buch’s emotional sermon, Copenhagen turns into Jerusalem. It is no longer a comparison between the two cities, but a replacement, as in this exhortation to improvement: “Copenhagen has become a field of tears. Mix ashes and tears in bottles like the Romans. The dust, it seems to me, gets mouth and voice to speak to us/ and the bones of the Dead get life in order to deliver us a repentance sermon and initiate a prayer-day on behalf of God: Repent Jerusalem.”⁷³

Buch himself embodies his own message as his ink mixes with his tears while he is writing.⁷⁴ While the hardened children of the world are like dry wells, the “eyewater” pressed out from the eyes of the penitents are like miraculous holy water, able to prevent disasters and curses.⁷⁵ The sight of the destroyed Copenhagen evokes tears. And at the same time, the ashes of the city, the ruins, and the corpses also becomes a total reminder of the human condition. All the funerals after the fire are like “image-bibles”:

Then [. . .] the funerals [will be] like “image-bibles” to us, that show us one piece after the other, if not in copper then in earth/ if not in gold/ then in mould/ all the remains burnt to a frazzle/ as images of our Mortality and models of the Time to come/ that we should become both Dust and ashes.⁷⁶

The only way to reconstruct Copenhagen is to build it from inside. Every man should clean his heart just as he cleans his property destroyed by the fire. And if God should

72 “Hvis frelseren ikke kunne holde tårene tilbage for den ulykke han så 40 år frem i tid, skulle vi da ikke gråte, nu ulykken og straffen er lige over hodene på oss; hvo kan komme voris Jerusalem nær uden at græde?” Buch, *Om Christi graad over Jerusalem*, 46. “Hvor kan nogen christen siæl komme enten til eller fra Kiöbenhavn uden graad, naar hand seer for sine Øyne i steden for Kirker, avbrendte taarne, isteden for anseelige Bygninger, nøgne Skorsteene, i steden for Collegier, half staaende/ re-fnede/ og af Ilden sønderrevne Mure/ i steden for Gader/ Steenhobe/ forbrendt Gruus og Aske-dynger/ thi hver en afbrendt Gruus og Aske-dynger/ thi hver en afbrendt Bygning er en Graads boelig/ hver en afbrendt kirke en Taareperse, det kostbare Biblioteque, udbrendt Papiir/ Ezechiels Rulle fuld af Begrædelser,” Buch, *Om Christi graad over Jerusalem*, 47–48.

73 “Köbenhavn er blitt til en grædeåker. Blande aske og gråt i flasker slik som romerne. Støven synes meg å faa mund og Mæle for at tale til os/ og de Dødes bene at faae til live for at holde en omvendelses Præcken og intimere for en Bede-dag paa Guds vegne: Bedre dig Jerusalem,” Buch, *Om Christi graad over Jerusalem*, 49.

74 Buch, *Om Christi graad over Jerusalem*, 47.

75 Buch, *Om Christi graad over Jerusalem*, 62.

76 “Så skal da [. . .] begravelsene [være] som Billed-bibler for oss, der viser os det eene stykke efter det andet om ikke i kobber, saa i jord/ om ikke i guld/ saa i muld/ alle opbrændte lefninger/ som sindbilleder paa vor Dødelighed og Forbilleder paa den tilkommende Tid/ at vi blive baade Støv og aske,” Buch, *Om Christi graad over Jerusalem*, 67–68.

give the inhabitants new houses and new temples and churches, the condition for this is allowing their own bodies to be the temples of God: if God should give us new dwellings, new houses, new churches, and new temples, then we should let our bodies be his temples, give him new hearts, new souls to his Dwellings; we must take off the old dirty clothes of Sin, if God should take away the burned and scorched clothes, loosen our sackcloth of sorrow, and shake off the dust.⁷⁷

Buch's sermon ends in hope. God has promised to wipe away all tears (Rev 21:4), and the Christians are the heirs of the same assurance which Israel received when they were described as dead bones by the prophet Ezekiel, "O my people, I will open your graves, and cause you to come up out of your graves" (Ezek 37:12). Therefore, God will console the afflicted people of Zion, and the sorrow will end for our Jerusalem.⁷⁸

The Tears of Christ

In his 1729 sermon, Buch had replaced Jerusalem with Copenhagen. Two sermons printed a generation after Buch, in the 1760s, suggest that the destruction of Jerusalem in AD 70 fades away as an historical example. Jerusalem becomes a pure allegory detached from history.

Christian Michael Rottbøl (1729–80) from *Vår Frue menighet* in Aarhus published the sermon "Jesus' remarkable and loving tears" (1763).⁷⁹ In this sermon, Jerusalem is not important except as the historical site of the Gospel text. There is no collective penitence addressed. On the other hand, the focal point is the tears of Christ and their consequence: the personal conversion. As Christ wept before the walls of Jerusalem, he weeps before our walls and our hearts, because of our sin.⁸⁰

In a 1769 sermon by the rationalistic theologian Peder Rosenstandt Goiske (1705–69),⁸¹ neither is there any identification between Copenhagen or the Christian congregation and the city of Jerusalem. The Israelites of the Old Testament are replaced by the true people of God, the Christian Church.⁸² The problem for Rosenstandt

⁷⁷ "Skal Gud igjen give oss nye boliger, nye huse, nye kirker og templer, saa maae vi lade vore legemer være hans Templer, give ham nye hierter, nye siæle til sine Boeliger; vi maa føre oss av de gamle skidne Syndens klæder, om Gud skal afføre oss de forbrendte svedne klæder, løse våre bedrøvelsessekke opp, og ryste støvet," Buch, *Om Christi graad over Jerusalem*, 70.

⁷⁸ Buch, *Om Christi graad over Jerusalem*, 75–76.

⁷⁹ "Jesu mærkelige og kiærlige Taare," found in C. M. Rottbøll, *Jesu mærkelige og kierlige Taare betragtede i en Prædiken paa X. Søndag efter Trinitatis* (Sorø: Jonas Lindgren, 1763).

⁸⁰ For example Rottbøll, *Jesu mærkelige og kierlige Taare*, 51.

⁸¹ D. P. Rosenstandt Goiske, *Betragtninger over Alle Søn- Og Hellige Dages Evangelier udi Prædikener* (Copenhagen: C. Schiønning, 1769).

⁸² The shift from history to the present audience occurs immediately, when Rosenstandt Goiske asks who is the addressee of God's words in the *exordium* from Hos 13:9 on the same day. The answer is Israel, the people of God, a people who lived in the vicinity of God's words, where God had

Goiske is, however, that a people who outwardly are “an Israel” and the people of God could at the same time also be an ungodly people. Among this people there could be impious men, people that evoke destruction upon both themselves and the people as well as the country.⁸³ The status of being the people of God therefore depends on the inner lives of the people. The text ends with a self-examination – the premise is to consider that the all-knowing Jesus sees us, “who we are, where we are, how our minds are, what is inside us and in what state we are.”⁸⁴ The goal is a true conversion, with the aim that the country should not be destroyed because of the sins of the individuals.⁸⁵ The final prayer makes a distinction between the earthly, spiritual, and heavenly Jerusalem, and detaches the Christian congregation from any continuity with the inhabitants of Jerusalem. The congregation is not identified with the Jerusalem in Luke 19, but rather exists in the spiritual Jerusalem, on their way to the heavenly city:

Do not let our City, do not let any City in our Country, become like the sinful Jerusalem, let none of us become like the ungodly Inhabitants of Jerusalem, over whom you wept, but let us either be as we are and remain unhappy, or happy in all changes of our and each one’s state of mind always remain yours, here we are good citizens of the spiritual Jerusalem, finally inhabitants in the heavenly new Jerusalem with you, where there will be no weeping, no reason to weep, but eternal, holy Peace, love and joy. Amen.⁸⁶

In this text, the history and the contemporary situation had already drifted apart, and in the storyworld of salvation history, the role of the Jews was no longer constitutive as anything other than a distant and wretched example.

his Temple: “Such a people were Israel in the old Testament.” Now, the addressee depends on the “means of grace,” Goiske, *Betragtninger over Alle Søn*, 1–2.

83 Goiske, *Betragtninger over Alle Søn*, 2.

84 Goiske, *Betragtninger over Alle Søn*, 26. (“Om vi betænke, at den alvidende Jesus nu seer os, hvor vi ere, hvor vi ere, hvorledes sindede vi ere, hvad der er i os, og hvad Tilstand vi ere udi.”)

85 Goiske, *Betragtninger over Alle Søn*, 27.

86 “Lad ey vores Stad, lad ey nogen Stad I vores Land, blive, som det syndige Jerusalem, lad ingen af os blive, som de Jerusalems ugudelige Indbyggere, du græd over, men lad os, enten vi ere og blive bedrøvede, eller glade, i alle Forandringer af vores og vor Sinds Tilstand stedse blive dine, her gode Borgere i det aandelige Jerusalem, omsider Indvaanere i det himmelske nye Jerusalem hos dig, hvor der ingen Graad skal være, ingen Aarsag til Graad, men evig, hellig Fred, kerlighed og glæde. Amen,” Goiske, *Betragtninger over Alle Søn*, 27.



Fig. 13.1: Isaac van Geelkerck, city plan of Christiania, 1648. National Library of Norway (Nationalbiblioteket), Oslo.

Eivor Andersen Oftestad

Chapter 13

Christiania 1651: A Spiritual Jerusalem

In this brief case study, Eivor Andersen Oftestad presents a description of Christiania (the name of Oslo 1624–1924), the capital of Norway, from 1651 (cf. Fig. 13.1). In this text, the spiritual significance of the Temple of Jerusalem is transferred to Christiania, and according to the author, secured by the true worship in the newly built cathedral.

Christen Staffensen Bang's *Descriptio Civitas Christianensis* 1651

On 17 August 1624 the city of Oslo in the south-eastern coast of Norway was burning. The fire lasted for three days and was the most terrifying fire in living memory. The wooden city, which had housed about 3000 souls, was completely damaged.¹ Oslo had burned several times before, and another city had always been built again. This time however, King Christian IV decided – despite the citizens' protests – to move the city westwards, beneath the protective walls of Akershus Castle. The King arrived from Copenhagen and pointed out the new streets and the place of the new church – and he named the city after himself: *Christiania*. It was already founded after some weeks, on 28 September of the same year.

Some decades later, in 1651 the Danish–Norwegian pastor Christen Staffensen Bang (c.1588–1678) edited a description of the city, *Descriptio Civitas Christianensis*, as a new year's gift to the citizens.² The book was 250 pages long, and was printed in Christiania where the first printing office had been established on Bang's invitation in 1643.³ The title gave a detailed description of the contents:

1 The city was described as a renaissance city, as several buildings had been rebuilt in the new style after a fire in 1567. Only some central buildings were preserved after the fire: the hospital, the bishop's residence, and most of the Latin school.

2 Christen Staphensøn Bang, *Descriptio civitatis Christianensis* (Christiania: Valentin Kuhn, 1651). It was published at the author's expense, as with Bang's other publications.

3 Tyge Nielssøn arrived as the first bookprinter in Norway in 1643. He returned to Denmark after one year because of economic disagreements with Bang. Some years later, the German Melchior Martzan, who was successfully established in Copenhagen, opened a branch in Christiania. In

Descriptio Civitatis Christianensis, *Which is: A Description of the city of Christiania, which is the capital of Norway: and about the noblest Cardinal-Virtues which the citizens of a Christian city, and all Christ-loving, both those who teach, those who fight and those who labour should seek / on the way to gaining more happiness and blessings from God.*⁴

The backdrop of Bang's exhortation to the citizens was the constant threat of new fires and catastrophes. How should one avoid new disasters caused by the wrath of God, and instead receive God's blessings?⁵ The mirror Bang looked into when he gave his description and advice, was the history of the citizens of Jerusalem, the former people of God.⁶ Bang addressed the citizens of Christiania as their successors and described Christiania as a city where Jesus himself lived with his Word – as he had lived in Bethlehem, Nazareth, and Capernaum in his flesh.⁷ The *Descriptio Civitas Christianensis* reflects on how the Reformation was an urban event and the Protestant cities saw themselves as holy communities.⁸ Hence, in his description, Bang does not differentiate between the community of the City and the community of the Church. Further, he construes a connection between the earthly community (*civitas terrestre*) of Christiania and the heavenly community (*civitas celeste*). In this construction, the city and history of Jerusalem play a particular role. It all starts, however, where it once began – in the Garden of Eden.

Eden – Jerusalem – Christiania

God placed Adam and Eve in the delightful garden for them to be as a *Metropolis* and *Capital*, Bang relates.⁹ The reason was, according to Bang, that God did not want them to be like wandering pilgrims without a home, but to reside at a specific place. After the fall, Adam and Eve were expelled from the garden. The next move was that their descendants – through the semen of Abraham – were allowed to build cities. Among the cities of the chosen people, there was Jerusalem – without

1650, this was sold to Valentin Kuhn, who published the *Descriptio civitatis Christianensis*, Tarald Rasmussen, "Christen Staphensøn Bang," in *NBL* (2009).

4 *Descriptio Civitatis Christianensis, ded er: Christianiæ Stads Beskrifvelse, som er Hofued Stad i Norrige: Oc omb de fornembste Cardinal-Dyder, som en Christelige Stads Indwonere, sambt alle Christ-elskende, baade i Lære-, Werge- oc Nære-Stater stædse skulle beflitte sig paa, diss større Lycke oc Velsignelse hos gud ad formode.*

5 On the belief of disasters as a result of God's wrath, see also the case of the 1681 fire in Trondheim, in Chapter 18 (Eystein Andersen), 344–67.

6 See for example Bang, *Descriptio Civitatis Christianensis*, 44, 47–48. See also Leppin in Chapter 2, 49–53, and Andersen Oftestad on the destruction of Jerusalem in Danish sources, Chapter 12, 235–57.

7 Bang, *Descriptio Civitatis Christianensis*, 9.

8 Heinz Schilling, "Urban Architecture and Ritual in Confessional Europe," in *Religion and Cultural Exchange in Europe, 1400–1600*, eds. Heinz Schilling and István György Tóth, Cultural Exchange in Early Modern Europe (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 116–37.

9 The following description starts in Bang, *Descriptio civitatis Christianensis*, 5.

comparison the richest and most beautiful city, Bang assures. Because Jerusalem was the place of the Temple, it was also the place for God's fire, his fireplace. The Temple was built at King Salomon's command, demanded by God, constructed over twenty years by thousands of men. Bang describes the service at the Temple and the different feasts attended by the Jews.

In this period Jerusalem was also a city blessed by God. According to Bang this meant that the citizens lived together in peace and practiced the virtue of coexistence. It was because of this that God himself protected the city. In other words, the virtues practiced within the city walls were the defense of the people, not the city walls themselves.¹⁰

From Jerusalem and other cities in the East, Bang, in his text, moves towards the North. God did not forget the Nordic countries and the descendants of Japheth, he states,¹¹ and there existed excellent cities in Europe as well. God had privileged them with richness and outward splendour, but most importantly with the most precious treasure – his only and holy saving Word, and the true Christian faith and religion.¹² The fire of God, which is the Gospel, according to Lutheran understanding, was thus also given to the cities of Europe. Finally, God also chose to place his golden lampstand in our region, Bang asserts, even in Christiania. This lampstand is the preaching of his word, in which Christ is always present.

Christiania's resemblance to Jerusalem was, however, not only as a city endowed with the presence of God through his Word. Bang also describes a topographical resemblance. The new city of Christiania was built beneath the walls of Akershus castle, and Bang reminds the reader that this was just as Jerusalem was built beneath the walls of the castle of Zion.¹³ This similarity contained a warning. As had been demonstrated when Jerusalem was destroyed by the Romans in AD 70, strong city walls with their several towers were not enough. Despite the strong material defense, Jerusalem fell when she was attacked – the city walls were no use when God in his wrath used the Romans to destroy the city.

The means to avoid the wrath of God, according to Bang, was the rightful worship and the virtue of true unity of the citizens. Hence, the core – and the most

10 Bang, *Descriptio Civitatis Christianensis*, 7–8.

11 Bang, *Descriptio Civitatis Christianensis*, 6, 43. The understanding of the Danes as descendants of Noah's son Japheth, was an established belief of early modern historians, see Karen Skovgaard-Petersen, *Historiography at the Court of Christian IV (1588–1648): Studies in the Latin Histories of Denmark by Johannes Pontanus and Johannes Meursius* (Copenhagen: Museum Tusulanum Press, 2002), 100–01. While Saxo presented the Danes as an autochthonous people originating from King Dan, already late medieval authors had established the missing link between Dan and biblical persons. Skovgaard-Petersen points to how Dan's father is soon presented as a descendant of Japheth, son of Noah, as in the fifteenth-century Rhymed Chronicle (Den dansk Rimkrønike). On this, cf. also vol. 1, Chapter 20 (Kristin Aavitsland), 424–53.

12 Bang, *Descriptio civitatis Christianensis*, 7.

13 Bang, *Descriptio civitatis Christianensis*, 29.

important place in the city – was the cathedral where the citizens could gather together and demonstrate their true Christian unanimity. The Church of the Holy Trinity had been newly raised in the city square (see Fig. 13.2).¹⁴ As part of the project to move the city towards Akershus, King Christian IV – not unlike King Salomon in Jerusalem, we may add – had ordered it to be built. The most prominent citizens had taken charge of the building project, and in March 1639 the church of the Holy Trinity had been consecrated by Bishop Ludvig Munthe. The expenses came to double of the initial projection, about 40,000 *riksdaler*.

Bang described the wonderful ornamentation of the church – the newly painted altarpiece, the chandeliers, the pulpit – all paid for by renowned citizens. Next to the cathedral, a new Latin School, the Gymnasium, was built. As Bang had earlier described concerning the Temple of Jerusalem, there was also worship in the cathedral of Christiania, both in the morning and the afternoon. The boys' choir from the Gymnasium held evening and morning service with prayers, singing, and lectures. This service was the reason, Bang proclaimed, that the cathedral was a spiritual Zion, a figure and depiction of the heavenly residence and spiritual Jerusalem in the kingdom of God.¹⁵

The connection between the earthly city of Christiania and the *civitas celeste* was first and foremost a sincere and devoted worshipping. In addition to the Christian virtues, this was what demonstrated that Christiania was modeled on the heavenly city. As Bang assured, it was not enough to have built a beautiful church, one also had to use it according to true fear of God. Moreover, one should gather in the church not only on Sundays and special feasts, but should also keep devotion at other times, within the household in the homes.¹⁶

When Bang exhorted the citizens to true worship, he reminded the reader at the same time of how the same exhortation was given by the prophet Jeremiah to the Jewish people: if they kept the Sabbath, then kings and princes should enter their gates. If not – God would put the city in fire.¹⁷ In other words, if the citizens of Christiania worshipped in truth, they could expect the same blessings as the citizens of Jerusalem.

The opposite scenario was to give the Lord reason – because of evil deadly sins and vices – to punish the delightful newly built city. This was what the citizens had already experienced twice according to the memory of elderly people: first through the

¹⁴ The description of the Church is found in Bang, *Descriptio civitatis Christianensis*, 16–17.

¹⁵ Because of the devotion and psalm singing, Bang declares it to be a spiritual Zion: “Oc maa fordi vel kaldis et Christeligt oc Gud velbehageligt huus / ja een aandelige Zion / oc een Figur oc Affmalning til ded himmelske Regenze oc aandelige Jerusalem som er her ofuen i Guds Rige.” Bang, *Descriptio civitatis Christianensis*, 17.

¹⁶ Bang, *Descriptio civitatis Christianensis*, 20.

¹⁷ Bang, *Descriptio civitatis Christianensis*, 19.

fire in 1567 and again in 1624.¹⁸ The memory of the two fires – with the destruction of Jerusalem as the mirror – should also exhort them to repent and pray to encourage God to protect the city.¹⁹

The Continuity of the Temple

How did the history and city of Jerusalem function in establishing the connection between the community of Christiania and the heavenly community? One function was as an example and a mirror, as mentioned above. This is in line with the pedagogical example of Jerusalem, which was referred to repeatedly in the literature of the sixteenth and seventeenth century.²⁰ In the mirror Bang saw the destruction of Jerusalem in AD 70 as a warning of an eventual destruction of Christiania in the future. The history of Jerusalem was constitutive to the storyworld within which Bang navigated.

But in Bang's *Descriptio*, the city of Jerusalem was more than a pedagogical example. Bang also refers to the logic of *translatio templi*, when he describes Christiania in continuity with Jerusalem. According to the Christian master narrative, the earthly temple in Jerusalem was the representation of the heavenly temple, and hence if Christiania was supposed in some way to represent the heavenly city, it depended on a transfer, a *translatio* of the Temple as seat of this representation.²¹ In Bang's text, the symbol of this *translatio* is one of the main objects from the Jerusalem Temple, the lampstand.

As explained in the introduction to this volume, Martin Luther and the Protestant reformers claimed that continuity was not legitimated by relics, succession or holy matter, but by the transfer of the Gospel – from the *protogospel* in the Garden of Eden, through the promises to the Jewish people, to the Church where it had been hidden – and then rediscovered in the sixteenth century.²²

In line with this Bang clearly states that it is the true worship as a response to the true Gospel – in the cathedral and among the citizens – that constitutes continuity with the Temple. But to describe the presence of God, through his Gospel, Bang refers to the golden lampstand. Through evangelical preaching, God has chosen to place his golden lampstand in our region also, Bang states, and even in Christiania:

¹⁸ Bang, *Descriptio civitatis Christianensis*, 11.

¹⁹ Bang, *Descriptio civitatis Christianensis*, 11.

²⁰ See Introduction (Eivor Andersen Oftestad), 12–48, and Chapter 12 (Eivor Andersen Oftestad), 235–57.

²¹ See also Andersen Oftestad on *translatio templi* in vol. 1, Chapter 3 (Eivor Andersen Oftestad), 49–55.

²² See Introduction (Eivor Andersen Oftestad), 12–48.

This is why it is necessary for us / that we highly esteem the great deed of Our Lord / that he even at our place has his golden Lampstand / which is the preaching of his holy Word / at which and in which Christ is always present. But if he moves his golden Lampstand / which is / his holy Word from us / then it will turn out badly.²³

In the Protestant church the material transfer of the Temple, represented by the objects from Jerusalem, such as the golden lampstand, the Ark of the Covenant, the Torah scroll, and the staffs of Aaron and Moses, had no meaning. While they were present in several medieval legendary sources and constituted continuity in the Roman liturgy,²⁴ they are – as far as I can see – absent from the early modern Protestant sources. The physical objects disappeared from the story, and could therefore reappear as rhetorical tools.²⁵

When we read Bang's description according to his own logic, the lampstand should be understood as a *pars pro toto*. It meant that the qualities of the Temple were transferred to Christiania, which in turn guaranteed the presence of God. The lampstand in Bang's text was merely a metaphor and nothing physical, and hence nothing exclusive pertaining to one place only.²⁶ According to Bang it symbolized the word of God preached by the servants of God, as the lampstand would shine wherever God's true Gospel was preached. As a consequence of this thought, an important motivation in Bang's text was to extend the time of grace and prevent God's removal of his candelabra by the preaching of true fear of God.²⁷

According to Bang, the people of the true Gospel were surely the new Israel. Their joy and privileges were even greater than that of the Jews.²⁸ As long as the premises for a true Christian City were kept, and as long as the lampstand was still in Christiania, the people could burst out with the psalms along with the Jewish people: "Except the LORD build the house, they labour in vain that build it: except the LORD keep the city, the watchman waketh but in vain."²⁹

²³ "Derfaare er ded os fornøden / ad wi høyt æstimere saadan vor HÆRRIS store Velgierning / ad hand endocsaah hos os haffuer siin gyldene Liusestage / som er sit hellige Ords Prædicken / hos huilket oc udi huilket Christus altiid er nærværendis tilstæde. Men dersom hand flytter siin gyldene Liusestage / ded er / sit hellige Ord fra os / saa vil ded gaa os ilde i haand." Bang, *Descriptio Civitatis Christianensis*, 45.

²⁴ See Eivor Andersen Oftestad, *The Lateran Church in Rome and the Ark of the Covenant: Housing the Holy Relics of Jerusalem* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2019).

²⁵ Such objects also disappeared from the Catholic tradition. What was reckoned as the Ark of the Covenant in the Lateran church experienced a gradual slide towards oblivion in the early modern period before it was finally removed on the order of Pope Benedict XIV in 1745 and hence lost. Cf. Oftestad, *The Lateran Church in Rome*, 13–15. Regarding the lampstand in sixteenth-century Roman tradition, see also Charles L. Stinger, *The Renaissance in Rome* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1985), 201–06. Cf. Oftestad, *The Lateran Church in Rome*, 188–90.

²⁶ See a related discussion on the spiritual Israel in Chapter 7 (Nils Ekedahl), 119–45.

²⁷ Bang, *Descriptio civitatis Christianensis*, 44–45, 48.

²⁸ Bang, *Descriptio civitatis Christianensis*, 12–14, 43–45.

²⁹ Ps 127:1. Bang, *Descriptio civitatis Christianensis*, 47.



Fig. 13.2: Francois Roger de Gaignieres, *Veuë de la Ville de Christiania*, 1685. Akershus Castle is depicted to the left, and Holy Trinity Church is in the middle of the image. This imaginative print is the only extant representation of the church, which burned down the following year. Oslo Museum, Oslo.

Spiritual or Military Defense?

A few decades after Bang’s warnings and predictions, the story had a peculiar end. Despite Bang’s efforts to secure the new city of Christiania through spiritual means, it was not enough. On 21 April 1686, yet another huge fire burst out in Christiania. It started with a lightning strike on the tower of the Church of the Holy Trinity – the bells melted and the building was in fire. The fire spread quickly and one third of the houses in the city of Christiania were destroyed. The church which Bang had described as a spiritual Zion, was damaged, but was not totally destroyed. The sources relate that it might had been possible to save it, but the commander at Akershus Castle argued that the church was in the way of the artillery range of the castle. The location of the church prevented what was viewed as the more important protection of the city – not the spiritual, but the military defense. This conclusion was the reason for the decision to raze the church to the ground. Today there remain no traces of the Church of the Holy Trinity beneath Akershus, “the castle of Zion.”



Fig. 14.1: Epitaph of Christen Staffensen Bang and his wife Helene Hansdatter, Romedal Church, 1636.

Arne Bugge Amundsen

Chapter 14

Christiania – Jerusalem or Babel? Conflicts on Religious Topography in Seventeenth-Century Norway

In the Norwegian town of Christiania two different interpretations of the religious topography were put forward. The radical lector theologiae Niels Svendsen Chronich argued that the true Jerusalem was to be found in the hearts of the believers and in their conventicles, while the vicar Christen Staffensen Bang held the more traditional view that Christiania was an offprint of Jerusalem. The two theologians contributed to a public discussion of this issue, thus demonstrating the inner ambivalence of the Jerusalem code.

Eivor Andersen Oftestad has in a separate chapter¹ introduced an attempt from the seventeenth-century Lutheran minister and author Christen Staffensen Bang (c.1588–1671) to interpret the reconstructed city of Christiania, Norway, as an earthly Jerusalem (Fig. 14.1). His interpretation was, however, not unchallenged at the time. Quite the contrary, Bang's interpretation must be analyzed as part of a larger public debate on piety, church organization, and theological ideals, and Bang's position was – albeit very prominent – not the only possible one. Was the city of Christiania to be compared with biblical Jerusalem, or was it more similar to Babel, on which true Christians should turn their backs?

As a consequence of the city being ruled by the same king as Denmark, Norway became the object of a Lutheran Reformation in the years 1536 and 1537. Seemingly, the Reformation in Norway was a success, and within a few generations most Norwegians had become true Lutherans, at least on a superficial level.² With the old bishops removed and the monasteries dissolved, there were few options left for the local clergy in a country with almost no urban centers and with long distances between the parishes. The new clergy slowly lost its possibilities of controlling and communicating with the laity. Rituals were abandoned or simplified, old beliefs such as purgatory

¹ See Chapter 13 (Eivor Andersen Oftestad), 235–65.

² Arne Bugge Amundsen, ed., *Norges religionshistorie* (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 2005), 163–65.

or the necessity of final unction were officially disputed and prohibited by the new church.³

The Lutheran clergy became the instruments of both civil and ecclesiastic law and rule, and the political, cultural, and even fiscal power of the new clergy was obvious to anyone and was a forceful reality in the local communities.⁴ Religious protests or non-conformism were both legally and politically regarded as unacceptable positions if one was to be accepted as a full member of society and as one of the King's subjects.⁵

The Politics of Piety

A very important element of this was, of course, that the Lutheran King was expected to defend the true religious faith and practice. This duty was strictly performed by the kings of Denmark–Norway. King Christian IV (1577–1648, r. 1588–1648) was, as were many of his colleagues on other European thrones at the time, sternly convinced that the welfare of his kingdom was deeply interrelated with the religious standards of his subjects. If their moral standards or religious values decreased, God's wrath would follow quickly, and an important element of Christian IV's laws and decrees was accordingly the confirmation of true religion. True religion should be found both in the collective structures and on the individual level.⁶

Christian IV's conceptions of the "political" importance of piety were the explicit motivation for quite a number of ecclesiastical laws on penitence and concentration on religious activities. The leading motif in these laws was that the more his subjects were praying for their own and the King's salvation, the more the land would prosper, and the longer the Last Judgement would be postponed. It is not sufficient for anyone simply to take part in formal religious activities. Only through prayers, religious meditation, individual penitence, and introspection would the rituals of the Christian life have the necessary effect.

This way of defining the form and intention of pious conduct of course also influenced the ways Christian IV's subordinates and subjects perceived the clergy and their own religious standards. With the King as the predominant example, the clergy had to reflect on this religious philosophy and its focus on the gap between formal ecclesiastical structures and authorities and the inner life of faith.⁷

³ Amundsen, *Norges religionshistorie*, 169–72.

⁴ Amundsen, *Norges religionshistorie*, 189–90.

⁵ Arne Bugge Amundsen and Henning Laugerud, *Norsk fritenkerhistorie 1500–1850* (Oslo: Humanist Forlag, 2001), 31–32, 35–36.

⁶ Amundsen, *Norges religionshistorie*, 213–42; Øystein Rian, *Den aristokratiske fyrstestaten 1536–1648, Danmark–Norge 1380–1814* vol. 2, (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 1997), 368ff.

⁷ Amundsen and Laugerud, *Norsk fritenkerhistorie 1500–1850*, 213–17.

Most historical sources from the first part of the seventeenth century give no information as to how this situation affected local religious life, thus making the importance of some seemingly unprecedented events in the middle of the seventeenth century even greater. From a period of about ten years, there appeared a quite extensive number of written sources on a Norwegian religious movement dominated by the “inner aspects” of religion. This movement was concentrated in the city of Christiania (now Oslo), the administrative centre of Norway, as it was from 1642 the residence of the Governor, Hannibal Sehested (1609–66), who was also the son-in-law of King Christian IV. The religious movement flourished most strongly in the 1640s and 1650s, led by Niels Svendsen Chronich (c.1608–c.70).⁸ This movement is an important backdrop to Christen Bang’s book on Christiania as an earthly Jerusalem.

Niels Svendsen Chronich

Niels Svendsen Chronich⁹ was born in the Danish city of Kolding and was married to a daughter of the Bishop of Ribe, Jens Dinesen Jersin (1588–1634). Bishop Jersin was among the ardent defenders of the penitential elements of the Lutheran orthodox piety.¹⁰

Chronich received his basic theological education at the University of Copenhagen, where he was one of the first to pass a formal test of theological knowledge. This “attestatio” was introduced by King Christian IV in 1629 as part of a strategy for controlling the orthodoxy of the clergy. Later, when Chronich’s conflicts with his colleagues in Christiania were emerging, he several times made a specific point about his own “attestatio”: he had actually been controlled by the theological professors in Copenhagen!¹¹ Chronich also had a briefer stay at the University of Groningen, where he matriculated in 1633. He received a Master’s degree (Magister) from the University of Copenhagen in 1637 and, regardless of the later controversies, was regarded and respected as a “learned man” for his time.¹²

⁸ Amundsen and Laugerud, *Norsk fritenkerhistorie 1500–1850*, 89–93. Arne Bugge Amundsen, “Cronich, Niels Svendsen,” in *Norsk biografisk leksikon* (Oslo: Kunnskapsforlaget, 2000), 214.

⁹ He usually writes his name Niels Svendsen, but sometimes he adds Chronich(ius) or Chronius, Bjørn Kornerup, “Nye bidrag til separatisten Niels Svendsen Chronichs historie,” in *Kirkehistoriske Samlinger* 6, no. 4 (Copenhagen: Gad, 1942): 84. Holger F. Rørdam, “Separatisten M. Niels Svendsen Chronich og hans Tilhængere,” in *Kirkehistoriske Samlinger*, edited by Holger Fr. Rørdam, vol. 4 (Copenhagen: G.E.C. Gad, 1882–84), 509.

¹⁰ Rørdam, “Separatisten M. Niels Svendsen Chronich,” 511–12.

¹¹ Rørdam, “Separatisten M. Niels Svendsen Chronich,” 509–10; Amundsen, *Norges religionshistorie*, 220–21.

¹² Kornerup, “Nye Bidrag til Separatisten,” 60–62.



Fig. 14. 2: Isaac van Geelkerck, from the acclamation of King Frederik III at Akershus Castle, Christiania, 1648. The Royal Danish Library (Det Kongelige Biblioteks billedsamling), Copenhagen.

In 1639 Niels Chronich was – without any formal application, according to him – appointed as lecturer of theology (*lector theologiae*) at the Cathedral school in Christiania. In this position he was expected to give public sermons in the Cathedral on certain occasions during the year. He used this duty an excellent opportunity to present his message of penitence and true Christian piety to a broader public. Parallel to his public sermons and his lectures in the Cathedral school, Chronich arranged private meetings or so-called conventicles where he gathered people sympathetic to his message and sharing his visions of the pure Christian life.¹³

At the same time, Chronich intensified his public messages. During Christmas 1642 Chronich made a public scandal by accusing the clergy of the city of “un-Christian behaviour”. The situation developed so dramatically that the Bishop of Christiania, Oluf Boesen (1583–1646), withdrew Chronich’s admission to the pulpit of the Cathedral in 1643. The Bishop’s action was understandable, but it seems that it was not final. The Bishop was more or less forced by the Governor, Hannibal Sehested, and the Norwegian Chancellor, Jens Bjelke (1580–1659), to withdraw his order, and Niels Chronich once again was allowed to enter the pulpit.¹⁴ Still, in the years 1649–50, Niels Chronich was repeatedly called upon to be interrogated by his peers, the clergy of the Cathedral.¹⁵ At this time the conflict between Trugels Nielsen and Niels Svendsen Chronich had reached its peak – during a loud and public quarrel between them Trugels Nielsen said to Chronich: “Stay away from me, you Satan!” Niels Chronich then replied: “I am no Satan, you are a Satan yourself!”¹⁶ The most central part of the subsequent interrogations during the winter of 1649–50, however, centred on Chronich explaining and defending his theological opinions before the ecclesiastical court lead by the Bishop, Magister Henning Eggertsen Stockfleth (1610–64), who had succeeded Oluf Boesen in 1646.

In the court Chronich and one of his colleagues at the Cathedral school, Jens Hansen, were accused of heterodoxy, of intimidating their colleagues, and of disrespect to civil and ecclesiastical authorities. Jens Hansen had to admit that he had identified the clergy of Christiania with the “priests of Baal” and that his opinion was that the reformer Martin Luther was a “secular philosopher who had failed in many ways.” The clerical court found this to be far beyond what should be accepted by a Lutheran lecturer in theology, and immediately dismissed Jens Hansen from his position.

¹³ Cf. Einar Høigård, *Oslo Katedralskoles historie* (Oslo: Grøndahl & Søn, 1942).

¹⁴ Rørdam, “Separatisten M. Niels Svendsen Chronich,” 514.

¹⁵ In fact, as *lector theologiae* Chronich himself was a member of this ecclesiastical court, the Chapter Court.

¹⁶ P. Coucheron, “Om Mag. Niels Svendsen Krønikes Stridigheder med Præsteskabet i Christiania i Aarene 1642–1652,” *Theologisk Tidsskrift for den evangelisk-lutherske Kirke i Norge* 1, no. 1 (1858b): 274–75.

When the Governor Hannibal Sehested was forced to leave his position in Norway in 1651, the situation rapidly changed for Niels Svendsen Chronich. The ecclesiastical authorities for a long time had tried different strategies to remove him as a lecturer and a problematic colleague. Now a definitive solution seemed at hand. Chronich was summoned by direct royal order to defend his theological opinions at the Consistory of the University of Copenhagen, and in 1652 a special court was appointed and convened in Christiania to deal with Chronich's case. Once again, it does not appear that he was formally sentenced. In any case, the result was that in 1652 he left his position as a lecturer in Christiania and settled with his family in Christianshavn outside of Copenhagen. The King gave him a quite good pension, and in Copenhagen he seems to have made a living by offering to teach Hebrew to students of theology.¹⁷ We can leave Niels Chronich in Copenhagen, since his later destiny is not the focus here.

Chronich's Followers in Christiania

Chronich was not alone. The group of followers counted among its members one of Chronich's own colleagues, Jens Hansen, who was also a teacher at the Cathedral school, and Hans Madsen Fagerholt, a merchant and member of the city council. Most of Chronich's sympathizers seem to have been craftsmen and shopkeepers from the city of Christiania – both men and women. Their names in some instances indicate that their bearers were of foreign origin.¹⁸ Some of the parishioners were offended by the lecturer and his sermons, while others spread rumours about the Cathedral's ministers or showed hostile attitudes against them inspired by Chronich's public sermons.¹⁹

In the different interrogations handling this matter between 1643 and 1651, information is given that the ecclesiastical authorities had actually suspected several members of the group of sympathizers to be what they labeled "separatists" even before Chronich arrived in 1640.²⁰ This indicates that Chronich was probably not

17 Chronich's last years in Copenhagen are discussed at length in Rørdam, "Separatisten M. Niels Svendsen Chronich."

18 P. Coucheron, "Om Mag. Niels Svendsen Krønikes Stridigheder med Præsteskabet i Christiania i Aarene 1642–1652," *Theologisk Tidsskrift for den evangelisk-lutherske Kirke i Norge* 1, no. 1 (1858a): 243. Coucheron, "Om Mag. Niels Svendsen Krønikes Stridigheder" (1858b), 262.

19 P. Coucheron, "Om Mag. Niels Svendsen Krønikes Stridigheder Med Præsteskabet I Christiania I Aarene 1642–1652," *Theologisk Tidsskrift for den evangelisk-lutherske Kirke i Norge* 1, no. 2 (1859): 46–47.

20 Coucheron, "Om Mag. Niels Svendsen Krønikes Stridigheder" (1858b), 294.

the actual founder of the group of “separatists” or conventiclers in Christiania, although little is known about the situation before his arrival in the city. At any rate, Chronich eventually seems to have revitalized this group and expanded it, and soon became its spiritual leader. To arrange prayers or reading of devotional books in private households was in itself not a problematic activity at the time. Problems first occurred regarding such activities if persons who were not members of the household in question took part in them – then the authorities identified such an activity as a threat to God’s own order, and it became a schismatic meeting or – a conventicle.²¹

Distribution of Books

One of the significant elements in the controversies between Niels Chronich and his opponents was the use of the printed word. In fact, the very existence of “suspicious books” among Chronich’s followers was sufficient to convince their critics that they were criminals.

In the discussion about the character of the Chronich disorder, the clergy argued that such “suspicious books” had been observed and their owners persecuted in Christiania even well before the lecturer arrived in the city, but at the arrival of Niels Svendsen Chronich the use of such books seems to have flourished even more than in earlier years. Among the accusations meeting Chronich in 1652 was that he both defended and distributed “prohibited books” by authors like Johann Jacob Fabricius (1620–73) alias Justus Kläger, Abraham Graf von Franckenberg (1593–1652) alias Amadeus von Friedleben, and Christian Hoburg (1607–75) alias Elias Prætorius. Allegedly, the worst of them all was a pamphlet by Elias Prætorius called “Spiegel der Missbräuche beim Predigerampt im heutigen Christenthum.” This book had become so popular that it was read by both learned and unlearned people, clergymen and civil servants. The court reminded Chronich that King Christian IV had already in 1617 passed a law to prevent this kind of literature being imported, translated, and sold in Denmark and Norway.²²

It is likely that Chronich was inspired by such authors and books, and earlier scholars have tried to compare Chronich’s message and written style with spiritualists like Christian Hoburg alias Elias Prætorius in order to establish a reliable line of

²¹ The dean Trugels Nielsen repeatedly called such meetings “Vinkelmesser,” i.e. “masses or services celebrated in hidden places,” Rørdam, “Separatisten M. Niels Svendsen Chronich,” 553.

²² Rørdam, “Separatisten M. Niels Svendsen Chronich,” 558–59. Coucheron, “Om Mag. Niels Svendsen Krønikes Stridigheder,” (1858b), 263, 297. Holger Fr. Rørdam, *Danske Kirkelove 1536–1660*. vol. 3 (Copenhagen: Selskabet for Danmarks Kirkehistorie, 1889), 54–55. The original title of the book was *Spiegel der Misbräuche bey dem Predig-Ampt im heutigen Christentumb*, and the first edition appeared in 1644.

inspiration for Chronich's own sermons and books.²³ However, it may seem difficult to identify one or two specific persons who directly influenced Chronich. Chronich himself was said to have read the books of Jacob Böhme (1575–1624) with interest and consent, and there have also been speculations that he had actually met Böhme during his stay abroad in the 1630s. The only author he himself referred to publicly was in fact Jacob Böhme, which occurred in a discussion with Trugels Nielsen, who explained that he had also read books by Böhme – although he did not understand or agree with most of what he read. Despite this, it could be argued that Chronich both in his sermons and in his printed books made use of arguments, genres, and expressions that were quite common among radical and critical theologians in the middle of the seventeenth century.²⁴

In order to understand the identity of the Chronich movement in Christiania it is undoubtedly more important to study the books of Niels Chronich and their levels of functioning. Whenever the controversies in Christiania escalated he published a new book. After the conflicts in 1642 to 1643 he published what he had said from the pulpit in the Cathedral – “with some additions.” When the clergy renewed their efforts to convince the authorities that the only possible solution was to sentence Chronich at the end of the 1640s, he published a collection of religious songs intended to strengthen his followers. Moreover, during the final controversy and interrogation in Christiania in 1651 he published his last book in which he defended his own theological viewpoints. The use of written books was important not only to Chronich, but to his group of sympathizers, and the discussions and conflicts around the group of “true Christians” were made even more public through the use of books and pamphlets.

How important this last aspect actually was, is indicated by the fact that even Chronich's opponents made use of the printed word in order to convince both the “heretics” and the other members of the congregation of the Chronich supporters' criminal and ungodly opinions. Although he himself denied it, the peer commission in 1651 was convinced that the dean Trugels Nielsen in fact had translated and published a German pamphlet called “On the Terrible and Blasphemous Enthusiasts and Heretics Knipperdolling and Jan van Leyden and Their Followers.”²⁵ The intention of this pamphlet was to demonstrate the negative effects of religious disorder and dissent.

23 Rørdam, “Separatisten M. Niels Svendsen Chronich,” 510; Coucheron, “Om Mag. Niels Svendsen Krønikes Stridigheder,” (1858a), 238–39.

24 Many parallels can also be found in the thinking of Fredrich Breckling (1629–1711), see Jonathan Strom, “Krisenbewusstsein und Zukunftserwartung bei Friedrich Breckling,” in *Geschichtsbewusstsein und Zukunftserwartung in Pietismus und Erweckungsbewegung*, eds. Wolfgang Breul and Jan Carsten Schnurr, *Arbeiten zur Geschichte des Pietismus* 59 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2013).

25 Rørdam, “Separatisten M. Niels Svendsen Chronich,” 515–16, 550, 564–65.

At the same time, the use of printed books and pamphlets must also have contributed to making Chronich's message known beyond the limits of the parish of Christiania. Potentially the printed word appealed to pious readers – and fervent opponents – all over Denmark–Norway. His prolific publishing activity was made possible by the establishment in 1643 of the first printing press in Christiania.²⁶ Chronich was able to publish his thoughts and arguments directly to the local audience, thus creating a local public sphere for discussing religious issues. It was into this local public sphere that Christen Staffensen Bang in 1651 introduced his book on Christiania, the year when the conflict surrounding Niels Chronich reached its peak.

The Spiritual World View – Christiania as Babel?

Another interesting question regards the inner life and world of Niels Chronich's group of believers. In his 1642 Christmas sermon Chronich attacked those in the congregation who found their pleasure in worldly wealth, eating, drinking, and adultery. Such people did not celebrate Christmas in a Christian way, in his opinion.²⁷ Both in this sermon and elsewhere Chronich presented a harsh critique of the average piety, of the order of church and society, and of empty forms of authority. While “they,” that is the “outsiders,” represented Satan, were blind, and only had power over what was empty and idle, “we” – Chronich's group – were the true followers of God's commandment, they were the only ones truly seeing, and were filled with spiritual authority. The division between “them” and “us” went through any congregation, passed the borders of parishes, and did not respect any differences between laity and clergy, or between governors and governed.

The 1642 sermon resulted in complaints from many of those who had been present at the service and felt that they had been attacked by Chronich. He and his followers, however, interpreted this reaction as just another divine sign that their message was inspired and following the inner meaning of Christian belief – the followers of Christ should expect no mercy from the public, from authorities, and from servants of Satan.

While his public sermons, especially his 1642 Christmas sermon, were primarily intended to describe those who were to be expelled from the Kingdom of God, another of Chronich's publications from these years shows the spiritual world with which he and his followers identified themselves and created their Christian identity.

²⁶ Cf. Leiv Amundsen, *De første boktrykkere i Norge 1643–1654* (Oslo: Grøndahl & Søn, 1925).

²⁷ Niels Svendsen Chronich, *Aandelige Jule-Betenckning, om den allerstørste Glæde at bekomme udi vor Frelseres Jesu Christo formedelst hans hellige Fødsel. Prædicket paa 1. Juledag 1642* (Christiania: Tyge Nielsen, 1644); Coucheron, “Om Mag. Niels Svendsen Krønikes Stridigheder,” (1858a), 247.

In 1649 he published “Three Spiritual Hymns,” where the main perspective is the experiences and identifications of the true believers.²⁸

In these hymns the believers are described as the “lovers and confessors of Christ.” The true power of life and love strengthens them as they fight the war of the righteous. Their opponents are no less than “Babel” and the “Ertz-hore” – the whore of whores – notions often used by Chronich when describing the institutionalized church. The true believers had to expect torments and struggles, but they were also waiting for “the great day” when Christ would return and make the final division between the righteous and the hypocrites, between good and evil. This day was not far away, according to Chronich. Recent signs in heaven and on earth had demonstrated and proved that God was now quite impatient with his creation, and was planning to restore it to its original shape. Chronich at this point refers to the famous comet that had been observed and commented on by many in 1618. Likewise, in 1648 there had been new signs from heaven: a remarkable miscarriage, rumours about war and catastrophes, storms, earthquakes, and other phenomena in nature.

This was all meant to show that God’s wrath was a terrible thing, and that any man should fear God’s judgement. Yet, if they immediately separated from “Babel,” the true and modest believers would receive their reward – the position near the throne of God. The ultimate message, then, was that the true believers should leave the sinful world; they should “go out with spiritual sighs,” and show that they were not hypocrites or followers of Satan.

A Religion of Free Hearts

Chronich’s ideal was a “religion of free hearts,” a Christian belief which showed that “Christ our Lord lives / and dwells in my heart / where his Spirit is moving around / with its light.”²⁹ In 1642 Chronich told his audience in Christiania that the real Bethlehem was the heart of a spiritually living person. Without such a heart, there was no use, for instance, in attending church services or taking part in Holy Communion.³⁰

²⁸ Niels Svendsen Chronich, *Tre aandelige Sange 1. om disse Aaringens Straff; 2. om den store vor Herris Jesu Christi Dag, somdu nast tilstunder, dat. 1647. 3. Aandelige Glæde udi Christo Jesu imod hans herlige Tilkommelse, dat. 1646* (Christiania: Melchior Martzan, 1649). Niels Svendsen Chronich, *Niels Svendsøn Chronich’s Tre Aandelige Sange* (Christiania: Thronsen, 1882).

²⁹ “NAar den HErre Jesus Ieffuer / Oc boer I Hiertet mit / Oc hans Aand der inde suefuer / Oc giffuer Liusit sit,” Chronich, *Niels Svendsøn Chronich’s Tre Aandelige Sange.*, the introduction to the “third song.” My translation.

³⁰ Coucheron, “Om Mag. Niels Svendsen Krønikes Stridigheder,”(1858a), 248.

His position as a “free spirit” is demonstrated in the discussions about his use of the Holy Communion. His enemies accused him of “staying away” from the collective religious actions of his local congregation. The strategy of “staying away” is a very common element in the identification and self-identification of Christian opposition,³¹ and it showed how the argument about who was and was not worthy to receive Holy Communion could be reversed. In 1651 Chronich explained to his peers in court that he had stayed away from Holy Communion for almost two years. His own reason for this was that his conscience told him that he could not receive the blood and flesh of Christ from a vicar with whom he was not reconciled and within the framework of a congregation dominated by severe conflicts about what was the definition of true and false.³² Chronich added that according to the Holy Scripture specific places or persons to administrate the Holy Communion were not necessary, and he admitted that he found it problematic to accept or use the exact words in the official liturgy about the effect of Holy Communion – impure sinners and people who would not repent properly should not be told that their sins were forgiven.³³

Chronich’s conceptions of the true Christian life and belief, then, were based on the value of individuality and personal choice. In one perspective, these conceptions must have lead to a considerable cognitive alienation – the social and cultural reality was empty, dangerous, and in the process of being destroyed. In another perspective, Chronich’s message argued that it was necessary to establish alternative social and cultural entities, and that the true believers should be waiting for better times, when they would live in eternal peace, praising God and loving each other. The conventicles became prefigurations of this prosperous future, and were demonstrations that the troubles and persecutions “here” would be rewarded “there.”

In their opinion, the ecclesiastical and civil structures had lost all authority. When Chronich himself entered the pulpit of Christiania Cathedral, it was not as a representative of the King’s clergy, but as a messenger from the Holy Spirit. No court could sentence him, and the only reasonable thing to do was to wait for the Last Day. He was a “free spirit,” a “separatist” waiting for this world to vanish before God’s wrath.

False Prophets in Christiania

An important part of the way Niels Chronich tried to explicate the identity of his message and his supporters is the many warnings about the false prophets. According to

31 Amundsen and Laugerud, *Norsk fritenkerhistorie 1500–1850*, 186–90.

32 Rørdam, “Separatisten M. Niels Svendsen Chronich,” 535–39, 556–57.

33 Rørdam, “Separatisten M. Niels Svendsen Chronich,” 539–40.

him they were everywhere, but it was possible to identify them by their “unchristian behaviour” and by the fact that they neither preached nor admonished their congregation in the right way. On the contrary, they “hid the signs of the last days,” confused the true believers, and comforted the unworthy and impious. This was a permanent theme in Chronich’s sermons and writings.

Among the accusations from the clergy of Christiania that were succeeded by the formal interrogation of Niels Chronich in 1649, his four colleagues put forward that his invectives regarding them were so severe they could not possibly be accepted. Moreover, they were not able to understand by what right Niels Chronich tried to present himself as a “novum reformatorem & generalem admonitorem.”³⁴ They quoted him saying that they were the Apostles of “Sathan, Baaliticos, Bellisicos et Hypocriticos Ministros,”³⁵ gossiping parrots and dogs, whose mouths could be shut by a piece of meat.” Such invectives, his colleagues continued, made their work among the members of the congregation almost impossible: many people showed their contempt and spread rumours about their own clergy. That is why, they concluded, we want the authorities to end the conflict and refute Niels Chronich’s public accusations.³⁶

In his response to the peer commission Chronich showed his unusual skills in turning arguments and playing with words and expressions. According to him, the Holy Scripture used much harsher words against the false prophets than he had ever expressed. Moreover, if his enemies were actually God’s own messengers, they should not feel embarrassed by the expressions used by Chronich, but on the contrary agree with him and join him in his general warnings against the false and evil in Christiania and elsewhere.³⁷ As well – in these last days of this world – one should not be surprised if more than one Judas or Anti-Christ was in the middle of any congregation.³⁸

Of course, this undermined any conception of collegiality. His ministry was that of the Holy Spirit, and that was a ministry to be taken as seriously as that of the formally ordained clergy. His ordained colleagues were not in the position to reserve the true ministry for themselves.³⁹ Yet, Chronich pursued his alleged spiritual right to advise the sinners and guide his colleagues or “brothers”.⁴⁰ Hence he

34 “A new reformer and general advisor,” Coucheron, “Om Mag. Niels Svendsen Krønikes Stridigheder,” (1858b), 282.

35 “The apostles of Sathan, worshippers of Baal, warlike and hypocritical ministers.”

36 Erik Pontoppidan, and Christoph Georg Glasing, *Annales Ecclesiae Danicae Diplomatici*: 4, vol. 1 (Copenhagen: Christoph Georg Glasing, 1741), 397.

37 Pontoppidan, and Glasing, *Annales Ecclesiae Danicae Diplomatici*: 1, 399.

38 Rørdam, “Separatisten M. Niels Svendsen Chronich,” 520.

39 Rørdam, “Separatisten M. Niels Svendsen Chronich,” 522; Pontoppidan, *Annales Ecclesiae Danicae Diplomatici*: 1, 1, 400.

40 Rørdam, “Separatisten M. Niels Svendsen Chronich,” 521–22.

challenged in a very direct way the privileges of the ministry to forgive sins on behalf of God. In 1651 Chronich was accused of having said publicly “that the ministry of pastors who did not live pure lives was without effect” He did not directly deny such an opinion,⁴¹ and in fact this argument might be said to have been the inner motivation for his actions against his colleagues – their impious lives made them unworthy of distributing God’s grace through words and rituals.

Awaiting the Last Judgement

Obviously, things were urgent for Niels Svendsen Chronich and his fellow believers in Christiania. This urgency has brought us to the heart of the matter – he propagated quite successfully devotional ideals and spiritual metaphors that challenged the established order. Chronich was definitely apocalyptic in his approach to the Christian message, and he told his followers to await the Last Judgement, and to “separate themselves” from “Babel.” How important this apocalyptic approach was to him, is shown by the fact that when he in 1651 published his last book – *Troens Erindring oc Prøfuelse* (The Memory and Torments of Faith) – his attacks on all the Pharisees and hypocrites among his own colleagues had no limits whatsoever. At the same time, the book is filled with apocalyptic visions and interpretations of signs of the coming Judgement. He returned to the theme of his songs from 1649, namely that just like the famous comet prophesizing the Thirty Years’ War in 1618, God had clearly shown that the “torments of Egypt” were the destiny awaiting the unfaithful of Chronich’s own time.⁴²

Another approach can also be suggested: if we are to consider the cultural and social forms which were the result of preachers and activists like Niels Chronich, it is perhaps relevant to describe this element in seventeenth-century history of religion and mentality as “spiritualism,” as the Swedish historian Ronny Ambjörnsson does in his book on Swedish utopists. Ambjörnsson argues that the “spiritualists” of the seventeenth century during a long period of war, despair, and wide-ranging conflicts tried to establish a concept of a universal society of deeply and individually engaged believers, liberated from the outward forms of ceremonies and rituals and from the oppression represented by formal authorities in church and society.⁴³

41 Rørdam, “Separatisten M. Niels Svendsen Chronich,” 533–34.

42 Niels Svendsen Chronich, *Troens Erindring oc Prøfuelse, d.e. Hvorledis enhver af os som kaldis Christne skal ved Guds Ord erindres om den sande Tro* (Christiania: Valentin Kuhn, 1651); Coucheron, “Om Mag. Niels Svendsen Krønikes Stridigheder,” (1859), 50.

43 Ronny Ambjörnsson, *Det okända landet: Tre studier om svenska utopister* (Stockholm: Gidlunds, 1981), 68–69. Ambjörnsson’s arguments seem to rely quite heavily on the British historian Hugh Trevor-Roper and his theory about the development of a European “erasmism.”

This is probably an important historical reference for the “heart religion” or the “religion of individual conscience” of Niels Chronich.

And whatever epithet should be used for describing Niels Svendsen Chronich and his movement, the challenge which he represented was not at all marginalized in contemporary society. On the contrary, it became the centre of quite dramatic cultural, social, and even political conflicts with reference to conditions and circles far distant from the small Norwegian town. Chronich was, at least for a long period of his career, in line with the devotional ideals of King Christian IV – he was radical but still tolerable. However, he challenged “the household,” the only accepted devotional framework for Christian subjects outside of the service, and he challenged the privileges of the Lutheran clergy, although he stayed in a very ambiguous relationship with his Christiania colleagues – he belonged to their group, and yet placed himself outside of it. In this way, Chronich touched, developed, and challenged the core values of State Lutheranism of the seventeenth century.

Of course, an analysis of these events is a contribution to Danish and Norwegian church history, but it may have even further references. What could be regarded as interesting in a European perspective is perhaps first and foremost that Niels Chronich was actually able to establish a distinct group of followers under the auspices of high civil authorities. As long as this support was undisputed he had the opportunity to express his views and arrange the movement’s private meetings – which gives excellent possibilities for studying cross-confessional contacts and impulses in urban Norwegian piety at a time seemingly dominated by strict Lutheran observances in law and liturgy and in a period where other sources are quite scarce. The Chronich movement may also be used to elucidate the extension of religious multiculturalism in a peripheral part of a confessionally divided Europe.

And finally, Niels Chronich should be written into a long tradition of Christian opposition and dissent in Europe, a history which of course also includes the later Pietist movements. Chronich points to important elements in the “grammar” of this tradition, a “grammar” known and used both before and after the middle of the seventeenth century. His arguments and acts represent an excellent and vivid example of how the “Jerusalem code” brought along its own ambivalence. The “Jerusalem code” had long been used by civil and ecclesiastical authorities to describe and legitimize the present order, the long lines in history, and the future development of church and society. Dissidents, however, could use the same code, the same metaphors and arguments to oppose the present order, to describe an alternative history and – not least – to visualize a new future.

Christiania – Jerusalem or Babel?

In Chronich's perspective the city of Christiania with its cathedral and its clergy could never become or be described as an image of biblical Jerusalem. To him Christiania was Babel, and in that capacity the city was perfectly in line with any other formal, outward, civil structure and order. Jerusalem, Bethlehem, and the Holy Land were primarily an inner landscape in the heart and consciousness of the individual believer, and – as a consequence – the conventicle created by true believers was an image or a reflection of this landscape.

Christen Staffensen Bang's intervention in the public debate on the status of Christiania cannot be understood without reference to Niels Svendsen Chronich and his actions. Chronich attempted to create a spiritual dividing line between the true Christian believers and any outward structure, building, and position. Bang was not part of the Christiania clergy, but he was closely connected to the city through property and kinship. Chronich, on the other hand, was a leading part of the urban clergy as *lector theologiae* and member of the chapter. Bang and Chronich must have known each other and been well aware of each other's literary projects. In fact, the city's privileged printer Valentin Kuhn (d. 1654) in the first half of 1651 was working simultaneously with Chronich's *Troens Erindring oc Prøfuelse* and Bang's *Descriptio Civitatis Christianensis*. While Chronich in words and print dishonoured his clerical colleagues and criticized all the parishioners who trusted in "outward piety," Bang appealed to all authorities in Christiania – civil and ecclesiastical – to unify in their efforts of creating a city worthy of its name and collectively obedient to its ultimate constructor.

When Christen Staffensen Bang⁴⁴ entered the public scene with his book, Niels Svendsen Chronich was on his way out – from the cathedral school and from the city of Christiania. At any rate, both left after their written, contradictory attempts at interpreting the city to their contemporaries. After some turbulent years in Denmark Chronich ended up in Amsterdam and the house of Johann Amos Comenius (1592–1670), apparently sharing many of his new landlord's points of view. Bang, on the other hand, moved permanently to Christiania at the end of the 1650s, pursuing a career as a theological writer and publisher.

It is open to discussion which of the two – then dead – authors could have pleaded the victory after the devastating fire in Christiania in 1686.

⁴⁴ Arne Bugge Amundsen, "Pastoral Ideals and Public Sphere in Christiania (Oslo) in the Seventeenth Century," in *Were We Ever Protestants? Essays in Honour of Tarald Rasmussen*, eds. Sivert Angel, Hallgeir Elstad, and Eivor Andersen Oftestad. *Arbeiten zur Kirchengeschichte* 140 (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2019), 219–42.



Fig. 15.1: The Protestant reformators gathered around the bright light of the Gospel, which monstrous representatives of the Catholic Church aim to extinguish. Anonymous propaganda painting from the late sixteenth century. Aust-Agder Museum og Arkiv, Arendal, Norway.

Marius Timmann Mjaaland

Chapter 15

The Image of Jerusalem Destroyed: On Babel, Jerusalem, and the Antichrist in Luther's Confessional Polemic 1521

In a specific sense, the Jerusalem Code was introduced as an interpretive key on both sides of the conflict during the Early Reformation. In 1520, Roman theologian Ambrosius Catharinus Politus accused Luther of heresy, and of representing the apocalyptic figure of the Antichrist. One year later, the allegations were given in turn to the pope in Rome, whom Luther accused of putting himself above Christ. The common understanding of Rome as the New Jerusalem was significant for the papal claim to power and authority. However, Luther ventures to demonstrate that the Holy City has now become the New Babel. As in the ancient Ark of the Covenant, the secret presence of God is the key to understanding the Jerusalem Code inscribed in Luther's argument – if the Church preserves this secret in its heart and its words, while listening to the Holy Spirit, it would still represent the true Jerusalem. However, Luther argues, if the pope makes claims to being the king and ruler of this New Jerusalem, then the same topos has turned into its opposite, that is, Satan's Synagogue in the New Babel. In an epic rhetorical gesture, Luther thus destroys the image of Rome as the New Jerusalem. Moreover, this apocalyptic topology later became defining for confessional rhetoric on both sides.

When writers in the sixteenth century describe Jerusalem, they refer to a topology of the sacred city. This is first of all a *topos* of the sacred text and secondly a place formed by their imagination, but it is nevertheless a *real* place that becomes decisive for political decisions in their own time, and for the *place* they ascribe to themselves and their enemies in the course of history. In this sense, Jerusalem is *more* real than the historical conflicts that take place in their own social and political surroundings. The question of contemporary historical events becomes a conflict of interpretations: who belongs to Babel and who belongs to Jerusalem?

In the conflicts surrounding the Reformation, this topological conflict of interpretations becomes topical. During the early Reformation, from 1520 to 1525, Luther and his adversaries in Rome refer to historical and political facts that were

considered paradigmatic for all later wars: the legendary wars between old Israel and its many enemies, including the kings of Babylon. By the age when apocalyptic movements swept across the Mediterranean world, from the third century BC until the fourth century AC, the ancient wars had become the mother of all later conflicts between kings and peoples, gods and idols, good and evil.¹ According to the author of the Book of Revelation, the conflicts that continuously go on in the heavens above become decisive for conflicts and persecutions that take place down on earth. Hence, this sacred *script* becomes the hidden transcript for the interpretation of historical events and for a religious philosophy of history, eventually also for political expectations of the future end of times as described in the apocalypse. This is the basis for all sorts of political theologies feeding the social and political imaginary of the Christian empires, from the Roman to the Holy Roman Empire, but also for the discussion of the Church as empire – and the pope as emperor – in the confessional controversies between Luther and his Roman-Catholic adversaries (Fig. 15.1).

I will focus on the significant debate between the theologian and legal scholar Ambrosius Catharinus Politus and Martin Luther in 1520–21. Catharinus's competence as a legal scholar indicates that Pope Leo X, who commissioned him to write an apology, was fully aware of the political consequences of the theological disagreements. Catharinus was the first scholar to identify Luther as the Antichrist, according to the historical scheme from the Book of Daniel and the First Letter of John. It was not long before this accusation of representing the Antichrist was given in return, followed by a series of accusations of fraud and false "appearances" within the papal church. The scene was thus set for a historical showdown, which according to Patrick Preston became defining for the confessional rhetoric on both sides, that is, for the Reformation and the Counter-Reformation – a division that dominated Europe for the next century and up to the Thirty Years' War (1618–48).² Only fifteen years after Luther's controversy with Catharinus, a Swedish author applied the same rhetorical and political topos in *Några Wijsor om Anti-Christum* (1536). Hence, the identification of the confessional enemy as the Antichrist became significant even in the construction of power in the Nordic countries.³

1 For different and more detailed interpretations of this apocalyptic scheme of history, cf. Marius T. Mjaaland, "Apocalypse and the Spirit of Revolution: The Political Legacy of the Early Reformation," *Political Theology* 14, no. 2 (2013); and "Der apokalyptische Zwerg der Revolution," in *Deutungsmacht: Religion und Belief Systems in Deutungsmachtkonflikten*, ed. Philipp Stoellger (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2013).

2 Patrick Preston, "Catharinus Versus Luther, 1521," *History* 88, no. 291 (2003), 68.

3 See Chapter 16 (Otfried Czaika), 298–313.

The Controversy: Catharinus vs. Luther 1520–21

This conflict between Catharinus and Luther became a controversy on authority, legitimate versus false and thus illegitimate authority. In late medieval Europe, Biblical authority was directly connected to power: the legitimation of religious and political authority was identified with reference to Christ as the true King and the image of Jerusalem as the Holy City governing the sacred empire. Babylon or Babel was the name for the opposite, the site of all evil, of the Antichrist and his angels.⁴ This search for the Image of the Kingdom, the true image of the true Kingdom, begins in the heart of Jerusalem. However, not only Jerusalem as we know it today or in the medieval period, but rather the ancient Jerusalem. Not only the Jerusalem of the second temple, that is the Jerusalem Jesus visited while he was walking around from Bethlehem and Jericho to the Holy City, but an even older Jerusalem. It is Jerusalem of the first temple, Solomon's temple. None of the writers I will discuss here had been to Jerusalem. Hence, they were speaking of the *image* of the first temple, as they imagined it would be; the temple they knew from descriptions in the First Book of Kings and the Chronicles. Nonetheless, this was perceived as a real place – a place more real and significant than the places Luther and his opponents in Italy knew from their immediate geography, and therefore even more significant than Rome. Luther describes the connection between the temple and the true kingdom as follows:

The signs of the Church, and the Gospel in particular, were anticipated in the Temple of Solomon, where the two heads on the sticks carrying the Ark, were standing out in front of the oracle, signifying the spirit. Similarly, there is no other sign than the oral and public voice of the Gospel that makes it possible to know where the Church and the mystery of the kingdom of God is hidden. For, just as the heads on the sticks functioned as signs, whereas the Ark in itself was hidden in the Most Holy and something they believed to be there, the Church is also something that no one sees, and yet they believe that it is there merely due to the Word as sign, a Word that cannot sound but in the Church and by the Holy Spirit.⁵

For Martin Luther, this is a question of how to define the true Church when there is a conflict of authority. He is careful not to ascribe the true authority to himself, as opposed to the authority of the pope. On the contrary, he ascribes this authority to *Scripture*, which ought to draw the distinction between true and false interpretations. Nevertheless, when the Ark is hidden in the Most Holy – and the Most Holy is

⁴ See also Chapter 16 (Otfried Czaika), 298–313.

⁵ Cf. Martin Luther and Melchior Lotter, *Ad librum eximii magistri nostri magistri Ambrosii Catharini defensoris Silvestri Prieratis acerrimi responsio Martini Lutheri, Vvittembergae mense Aprili; cum exposita Visione Danielis VIII, De antichristo*, in: *D. Martin Luthers Werke, Kritische Gesamtausgabe* (Weimar: H. Böhlau, 1883–1929), Vol 7. Future footnotes will reference this work as WA 7,710. There is no English translation of this text in the American edition of *Luther's Works*, hence all translations from Latin are mine and the only references are to the Weimar edition.

the Most Hidden within the church – who can currently speak on behalf of the “two heads on the sticks” – that is, who can function as *oracles* on behalf of the Word? Who is called, and who will let the Word sound that is spoken in the Holy Spirit?

Martin Luther’s *Ninety-Five Theses* (1517) on penance and indulgences were written as a merely inner-ecclesial discussion on the uses and abuses of common religious practice. However, as soon as Luther was accused of heresy and threatened with excommunication, the question of authority became acute. Although Luther had theological reasons for rejecting Rome, his resistance to the ecclesial hierarchy and authority was considered political, or rather, theologico-political. In the course of the first three years, Pope Leo X authorized a number of theologians to respond to Luther for various reasons – on the questions of indulgences, truth, and orthodoxy, but also in respect to the interpretation of Scripture. The choice of Ambrosius Catharinus Politus (1484–1553), with the civil name Lancelot Politi, was nonetheless rather surprising. He was a Dominican from the University of Siena, the same age as Luther, but still rather young and thus not an established authority within the church. Yet, he had made himself a name as a cunning rhetorical talent and a clever lawyer and theologian.

In his *Apology* against Luther, Catharinus has chosen to focus on a critical interpretation of the Book of Daniel.⁶ Due to its historical schemes, the apocalyptic Book of Daniel came to play a key role in the controversies of the early Reformation. In his visions, Daniel sees how kingdoms and empires rise and fall and prophesies that a great rock will come to crush the kingdom of Babel. Pursuing a common *topos* in late medieval exegesis, Catharinus identifies the new heretical threat to Rome as “Babel,” and thus the enemy of Jerusalem, which in Catharinus’s narrative is represented by the papal site in Rome. He interprets the rock coming to crush the “false king” in the light of Jesus’s words to Peter in Matt 16:18. Hence, the pope as Peter’s heir will eventually crush his enemies. Further, by drawing on quotations from the First Letter of John, in particular 1 John 2:18, Catharinus identifies Luther as the apocalyptical figure of the Antichrist.

His text is published immediately after Pope Leo X’s bull *Exsurge Domine* (15 June 1520) and thus supports the claims of heterodoxy and the threats of excommunication. Catharinus argues that the opponent of Christ, and thus of Peter and the Church, would be destroyed by the huge rock of history. However, Luther, in his response (1521) turns this interpretation of Daniel upside down and argues that the Pope has elevated himself to the place of Christ (*Vicarius Christi*), and due to this *hubris*, he will be judged as the true Antichrist – and crushed by the stone of history.

⁶ See Catharinus Ambrosius, *Apologia pro veritate catholicae et apostolicae fidei ac doctrinae adversus impia ac valde pestifera Martini Lutheri dogmata* (1520), *Corpus Catholicorum* 27 (Münster: Aschendorff, 1956). For the background of this book, see Preston, “Catharinus Versus Luther, 1521”.

Both texts are highly interesting from a theological, historical, political, and literary perspective, but I will have to limit my analysis to Luther's text, with some oblique glances to Catharinus's book on Daniel. I will undertake a rhetorical analysis of Luther's response with emphasis on literary effects such as irony, satire, prayers, and curses, and the *topology* of the text, centering around the apocalyptic juxtaposition of Jerusalem and Babel: Jerusalem, the gateway to heaven and *site* of true faith as opposed to Babel as the site of mockery, hypocrisy, and rebellion to God. Luther applies the text satirically in order to show that the scandals of the church represent a *travesty* of true faith, and that the *facies* (Lat. for visions/illusions) of the church are deceptive. Hence, he identifies the false image of Jerusalem as the true Babel, an image that ought to be destroyed – by the word and by the sword.

Controversy on the Book of Daniel

The Book of Daniel connects strands of the prophetic tradition in Old Israel with the apocalyptic genre, which spread across the Middle East in the second century before Christ.⁷ Apocalypticism played a key role in Persian religion from this period and later in Islam (most typically in Shia Islam). The apocalypses generally emerge in times of acute crisis and they connect dramatic *visions*, often conveyed by an angel, with a prophetic message concerning the end of days. Although their background is often closely linked to a specific historical situation, the message is universal and the outcome of historical events is interpreted as decisive for the future of the cosmos.

In the Book of Revelation this is underscored by the parallel events of universal war between Christ and the Antichrist in heaven and the terrestrial conflicts between the Christians and their adversaries. In Daniel, by contrast, the image of the stone plays a central role, connected to King Nebuchadnezzar's vision of a huge statue. Daniel is the Jewish servant of Nebuchadnezzar and the one who *interprets* this vision as an expression of divine history. The key role given to the mythical figure of Daniel is critical for the book as a whole, and his mysterious power of interpreting the signs of the times has obviously been perceived as both tempting and terrifying by interpreters who saw themselves in a similar role, in times of severe crisis. In his *Apology* (1520), Ambrosius Catharinus Politus had declared that Luther deceived the common people in eleven different ways and thus suggests that he must be considered the new Antichrist. In his *Response to the Book of Ambrosius Catharinus* (1521), Luther unfolds his rhetorical skills in a powerful satirical gesture.

⁷ The following sections are a revised version of an argument first presented in: Marius Timmann Mjaaland, *The Hidden God: Luther, Philosophy, and Political Theology* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2016), 142–52.

He is not satisfied with paying back in kind, though. After arguing that Catharinus as well as Pope Leo X represents the Antichrist, he insists that the entire papal hierarchy – in its claim of representing the Roman Catholic Church – qualifies for this dubious honour.⁸ With reference to Dan 8:23–25 Luther argues that they all belong to the kingdom of the fiend. Let us therefore take a short look at the Book of Daniel, which is the bone of contention.

The protagonist Daniel was a noble Jew who became a servant of the Babylonian king, Nebuchadnezzar, during the Jewish exile. One night the king has a strange dream, but none of his advisors are able to interpret it. In this dream, a huge statue appears which is subsequently destroyed by a massive stone. The king is worried but Daniel offers an interpretation of its meaning, that is the prophecy of four subsequent kingdoms which are crushed, one by one:

And there shall be a fourth kingdom, strong as iron; just as iron crushes and smashes everything, it shall crush and shatter all these. (. . .) And in the days of those kings the God of heaven will set up a kingdom that shall never be destroyed, (. . .) and it shall stand forever.

(Dan 2:31–44)

The text introduces a powerful king and a prophet who is able to interpret the mystical dream. This situation is easily translatable to subsequent periods and the dream has influenced endless speculations about the four ages and the coming of the eternal kingdom. The Vulgate uses the word “statue” of the figure in Nebuchadnezzar’s dream, whereas Luther translates “image” [*Bild*], which has connotations to the idols that were destroyed by the prophets in the Old Testament. In chapters 7–12 we find reports about further visions, most of them ascribed to Daniel and all of them dealing with the Last Judgement in dramatic terms. The vision that is most thoroughly discussed is found in Dan 8:23–25. The author of The Book of Daniel dates this vision to the third year after Nebuchadnezzar’s death, under Belshazzar’s rule. A wicked king is prophesied, and despite his indisputable strength, he is described as a fraud:

At the end of their rule, when the transgressions have reached their full measure, a king of bold countenance shall arise, skilled in intrigue. He shall grow strong in power, shall cause fearful destruction, and shall succeed in what he does. He shall destroy the powerful and the people of the holy ones. By his cunning he shall make deceit prosper under his hand, and in his own mind he shall be great. Without warning he shall destroy many and shall even rise up against the Prince of princes. But he shall be broken, and not by human hands. (Dan 8:23–25)

Whereas Luther focuses almost exclusively on the signs of this fraud in chapter 8, Catharinus argues with reference to the stone in chapter 2.⁹ Daniel has given a prophecy of the cornerstone, Catharinus argues, hinting at a common metaphor for

⁸ Cf. Luther, WA 7,712–13.

⁹ See Ambrosius, *Apologia pro veritate catholicae*, 27, 224.

Christ: “The stone that the builders rejected has become the cornerstone; this was the Lord’s doing, and it is amazing in our eyes.” (Matt 21:42).¹⁰ Catharinus identifies this stone with the Rock upon which the Church was to be built, that is Peter (Matt 16:18). With the pope as Peter’s successor on the Holy See, he sees the papacy as the cornerstone of the church and the substitute of Christ on earth, hence with the title *Vicarius Christi*.¹¹ This is common knowledge in late medieval theology and serves to sustain the papacy as head of the Roman Catholic Church, claiming authority even of the universal Church.

A number of interpretations and inferences in Catharinus’s text are jeopardized by Luther, including some of which are considered common knowledge. The stone described by Daniel must be seen as a prophecy of Christ, he argues, but it cannot be valid for Peter and not at all for the so-called successors of Peter on the Apostolic See. With reference to Paul, he argues as follows: “Paul tells us: ‘what fellowship is there between light and darkness? What agreement does Christ have with Belial?’ Thus, either the rock means solely light or solely darkness, that is, it signifies solely a saint or solely an impious man.”¹² Luther will show that his adversaries are erring, and consequently, that Catharinus’s attempt to put the pope and the See in Christ’s place is an indication of their confusion, darkness, and impiety. He concludes that by showing this, he has conquered their “fortress”: they have no legitimate place for exercising the authority they have captured.¹³

The topographical figure applied here is rather interesting and follows a well-known pattern from Luther’s attack on the “Troy” of tradition: Luther argues that when he unveils his opponents and conquers the alleged *centre* of interpretation, the entire text achieves the opposite meaning. Rome is thus accused of being the new Babylon, and as such it achieves a totally different position in this war of interpretations. Finally, Luther concludes that neither the passage in Dan 2 nor the passage in Matt 21 have anything to do with Peter, and hence, the “godless papacy” is accused of having used these passages in order to put itself in God’s place, on the throne of Christ. His enemies are consequently accused of being impious liars.¹⁴

10 Cf. Ps 118:22–23.

11 According to *New Commentary on the Code of the Canon Law*, this title was reserved exclusively to the pope since Innocent III (1198–1216). Cf. John P. Beal et al., *New Commentary on the Code of Canon Law* (New York: Paulist Press, 2000), 432.

12 “Nobis autem Paulus dicit. Quae societas lucis et tenebrarum? Que conventio Chrsiti et Belial? Aut ergo Petra solam lucem aut solas tenebras, id est, solum sanctum, aut solum impium significat (. . .).” Luther, WA 7,717–18; cf. 2 Cor 6:14–15.

13 “Ruet enim nunc totum illud abominationis Idolum, meris mendaciis hactenus erectum, fultum atque defensum. Praesidia eorum obtinemus, arma forti abstulimus, in quibus confidebat, Goliath decollavimus gladio proprio, Et Palestinos non alia tortura torquemus quam rapina sua.” WA 7,719.

14 Cf. WA 7,719.

The Vision of Jerusalem as Fraud

This is merely the introduction, though. As soon as the topography of reading and the roles are distributed, Luther argues that the prophecies of Daniel should be directly applied to the historical situation of his times. Still, the *inferences* from the text differ completely and in every detail from the ones presented by Ambrosius Catharinus. He bases this argument on the typological parallelism of the historical contexts: Daniel spoke against the Babylonians of his times, Paul and John preached against the rulers in Rome, hence the Babel of *their* times. Thus the parallelism continues to Luther's times, which allegedly are suffering under the authority of the pope: "To us, then, who are submitted to the Roman Babylon, are these words directed; the words that were predicted by Daniel, Christ, Peter, Paul, Judas, and John in the Apocalypse, must be fulfilled among us."¹⁵ The problem is not merely that they have denied the gospel or interpreted it inaccurately, he argues; they have simply "smuggled in" their own additions and impositions next to the words of scripture. Hence, the ordinary language is abused and falsified, including the identity and reference of names like God, Christ, Spirit, Church, and Justice.¹⁶

Daniel warns about a future king who will rely on new, egregious, and powerful weapons, and the decisive feature of this "monstrous king" is, according to Luther's translation from Hebrew, that he will have visions [Latin *facies*].¹⁷ A key question for the kind of historical application Luther aims at is the identification of this monstrous king in the contemporary experience of a crisis. Luther has a particular king in mind, with the following features:

[His weapons] are the visions [*facies*], i.e., external species, appearance, pomp, with another word, through superstitions, rites, ceremonies, what is exposed visually in the form of gowns, food, persons, buildings, gestures, and so on. Among all visions and appearances, there is no more powerful, gracious, and therefore pernicious face than superstition and hypocrisy, which has merely a semblance of piety and superficial religion.¹⁸

After this disgraceful harangue, Luther concludes that the prospective king must be the Antichrist, that is the fiercest adversary of Christ and his kingdom. Moreover, it is hardly a surprise when this "Antichrist" in turn is identified with the pope, or more precisely, not only the pope in person, but the institutionalized papacy. Luther is

¹⁵ "Nos ergo, qui sub Romana Babylone sumus ea verba tangunt, in nobis impleri oportet, quae Daniel, Christus, Petrus, Paulus, Iudas, Ioannes in Apocalypsi praedixerunt." WA 7,725.

¹⁶ Cf. WA 7,719.

¹⁷ Cf. WA 7,728–29. Luther quotes the Hebrew text, which he uses in order to correct Vulgate.

¹⁸ "Quibus ergo? faciebus, id est, externa specie, apparentia, pompa, hoc est, ut uno verbo dicam, superstitionibus, ritibus, cerimoniais, quae ad faciem exponuntur in vestibus, cibis, personis, domibus, gestibus et similibus. Inter omnes enim facies seu apparentias superstitio et hypocrisis, quae est pietatis species et religionis facies, potentissima, gratissima ideoque nocentissima est." WA 7,729.

hardly known as a friendly and respectful opponent, but in the subsequent passages he surpasses himself in a veritable orgy of curses and allegations. Hence, the following exclamation belongs to the *mild* expressions of his anger: “Oh, you idols of this world! May the Lord Jesus annihilate the papacy, the cardinals with all your faces! Deep into the abyss of hell with it! Amen.”¹⁹ Luther is cursing in the form of a prayer and praying in the form of a curse, thus violating the limits of each form of expression in order to achieve a powerful linguistic effect. The most holy representatives of the Church are identified with the idols of the Old Testament and harshly condemned, not only according to the First Commandment, but also according to the annihilating logic of the Apocalypse, anticipating the coming of the Last Judgement.

Destroying the Image of Jerusalem

Luther then proceeds directly from the Book of Daniel to the Book of Revelation and interprets his own times in the light of the twelve “visions” in chapters 8–10 of the Apocalypse.²⁰ The connection is established by the *masked face* [*larvalem faciem*] described in Rev 9, which allegedly refers to the same kind of *false appearance* as prophesied in Dan 8. The twelve visions are seen as testimonies not only against Pope Leo X, but against the very *institution*, thus revealing the true nature of this *ignis fatuus*. The papacy is accused of having put the potency of Satan at the site that *apparently* belongs to Christ.

This application of the Book of Revelation introduces the pattern for how divine authority and judgement is supposed to annihilate the satanic kingdom, a pattern which is full of violent and dramatic images and prophecies. Still, Luther is not prepared to accept a *literal* interpretation of these fantastic images. On the contrary, he warns against killing and bloodshed. The fine distinction emphasized here is extremely significant, but not always accepted by Luther’s contemporaries: the apocalypse is applied in order to interpret and thus better *understand* the contemporary situation of crisis, but the images are nevertheless seen as *images*, and thus they are not applied as an invitation to violence or warfare. The apocalyptic authority of judgement belongs to God – to the *hidden* God – and not to any human power, be it in Babylon, Rome, or Wittenberg.²¹ Hence, it is worth noting that he is not prepared to mobilize military power for the apocalyptic war against the Antichrist. Although he apparently aims at destabilizing or even overthrowing the power of the pope, he wages war with words rather than weapons.

¹⁹ WA 7,740.

²⁰ See WA 7,736–39.

²¹ Cf. WA 7,710.

When Jesus according to John 21:17 tells Peter to tend the sheep, Luther sees this as a demand to Peter's alleged successor to teach the gospel *with a living voice* [*viva vox*]. Yet, in Catharinus's *Apology*, he sees nothing but a defense of the ruling power of the pope *without* the gospel and thus the exercise of "tyranny" and violence in the world.²² This betrayal of Christ equals the work of Judas rather than Peter, he argues. Pope Leo X and the Papists are accused of having abused that power and thereby "distorted" the words and "prostituted" the church.²³ This is the point where Luther brings the passage from Daniel 8 to its full bearing – literally according to the Hebrew rather than the Latin text, as he points out: "A king will stand there, powerful through visions [*facies*]."²⁴

The Latin word *facies* is translated with "visions", but *visibilities* may be a better word, that is the emergence of external *appearances* that cover up the inner devastation of the church, the *waste* land. According to Luther, these *facies* are represented by the visible pomp, hypocrisy, and all the other indicators of the adversary of Christ – in other words the mock appearance of the Antichrist. However, the crucial point is the relationship between Christ and the Antichrist, between being and appearance, whereby the latter is defined as a mendacious image [*mere mendacium*] and thus a mere caricature of the former. This new external image has allegedly *veiled* the image of Christ, and thus the Church has been emptied of its most precious gift: it has become externally impressive but hollow and shallow inside. Thus the argument goes. Appearances such as ceremonies, superstitions, and justice by the works have *replaced* and thereby excluded the original definitions of grace, love, and justice by faith alone, and hence, they cover up and distort the meaning of these words and practices. The hard currency of the word has been devalued by an economy of counterfeit money – a pattern that is recognizable from Luther's critique of indulgences, morality, and metaphysics. The prophecy thus fulfilled is the prophecy of decline and devastation: "He will devastate wonderful things."²⁵

Luther notes with amusement that this sentence may be read in different ways: "Daniel is ambiguous here, so that one either can understand these 'wonderful things' as *things* the king will corrupt or the *deeds* of the king are described as corruptive and as such they are characterized as amazing and incredible."²⁶ This ambiguity is a key point for the whole argument, since it illustrates the *double* face of the monstrous king. On the one hand, he has an impressive appearance through

²² Cf. WA 7,721.

²³ Cf. WA 7,722.

²⁴ "*Stabit rex potens faciebus.*" WA 7,728.

²⁵ "ET MIRABILIA VASTABIT" WA 7,759.

²⁶ "Ambiguus autem est Daniel, ut possint intelligi vel ea mirabilia, quae invadit rex ille ut corrumpat. Vel opera eius, quae perpetrat in corrumpendis illis, ceu res eius gestas apellet mirabiles et incredibiles." WA 7,759.

pomp, cathedrals, and beautiful costumes. On the other hand, he “devastates” the people from within.

Luther’s decisive point is that the prophesied king of visions has submitted the Word of God to his own opinions and prescribed his interpretations for others. His power is seen as *authoritarian* and *totalitarian*, since he rejects and condemns all other voices. Hence, he demands that all people should merely listen and subject themselves to his words. Moreover, he is accused of putting his own power above all others, including Godself, so that “not even God demands with such majesty and power.”²⁷ This boldness is according to Luther the final indication of his *success*, and thus of his insolence (the magnification of his heart) which in the near future will bring him to a fall.

According to Patrick Preston, Ambrosius Catharinus’s polemics has probably served as the “literary origin” of the Counter-Reformation.²⁸ Hence, the controversy plainly invites confessional polemics concerning who is right and wrong in their interpretation of the historical development. The continuation of such debates is hardly relevant today, but it becomes all the more significant to understand their inner dynamic. There are pretensions, pride, and unreasonable allegations on both sides. Still, measured according to literary standards, Luther’s subversive rhetoric is unmatched, exploiting the power of humor, irony, and satire in order to uncover and thus denude the figure of the emperor in his new and holy clothes.²⁹ This is indeed an effective rhetoric against any abuse of power. Having lived under that threat of excommunication and finally been declared an *outlaw*, Luther holds a certain legitimacy as dissident. With bitter irony he points at totalitarian traits of the system that seeks to control the public sphere and silence divergent voices. Luther challenges this authoritarian power in a language which is scornful and ironic. Could it possibly also be perceived as blasphemous? It definitely moves far beyond the limits of conventional academic discourse, at least.

Following the ambiguity of devastation in Daniel, Luther’s critique of images, myths, and idols requires a double approach. On the one hand, there is the power of the world which is growing through success and deceit, yet for Luther this power is only surpassed by the majesty of the hidden God. Hence, the *critical* potential of this notion is at stake. The reader is faced with the exclusive alternatives of scripture: you cannot serve two Lords; you have to serve either God or Mammon (Matt 6:24). Still, the *facies* tend to confuse and thus level the difference between God and idols. Hence, Luther turns to the images of the cornerstone and the cross – figures that target at uncovering and thus *disillusioning* the masks, the monstrosity, and the power

²⁷ “Ne deus quidem ipse tanta maiestate et potentia exigit.” WA 7,778.

²⁸ Preston, “Catharinus Versus Luther, 1521,” 368.

²⁹ Cf. Preston’s significant point: “If in the course of this, Luther revealed a remarkable comic gift, his purpose was nevertheless intensely serious.” Preston, “Catharinus Versus Luther, 1521,” 377.

of the monstrous king, the king of Babylon “in our times.” The separation between two orders of power opens up a space of interpretation and discernment. Luther’s radical critique of power thus follows the pattern of the hidden God in his majesty. However, his most effective and devastating rhetoric is formulated as the *Christological* mockery and subversion of the images of power. Christ is thus the *scandal* who has been devastated and replaced by the monstrous image of the king: he is the (heavenly) king of the true Jerusalem who *destroys* the fake images, the *facies* of Jerusalem in a powerful rhetorical gesture. Luther therefore predicts his imminent return in the form of a stone, that is an iconoclastic destruction of these *appearances* of Jerusalem by the stumbling block – that is, Christ himself.

The apocalyptic visions belong to a contested genre, and Luther gradually turned skeptical to the legitimacy of historical interpretations based on the Book of Revelation. Still, he applies the Book of Daniel in a devastating critique of the papacy and its claims to political power with the authority of representing the *topos* of the New Jerusalem. The “king of visions/faces” is identified with the pope and he counts the four kingdoms as if these visions represented a detailed account of historical events. He also identifies no less than twelve “faces” that prove the alleged hypocrisy, including pageantry, titles of honour, gowns, waste of money, abuse of sacraments, etc.³⁰ In a key passage he even interprets the visions from the Book of Revelation chapter 9 corresponding to highly concrete references in the history of the church.³¹ This is indeed a bold undertaking, although the text betrays that even Luther becomes slightly hesitant when he ventures into concrete interpretations.³² Could we possibly conclude that Luther’s pamphlet against Ambrosius Catharinus indicates a firm belief in the historical accuracy of the apocalyptic visions?

This is a tricky question and the answer is hardly as obvious as may be assumed by Luther’s direct assaults on his opponents. There is little doubt about the earnestness of his concern, yet at the same time the exposition of these texts are kept in a humorous and satirical tone, with correspondingly ironical distance to the imagery described in the apocalyptic visions. Although he argues in favour of a simple, grammatical exegesis of the text, his own interpretation is anything but sober and literal. Therefore, even if these rules are accepted, it remains an open question as to *how* these images and visions ought to be read without completely misinterpreting the genre. Luther thereby transgresses a few conventional limits for academic and public discourse, to put it cautiously.

One thing is to venture into a direct historical application of the texts, thus identifying singular events as predicted in scripture; another is to keep up these visions of the text as a mirror for the contemporary society, in order to identify certain

³⁰ See WA 7,730–36.

³¹ Cf. WA 7,736–39.

³² “Meu hic sensu periclitabor.” WA 7,736–37.

symptoms of power abuse and hypocrisy. Although Luther comes closer to the latter, and thereby differs from Catharinus, he also seems to have a more ambitious goal – to deconstruct a particular reading of Matthew, of Daniel, and of John’s Apocalypse, which supports the status quo and the traditional authority of the papacy in Rome. The *appearance* of Jerusalem is ironically declared “wonderful” in the sense of fulfilling Daniel’s prophecy of decline and devastation: “He will devastate wonderful things.”³³ The God Almighty, who is the hidden God, will according to Luther’s interpretation come to devastate and destroy the wonderful Roman *appearance* of Jerusalem, even if it happens in the Christological sense of a king who arrives on a donkey, who is crucified and suffers, yet who not only speaks, but even reveals and “is” the true Word of God.

Returning to the image from the introduction, Luther refers to the Ark of the Covenant and the two “heads on the stick” indicating where the *secret* of God’s presence is localized. Indeed, this secret is the key to understanding the Jerusalem Code inscribed in Luther’s argument: if the Church preserves this secret in its heart and its words, while listening to its oracle, which ought to be the Holy Spirit, it would still represent the true Jerusalem. Then, God *in Christo* would represent the new Covenant, and thus the divine presence of the New Jerusalem. However, if the pope makes claims to being the *king* and ruler of this New Jerusalem, then the same *topos* will turn into its opposite, Luther argues, and that is nothing less than Satan’s Synagogue in the New Babel. The papal pretense to represent the true Jerusalem would be disclosed as *mere mendacium*. Consequently, Luther argues in a provocative antithesis:

The Pope as sinner is a servant of the Devil.
 The Church of the Pope is the Synagogue of Satan.
 The righteous Christ is the king of justice.
 The Church of Christ is the Community of Saints.³⁴

Luther thus argues effectively for the point of view that these apocalyptic texts have less than nothing to do with ensuring secular power and the suppression of common people through religious authority. On the contrary, these texts are apt to ridicule and shatter such power in an epic rhetorical gesture.

Luther adopts a suspicious approach to the dominant *interpretations* of scripture. His suspicion is directed at the *facies* – the dazzling appearance of power. This suspicion undermines its religious and political foundation by ridiculing its authority. Moreover, Luther suspects a hidden atheism to be the source behind all the marvelous symbols of rites and ceremonies; an atheism which is the result not only of hubris,

³³ “ET MIRABILIA VASTABIT” WA 7,759.

³⁴ “Papa peccator, est minister diabolic / Ecclesia Papae est Synagoga Satanae / Christus iustus, est rex iustitiae. / Ecclesia Christi, est communio sanctorum.” WA 7,712.

but of occupying the place which belongs to Christ and then justifying this occupation with a theory of substitution. A critical description of these *facies* identifies them as idolatry combined with an ideology of power and exploitation, and Luther's hermeneutics of suspicion ends up with a massive critique of this ideology which serves the mere preservation of power.

The apocalyptic text plays a specific role in this textual procedure. It is not merely applied in order to interpret history according to a millennial matrix of events but in a more general sense, unmasking the totalitarian and tyrannical tendencies of papal rule, executed by the system of Canonical Law. By these means, including the authority to interpret scripture, to prescribe laws, to judge perpetrators, and excommunicate political or religious enemies, the ecclesial hierarchy has been able to control and suppress the freedom of expression.³⁵ The economy of retribution instituted by the letters of indulgences is therefore only a symptom of a total system which penetrates everything from political decisions to the power of eternal life and death, or as Luther points out, claims its sphere of sovereignty to apply even over the gates of hell.³⁶

The Book of Daniel and the Book of Revelation play a key role in unmasking what Luther sees as systemic abuse of power. It is exactly as *scripture* that it may achieve the role of "revelation" in this political sense, that is revealing the ruling ideology in its most magnificently devastating form and thus exposing it to laughter. The role of these apocalypses is not primarily *historical* but rather *literary*, like a piece of fiction: with literary devices reminiscent of a modern short story by Franz Kafka or a novel by Milan Kundera, it mirrors the structure of society and ridicules the authority of the powerful. Luther does not shrink from the most blasphemous exclamations. In order to provoke scandal he leaves all scruples behind, producing a text which in its imagery demonstrates a wild masquerade of *facies*, and thereby further develops the fantastic genre of the apocalypse rather than simply adapting it to a schematic theory of historical stages.

The apocalypse serves as a model of political expression, but also as a model of thoughts that subverts the dominant structure of society. Hence, Luther is faithful to the idea of destruction, and in this case, it is the image of Jerusalem that is effectively deconstructed and thus destroyed. What further contributes to the efficacy of the genre in this case is that both adversaries refer to the same texts, although in radically differing interpretations of it. Moreover, Luther is faithful to the authority of the text in the sense that he sees it as a form of divine intervention, indeed, an *invention* of the other: unexpected, terrifying, and revealing the true character of hypocrisy and appearances. Hence, the authority of the powerful is haunted by its own ideological foundation.

³⁵ See the endless accusations of abuses within the Church in Luther, WA 7,762–69.

³⁶ Cf. WA 7,708. et passim.

The genre of apocalypse therefore becomes a paragon of the *critical* function of the *deus absconditus* in Luther's thought. The hidden other surpasses the system of rites and rules, and is thus able to break the system open from within, in a violent but possibly liberating gesture of destruction and grace. Therefore, this is the source of the subversive power of apocalypse, literally understood as 'unveiling' or 'revelation' – its ability to *reveal* the seductive structures and masks of power. If the description is trenchant, even though excessive, Christ becomes the model of massive and overwhelming system criticism from within. Luther is not the first or last theologian to make that point, but it has rarely been done with similar linguistic and rhetorical force.



Fig. 16.1: Title page from *Några wijsor om Antichristum* [Some Songs about the Antichrist] (1536).

Otfried Czaika

Chapter 16

Rome: Jerusalem or Seat of the Antichrist? Lutheran Polemics in Sixteenth-Century Sweden

The following chapter, playing perhaps on Tertullian's famous quip, "What has Athens to do with Jerusalem?" asks the question, "What has Rome to do with Jerusalem – during the Swedish Reformation?" In answer to this question this chapter examines "Some Songs about the Antichrist" 1536, a collection of hymns from the Swedish Reformation, including the historical difficulties associated with such an investigation, and describes a If the abstract is set in italics this should not be in italics, and vice versa. of sorts, which can be observed in these hymns and in the thought and polemic of the Swedish Reformation. Rome is here not described as a second Jerusalem or the new Jerusalem, a holy city. In contrary, Rome is depicted as a depraved place, the unholy city. However, most of the polemical elements which the Reformation used against the Roman Church, the pope, and the papacy had already existed some hundred years before Martin Luther and are thus reappropriated in the polemical writings published during the age of Reformation. "Some Songs about the Antichrist" 1536 thus show that the Jerusalem code still existed during the Scandinavian Reformation, both as an inversion and a reappropriation: the Christian's future hope is not found in a certain place but in the vera doctrina lutherana and the right conduct of life. Although these texts can be anchored in a cultural and theological context, merely deriving from the Middle Ages, they reveal that we do not know much about the context of this publication: we lack information about how and when the different ideas expressed in these polemical songs found their way to Sweden, we do not even know much about the origin of these songs, the author, or the reception of these texts.

Note: This article discusses some central aspects of Otfried Czaika, *Några wijsor om Antichristum [1536] samt handskrivna tillägg. Utgåva med inledande kommentarer* (Stockholm: Skara stiftshistoriska sällskap Finska kyrkohistoriska samfundet, 2019).

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“Some Songs about the Antichrist” 1536 (Några wijsor om Antichristum 1536)

The idea of *translatio*, especially *translatio imperii*¹ and *translatio templi*² was seminal for both the political and religious thinking of the Middle Ages. According to this thinking the Roman Empire was translated in the West to Charlemagne and later to the German emperors. Even the temple was translated – to Rome. Rome thus became the spiritual successor of Jerusalem. The translation of both political and religious power consequently produced a coherent line: while the emperor was the heir of the Roman rulers, the pope was interconnected with the Holy Land and Jerusalem through the apostles Sts Peter and Paul and was so able to claim the religious leadership. Rome was thus the place where in mediaeval thinking worldly and religious power met: the elected Roman emperors had to travel to Rome where they received the coronation through the pope.

Translatio imperii and *translatio templi* thus reveal the positive connotations of the eternal city. However, these positive connotations are just one side of the story. Jerusalem was – according to the Book of Revelation – even the place where the Antichrist occurred. Even the idea of the Antichrist was transmitted during the Middle Ages: to Rome and the Pope. While it is well known that Luther and other reformers described the pope as the Antichrist, it is less well known that this polemic had a long medieval tradition and that the idea of the Pope as the Antichrist was even transferred to the Swedish Reformation which (like the other Nordic reformations) has often been described as slower, more conservative, and less irascible than the reformations in Central Europe.

The Way of the Antichrist to Sweden

The discourse on the Antichrist and the concept of the pope as the Antichrist personified is assuredly not the most important theological *topos* of the Reformation. In fact, the idea that any living person, much less the pope as the head of the Roman Church, is the Antichrist was not even new. The Antichrist-discourse goes back to Adso de Montier-en-Der (c.910–92), whose work, *Epistola Adsonis ad Gerbergam*

¹ Werner Goetz, *Translatio Imperii: Translatio Imperii: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Geschichtsdenkens und der politischen Theorien im Mittelalter und in der frühen Neuzeit* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1958).

² For this see: Eivor Andersen Oftestad, *The Lateran Church in Rome and the Ark of the Covenant: Housing the Holy Relics of Jerusalem* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2019); and Chapter 3 (Eivor Andersen Oftestad), vol. 1, 49–55 of this series.

reginam de ortu et tempore antichristi,³ is a sort of biography of the Antichrist which became part of the medieval collective religious memory. Some two centuries after its appearance, Joachim de Fiore (c.1130/1135–1202) talked about the coming of the mystical Antichrist. The Spiritual Franciscans of the thirteenth century identified first the German emperor, and afterwards Joachim de Fiore identified the pope as the Antichrist. These ideas (among others) were then conveyed to the sixteenth century through both the frustration surrounding the Avignon Papacy and the church critique of John Wycliff (d. 1348) and Jan Hus (d. 1404).⁴

The notion that the papacy represented the personified Antichrist, an idea which was neither new nor peripheral to the Swedish Reformation, is demonstrable from the different texts of the polemical songs *Några wjsor om Antichristum* [“Some Songs about Antichrist”],⁵ published in Sweden during the 1530s (Fig. 16.1). Their repeated printing and survival, at least until the seventeenth century, further emphasizes this point. We also encounter polemic about the Antichrist in other texts such as the oeuvre of the Finnish reformer Mikael Agricola.⁶ The depiction of the Antichrist observed in his writings is clearly related to the same strains of exegetical interpretation. Yet another text, a hand-written anonymous pasquill from the late 1570s,⁷ demonstrates a highly elaborate post-tridentine Antichrist polemic. We see similar argumentation in *Historia Liturgica* (1588) by Abraham Andreae Angermannus (1540–1607)⁸—Angermannus being one of the most prominent opponents against the unclear confessional position of King John III (1537–92).

3 Daniel Verhelst, ed., *S. Adso Dervensis: De ortu et tempore antichristi*, CCCM 45 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1976).

4 Ingvild Richardsen-Friedrich, *Antichrist-Polemik in der Zeit der Reformation und der Glaubenskämpfe bis Anfang des 17. Jahrhunderts* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2003), 59–77; Gustav Adolph Benrath, “Antichrist III: Alte Kirche und Mittelalter,” TRE 1, 24–48; Gottfried Seebaß, “Antichrist IV: Reformations- und Neuzeit,” TRE 1, 28–30; Hans Preuss, *Die Vorstellung vom Antichrist im späteren Mittelalter, bei Luther und in der konfessionellen Polemik* (Leipzig: Hinrichs’sche Buchhandlung, 1906); Volker Leppin, *Transformationen: Studien zu den Wandlungsprozessen in Theologie und Frömmigkeit zwischen Spätmittelalter und Reformation* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2015), 482–84.

5 *Några wjsor einfaldeliga vtsatta for them som lust haffua at quädha eller höra om Antichristum och hans wesende* (Stockholm: Kungliga Bocktryckeriet, 1536).

6 The work of the Finnish reformer Mikael Agricola is available in Mikael Agricola, *Mikael Agricolan teokset, uudistettu näköispainos* (Porvoo: W. Söderström, 1987).

7 “En lithen wnderwijsning fwl medh Papisters wilfarelser, ther hwar och en Christen skall taga sigh wara före. Stelt på rijm till Antichristi präst Húru han schall stella sit handell wthi wercket”, in Terhi Kiiskinen, ed., *Fem källor från den svenska reformationstiden i Finland. Viisi Ruotsin reformaatioajan lähdeitä Suomessa* (Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 2010), 286–96.

8 Laurentius Petri and Abraham Andreae Angermannus, *Refutatio erroris Herbesti de consecratione sacramenti eucharistici* (Hamburg: Heinrich Binder, 1588). [VD16 P 1775].

As polemical texts from the Swedish Reformation have not garnered much attention, a closer look at *Några wijsor om Antichristum* may be instructive. These polemical texts from the early reformation in the Swedish Empire illustrate how the discourse on the Antichrist was staged in Northern Europe and how critique of Rome, the papacy, and the dogmas of the Roman Church was expressed.

Oh Rome! – The Unholy City: Rome as an Anti-Jerusalem

The first song of *Några wijsor om Antichristum*, and thus the opening of the entire publication, begins with the exclamation: “Oh Rome, look how you are faring now” (“O Rom går thet nu så med tich”). In the end, the implication of this rhetorical question leaves just one possible answer: “It goes disastrously with you, Rome!” Simultaneously, the reader finds himself *medias in res*, in the papal city of Rome with all of the religious disputes between the reformers and representatives of the Roman Church during the 1520s and 1530s.

The Antichrist’s advent, for Adso de Montier-en-Der and the medieval mainstream, was clearly related to the Holy City, Jerusalem. It was there, according to Adso, that the final, apocalyptic battle would take place and the archangel Michael would defeat the Antichrist. During the Middle Ages the notion of Jerusalem as the Holy City was transferred to Rome. Architecture was one of the ways this was illustrated. For example, the columns in St Peter’s Church in Rome were supposed to originate from King Salomon’s temple in Jerusalem.⁹ This *translatio* of artefacts, ideas and, not least importantly, the claim of religious leadership to the papal city of Rome was easily turned upside-down by those who opposed the primacy of the pope. For those who criticized the papacy and claimed that the pope was not the head of the holy church but was in fact the Antichrist, it was a logical consequence to claim that Rome, and not Jerusalem, was the place in which the Antichrist would appear and where the apocalyptic events of the end time would take place. The image of the pope as Antichrist thus also implied the idea of the *translatio*, yet a *translatio* of Jerusalem’s negative connotations of Rome.

However, the question of whether Rome was an “unholy” city is much older than the polemic of the Reformation, medieval church critique, or the *translatio* conception of Rome as Jerusalem. After the sack of Rome by the Visigoths and their king Alaric in 410, church father Augustine discussed in his sermon *De urbis excidio* the question of

⁹ “It became accepted belief that these columns in St Peter’s had belonged to Solomon’s Temple itself.” Margaret Aston, *Broken Idols of the English Reformation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 317. Cf. Louis L. Martz, *From Renaissance to Baroque: Essays on Literature and Art* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1991), 218.

why God was willing to spare Sodom but not Rome. Augustine questioned: were there not even ten righteous people living in Rome?¹⁰ Despite such questioning, Augustine refused any comparison of Sodom and Rome. He claimed instead that many, in fact, survived the sack of Rome and that what happened in 410 was a trial rather than complete destruction.

Paulus Orosius (c.385–418) whom Augustine advised to write *Historiae adversum Paganos* [*History against the Pagans*] claimed, in contrast to Augustine, that the fate of Sodom was comparable with the sack of Rome. The conquest of Rome was, according to Orosius, an explicit warning and admonition mainly directed to the pagans living in Rome. Orosius emphasized this argument through the claim that the Roman bishop, Innocentius, was able to escape from Rome to Ravenna and therefore did not witness the sack of the city. Thus, Orosius's *Historiae adversum Paganos* builds a dichotomy amongst the pagans: between the non-Christians who, on the one hand, have the wrong faith, and the Christians, on the other hand, who possess the right faith.¹¹

This dialectical relation – Rome either as the Holy City, the new (perhaps even heavenly) Jerusalem and the unholy, secularized, corrupt, depraved, in the end non-Christian or even diabolical city – shaped the notion of Rome during more than a millennium after Orosius.

To this latter grouping also belongs the notion of the *Whore of Babylon* (deriving from the Book of Revelation 17–19). This idea, yet another description of the “unholy” city, also plays a vital role in the polemic expressed in *Några wijsor om Antichristum*. Could it be that already the author of the Book of Revelation had the city of Rome in his mind when he introduced the speech of the *Whore of Babylon*? In any case, in the centuries after the Revelation was composed, the *Whore of Babylon* did indeed become a metaphor for Rome.¹² This metaphor was used during the entire Middle Ages and the corresponding “destruction of Rome was expected in different ways”.¹³

This negative *translatio* we find once again as the Spiritual Franciscans compare Rome with the *Whore of Babylon*. During the thirteenth century in a work titled *Lectura super Apocalipsim*, the Franciscan Petrus Johannis Olivi (1247/48–96/98) described the Church as an adulteress. Genuine Christians had – according to Olivi –

10 Uta Heil, “Was hat Rom mit Sodom und Gomorra zu tun? De excidio urbis Romae und andere heilsgeschichtliche Katastrophen”, in *Geschichte und Gott. XV. europäischer Kongress für Theologie (14.–18. September 2014 in Berlin)*, eds. Michael Meyer-Blanck and Laura Schmitz (Leipzig: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 2016), 518–40.

11 Heil, “Was hat Rom mit Sodom und Gomorra zu tun?”, 518–40.

12 Ulrike Sals, “Die Biographie der ‘Hure Babylon’: Studien zur Intertextualität der Babylon-Texte in der Bibel,” *Forschungen zum Alten Testament, Reihe 2* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2004), passim.

13 Andreas Fuhr, *Machiavelli und Savonarola. Politische Rationalität und politische Prophetie* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1985), 68.

already spiritually abandoned the Church; it was only a question of time before they would abandon the Church as an institution as well. The old Roman Church would soon be replaced with a new church in which only the elect would be members. Olivi expected an imminent arrival of the end time – according to his expectation, the final age would begin in the year 1300. At that time the Antichrist would arrive and destroy Babylon, that is the sinful city of Rome. Olivi's *Lectura super Apocalipsim* thus connected the apocalyptic notion of the *Whore of Babylon* with Rome. Furthermore, Olivi accused the Roman Church of being politicized, secularized, and totally depraved as a whole. He likewise expressed the thought that the bishop of Rome (that is the pope) was a heretic because he had not followed the gospel preached by the holy Francis.¹⁴

During the age of Reformation, the notion of Rome as the *Whore of Babylon* was re-actualized. The French Reformer François Lambert claimed in his polemical publications of the early 1520s that Rome was the *Whore of Babylon* about which Chapter 17 of the Book of Revelation spoke. This enemy – according to Lambert – had to be defeated. Moreover, Rev 17 revealed the pope to be the Antichrist.¹⁵

For Adso of Montier-en-Der, the final, eschatological drama, the arrival of Antichrist, would take place in Jerusalem. Yet, the medieval and early modern Antichrist polemic transferred this event to Rome. Rome was the *Whore of Babylon* and the pope the Antichrist. Here once again we encounter a sort of *translatio*-thinking. While the Roman Church claimed that both the hegemony of the old Roman Empire and the claim of religious leadership once connected to Jerusalem had been transferred to Rome and its bishop, the medieval and early modern Church critique claimed that this transfer was especially true for the negative connotations of Rome and Jerusalem.

The idea of the unholy city, refused by Augustine and staged by Orosius, established a framework which is along the lines of *Några wjisor om Antichristum*. This framework does, however, represent a discourse which was repeatedly reformulated during the Middle Ages and which also became a part of the age of the Reformation: even Martin Luther addressed in his Genesis lectures the idea of the destruction of Jerusalem, respectively Rome, as God's punishment.¹⁶ Last but not least, this idea made its way into the polemical songs collected in *Några wjisor om Antichristum*.

¹⁴ Warren Lewis, "Freude, Freude! Die Wiederentdeckung der Freude im 13. Jahrhundert. Olivis 'Lectura super Apocalipsim' als Blick auf die Endzeit," in *Ende und Vollendung: Eschatologische Perspektiven im Mittelalter*, eds. Jan Aertsen and Martin Pickavé (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2002), 657–86.

¹⁵ Johannes Schilling, *Klöster und Mönche in der Hessischen Reformation*, Quellen und Forschungen zur Reformationsgeschichte (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 1997), 150–60. See also Hubert Jedin, *Kirche des Glaubens, Kirche der Geschichte*, vol. 1 (Freiburg im Brisgau: Herder, 1966), 144.

¹⁶ See Luther's commentary on Gen 4:16 (WA 42,228–29); Chapter 1 (Eivor Andersen Oftestad), 21–23.

Moreover, even the idea that Rome was the *Whore of Babylon* and that the Pope was the Antichrist can be found – complete with other well-known antipapal metaphors of the Middle Ages¹⁷ – *expressis verbis* in the first three songs against the Antichrist published in Stockholm in or around the year 1536.¹⁸

Några wijsor om Antichristum *and the European Background*

The polemic found in *Några wijsor om Antichristum* cannot be separated from the dogmatic controversies between the Roman Church and the reformers. The first two songs address what was most central for Martin Luther and the Reformation: the clear and pure word of God. This, according to the reformers, had been darkened by *menniskios dict* “human invention”. The pope serves as *pars pro toto* for the Roman Church: *Scrifften haffuer tu oss förwendt* (“You [the pope] have falsified Scripture”). Martin Luther is, in contrast, described as *ringa man/[som] gudz ord haffuer han j munne* (“a humble man, who has the word of God on his tongue”) and therefore achieves what otherwise would have been impossible: the defeat of Rome. The final redemption of the world from *påuans wold* (“the pope’s violence”), however, would come only in the end from God alone and through Christ’s salvation. As well, the righteousness of works and indulgences is addressed and refuted as heresy: *Sydena med sijn stora krafft / förgaff tu swårliga monga* (“Sin with its great might, you have forgiven extremely many [people]”).

While the themes discussed in *Några wijsor om Antichristum* are a part of the common repertoire associated with the theological controversies of the 1520s and 1530s, and although they were reformulated repeatedly in many polemical pasquills and theological tracts,¹⁹ it has unfortunately not been possible to identify direct *Vorlagen* to the first three polemical songs printed in *Några wijsor om Antichristum*. All that can really be said is that these songs follow the well-known polemical

¹⁷ E.g. *affgud (idol), ullfuer (wolf), wildiwr (beast)*.

¹⁸ “Sy man haffuer dyrkat for gud / och giordt mykin prijs och äro / then stora Babilonis brudh / ther med sinne falska läre / haffuer bemengdt / och mongom skenkt / aff the iorderikes förster / betuingat mong / och giordt stort twong / och ingen man betröstat. / Unger gammal quinna och man / thet skole j weta alle / at Jesabel med Babilon hon är nw nidher fallen / som sat j prijs / och hlt sich wijs / och giorde sich mykit stolta / j sitt hoghmodh / emoot gudz budh / ty är hennes stooł försmolten[.]” *Några wijsor eenfaldeliga vtsatta for them som lust haffua at quädha eller höra om Antichristum och hans wesende*, A iiv.

¹⁹ Oskar Schade’s collection of polemical literature from the age of Reformation provides some examples for that: Oskar Schade, *Satiren und Pasquille aus der Reformazionzeit* (Hannover: Carl Rümpler, 1863), 3–65, 27–37; *Satiren und Pasquille aus der Reformationszeit*, revised 2nd ed., vol. 2 (Hannover: Carl Rümpler, 1863), 176, 226–28ff.

repertoire aimed at the Roman Church and what were viewed to be its heresies. Nevertheless, we can note that the polemical repertoire in these Swedish texts is smaller than the wide variety contained in the pasquills from Central Europe. In Luther's writings, for example, the religious enemies were sometimes described as "Turks," enemies of the true faith. Lutherans were also sometimes labelled as "Turks" by representatives of the Roman Church.²⁰ Polemical texts from Central Europe also commonly accused their religious opponents of sexual misconduct. This phenomenon is likewise not found in the Swedish texts of *Några wijsor om Antichristum* – a minor selection of texts such as *Några wijsor om Antichristum* never represents the entirety of all motifs connected with a particular genre. Both the literary and print cultures were quite restrained in Sweden during the sixteenth century. Thus, a comparison of an extant corpus of texts from the German-language area with the small textual base from Sweden is not a proper approach. It is therefore not astonishing that not all ingredients of the polemical repertoire can be found in *Några wijsor om Antichristum*. However, later polemical texts such as a handwritten Swedish pasquill from the late 1570s²¹ clearly prove that even Swedish texts could be much more elaborate and contain a broader dogmatic, rhetorical, and polemical perspective than is commonly assumed.

The last song *En nunnos ursegt* ("A Nun's Excuse") reveals – in contrast to the first three texts – an intertextual relationship connecting it to a medieval genre, the so-called *Nonnenklage*²² or *planctus monialis*.²³ In the medieval texts, a nun living

20 Amongst others: WA 3,610; WA 5,339. For this see also: Johannes Ehmann, "Luther, Türken und Islam: Eine Untersuchung zum Türken- und Islambild Martin Luthers (1515–1546)," in *Quellen und Forschungen zur Reformationsgeschichte* (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 2008); Leppin, *Transformationen*, 481 ff; Thomas Kaufmann, "Türckenbüchlein": *Zur christlichen Wahrnehmung "Türkischer Religion" in Spätmittelalter und Reformation*, *Forschungen zur Kirchen- und Dogmengeschichte* 97 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2008), 42–55; Leticia Alvarez-Rocio and Bradley L. Drew, *Fighting the Antichrist: A Cultural History of Anti-Catholicism in Tudor England*, *Rameras De Babilonia: Historia Cultural Del Anticaticolismo En La Inglaterra Tudor* [Orig. pub. as *Rameras De Babilonia: Historia Cultural del Anticaticolismo en la Inglaterra Tudor*] (Brighton: Sussex Academic Press, 2011), 20–21, 27–28 ff.

21 "En lithen wnderwijsning fwl medh Papisters wilfarelser, ther hwar och en Christen skall taga sigh wara före. Stelt på rijm till Antichristi präst Húru han schall stella sit handell wthi wercket", in Kiiskinen, *Fem källor från den svenska reformationstiden i Finland*, 286–96.

22 Wolfgang Menzel, *Deutsche Dichtung von der ältesten bis auf die neueste Zeit*, vol. 2 (Stuttgart: Krabbe, 1859), 37–38.

23 Susanne Fritsch-Staar, *Unglückliche Ehefrauen: zum deutschsprachigen Malmariée-Lied*, *Philologische Studien und Quellen* 134 (Berlin: E. Schmidt, 1995), 121; Karl Goedeke, *Grundriss zur Geschichte der deutschen Dichtung aus den Quellen: Viertes Buch: Von der Reformation bis zum dreissigjährigen Kriege* (Berlin, 2011). See as well, *Poesia Latina Medievale*, ed. Giuseppe Vecchi (Parma: Guanda, 1958), 282; Hennig Brinkmann, *Geschichte der lateinischen Liebesdichtung im Mittelalter*, Reihe Libelli 147, 2nd revised edition., (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1979), 9; *Antología del latin cristiano y medieval: Introducción y textos*, ed. José Martínez Gàzquez and Rubén Florio (Bahia Blanca: Universidad Nacional del Sur, 2006), 96–99; Annette Kern-Stähler,

against her will in a monastery laments her fate and longs for sexual fulfillment with her beloved outside the monastery's walls. *En nunnos ursegt* transforms this discourse. Now, instead of worldly love, the nun's longing is for the evangelical life in accordance with Scripture and especially with God's command expressed in the first two chapters of Genesis. Secondly, it is possible to identify two German songs from the sixteenth century which clearly reveal a strong textual relationship with *En nunnos ursegt*. Not only is the narrative the same in these German texts, but even much of the wording represents nothing other than a translation. Both German texts are found in a *Liederbuch* (songbook) containing a collection of worldly songs in the vernacular. Moreover, both songbooks are themselves younger than *En nunnos ursegt*, which was first published in 1530²⁴ and again in *Några wijsor om Antichristum* (1536). The *Ambraser Liederbuch* (1582)²⁵ contains as song no. 109 *Ach Gott, wem soll ichs klagen. Ein Klaglied einer Klosterjungfrauen*.²⁶ An older version of this text, printed in 1531 in Zwickau, is found in the collection *Bergkreien*.²⁷

The fact remains, however, that songs printed in songbooks are usually part of an older oral, possibly even handwritten, tradition. Thus, the year of publication does not give us an adequately clear understanding as to the date of the composition of these texts. As was the case with the Swedish song, the German versions also clearly reformulate the ideas of the Reformation. Their claim is that monastery life is inferior to marriage and those who live in monasteries are tricked by the false doctrine of the Roman Church. It is therefore clear that all three texts, even if they utilize some pre-reformation components, were written after the Reformation.

En nunnos ursegt does not represent a translation of one of these German texts preserved in *Bergkreien* and *Ambraser Liederbuch*. The actual situation is rather more complex. The German variants of this text turn out to be more closely related to each other than to the Swedish version, which was, however, the first one to be printed.

"Zur Klausur von Nonnen in englischen Frauenklöstern des späten Mittelalters: Die Lincolner Visitation Returns 1429–1449," in *Studien und Texte zur literarischen und materiellen Kultur der Frauenklöster im späten Mittelalter*, eds. Eva Schlotheuber and Volker Honemann Falk Eisermann, *Studies in Medieval and Reformation Thought* 99 (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 103–18.

²⁴ *Några gudliga visor: den äldsta svenska psalmboken*, ed. Erik Person (Göteborg: Centrum, 1937); Olavus Petri, *Samlade Skrifter*, ed. Bengt Hesselmann, vol. 2 (Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1915), 561–69.

²⁵ Joseph Bergmann, ed., *Das Ambraser Liederbuch vom Jahre 1582* (Hildesheim: Olm, 1962).

²⁶ Albrecht Classen, *Deutsche Liederbücher des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts*. *Volksliedstudien* 1 (Münster: Waxmann, 2001), 28–61; Albrecht Classen, ed., *Deutsche Frauenlieder des fünfzehnten und sechzehnten Jahrhunderts: Authentische Stimmen in der deutschen Frauenliteratur der Frühneuzeit oder Vertreter einer poetischen Gattung (das "Frauenlied")?* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1999).

²⁷ *Etlche hubsche bergkreien / geistlich vnd weltlich zusammen gebracht* (Zwickau: Wolfgang Meyerpeck d.Ä., 1531). [VD16 E 4065]. New editions of this songbook were printed 1533 and 1536 in Zwickau and 1537 in Nuremberg. Hans Rupprich, *Geschichte der deutschen Literatur von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart, Band 4, Teil 2: Die Deutsche Literatur vom späten Mittelalter bis zum Barock, T. 2. Das Zeitalter der Reformation: 1520–1570* (München: Beck, 1973), 241.

Even if not impossible, it seems to be implausible that a Swedish song was used as a *Vorlage* for the German variants. To me the most likely solution is that an older German version of this song was in existence, which was then transferred, for example though German burghers in Stockholm or German tradesman, to a Swedish-speaking context. This older German version, then, would also have been the *Vorlage* for the songs printed in *Bergkreien* and *Ambraser Liederbuch*.

En nunnos ursegt does not explicitly refer to the Antichrist. It is generally much less polemical than the first three songs and offers a strikingly concrete example of the new, evangelical life – not an allegorical description of the deceptions of the Roman Church and its leader. This last song thus gives an explanation of one of the Reformation's most important topoi: the critique against monastic life and celibacy connected with the reformer's teachings about marriage and sexuality. However, both the title of *Några wijsor om Antichristum* and the first three songs reveal that monastic life and celibacy have to be understood as part of the false doctrine of Rome and the Antichrist. In some way, the narrative of *Några wijsor om Antichristum* can be understood as a climax. First, the Antichrist and his nature (*wesende* in the full title of the print) is presented through three songs. Finally, one of the most important questions for the Reformation is addressed: monastic vows. This fits with the picture we have of monastic life in Sweden around the year 1530 – it was an institution under pressure. Olaus Petri had criticized it, King Gustav Vasa restrained the cloisters and, finally and most importantly, monks and nuns abandoned their convents – all of this in rapid succession.²⁸ Indeed, with respect to the Roman Antichrist, monastic life and celibacy become one of his chief marks, the epitome of Rome as the unholy city.

Några wijsor om Antichristum: Translation in Time, Space – and in the Brain of the Researchers

The polemical songs of *Några wijsor om Antichristum* reveal an elaborated network of different *translationes*: firstly, the idea that Rome might not be the Holy City, but the unholy is transferred from the early Church's interpretation of the Book of Revelation via Augustine and Orosius to the Middle Ages. The image of the unholy city of Rome was merged with the notion of the personified Antichrist, deriving from Adso de Montier-en-Der's tractate and emphasized among others by the spiritual Franciscans. This translation over time shows in fact that the history of

²⁸ “Most of the mendicant houses were depopulated during the later half of the 1520s and earlier half of the 1530s.” Martin Berntson, *Klostren och reformationen. Upplösningen av kloster och konvent i Sverige 1523–1596* (Skellefteå: Norma, 2003), 342.

(religious) ideas needs the view of the *longue durée*: when Luther and other reformers claim at the beginning of the sixteenth century that Rome is a depraved city and the pope the Antichrist, they are in fact reformulating a criticism which has roots at least more than thousand years earlier.

Secondly, we can observe that there is in fact a translation, most probably from German vernacular poetry (the songs printed in *Bergkreien* and *Ambraser Liederbuch*, which probably had the same *Vorlage* as *En nunnos ursegt*), showing that there is as well a translation in time, from worldly medieval songs to religious polemics in the sixteenth century. This fact even proves that there is an interaction between texts deriving from Central Europe and polemical writing in Sweden during the age of reformation. This circumstance is in fact very interesting as many researchers in recent decades have downplayed the importance of the cultural transfer from Central Europe for the Reformation in Sweden.²⁹

But, this second circumstance even shows the black holes facing historians dealing with Scandinavian history around the year 1500. In fact, in respect to *Några wijsor om Antichristum*, we do not just lack information about how and when the different ideas expressed in these polemical songs found their way to Sweden, we also know little about the origin of these songs, the author, or the wider context and usage during the early reformation in Sweden. Most likely *Några wijsor om Antichristum* was published in 1536. It survived in a mere two copies, each representing a different edition. This fact alone exemplifies the extremely low level of transmission for written and printed artefacts.³⁰

Några wijsor om Antichristum illustrates, in fact, how little we know about the Swedish Reformation. The four polemical songs comprising this print were published anonymously, though the first letters of the different stanzas of the first song reveal the name Olaf Suensson. On this basis, Isak Collijn concluded that the song's author was a man of the same name who worked as a scribe in Stockholm during the late 1520s and 1530s³¹ – however, this is a matter of debate. Assuming the name implies

29 An overview over the different interpretations of the Swedish reformation is provided in the following publications: Otfried Czaika, "Die Reformation in Schweden, ein Forschungsrückblick und Diskussionsbeitrag," *Historisches Jahrbuch der Görres-Gesellschaft* (2004); Otfried Czaika, "Melanchthon Neglectus: Das Melanchthonbild im Schatten der schwedischen Lutherrenaissance," *Historisches Jahrbuch der Görres-Gesellschaft* (2009); Otfried Czaika, "Entwicklungslinien der Historiographie zu Reformation und Konfessionalisierung in Skandinavien seit 1945," *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* 100 (2009); Otfried Czaika, Prolegomena zur frühneuzeitlichen Geschichte Skandinaviens: Zur Periodisierungsdiskussion frühneuzeitlicher Geschichte und Quellenlage," in *Reformatio Baltica. Kulturwirkungen der Reformation in den Metropolen des Ostseeraums*, eds. Johann Anselm Steiger, Axel E. Walter, and Heinrich Assel (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2018).

30 Isak Collijn, *Sveriges bibliografi intill år 1600*, vol. 1, Skrifter (Uppsala: Svenska litteratursällskapet, 1934–38), 41–43.

31 *Ibid.*, 41; Olav D. Schalín, "En ny variant av 1536 års svenska psalmbok," *Nordisk tidskrift för bok- och biblioteksväsen* 20/1933 (1933); Collijn, *Sveriges bibliografi*, 1:368–70.

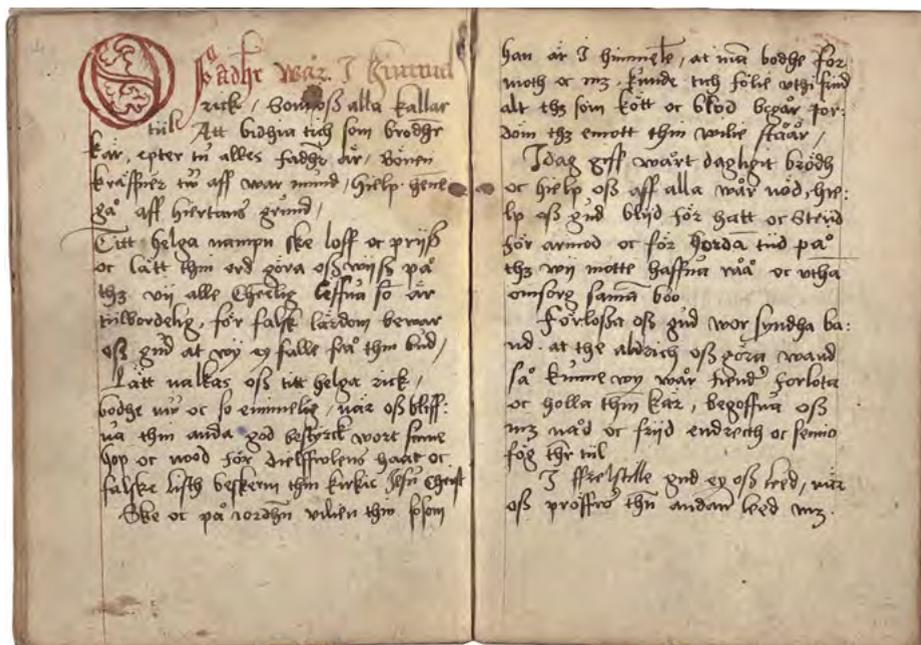


Fig. 16.2: *Några wijsor om Anthichristum* Stockholm, with the Lord's Prayer in Swedish (*O fadher wår i himmelrick*) (unpaginated pages 4–6).

authorship, its occurrence in the first song does not necessitate that Suensson was the author of all four songs. Furthermore, the name could have been a secret dedication to Olaf Suensson, the possible Maecenas of this publication.

Not only do we have the difficulty of establishing authorship, we also lack any firm data proving that the two editions of *Några wijsor om Antichristum* were actually printed in 1536. As the year of publication is found neither on the title page nor in a *colophonium*, the actual evidence is circumstantial at best. Both unique copies of this work survived in *Sammelbänden* or *colligates*.³² Both colligates contain several hand-written texts (Fig. 16.2) and two other works printed in 1536: the first Swedish hymnal (*Swenske songer*) and a Swedish translation of the psalms of King David (*Davids psaltare*). It is on this circumstantial basis that book historians have concluded that *Några wijsor om Antichristum* was also published in 1536. Nevertheless, the two editions of this work might have been printed several years earlier or later and might well have been bound together in 1536 or sometime thereafter. Thus, the case made for the printing date is anything but certain.

³² The first has survived in a colligate presently owned by the Swedish National Library (*Kungliga biblioteket*) in Stockholm, the second in the archive of Taivassalo parish in southwestern Finland.

Additionally, we lack any sources indicating how many copies were printed and which of the two editions was published first. At a minimum, it is certain that the preserved copies represent two very similar yet separate editions. Minor textual variants and typographical modifications spread over the whole work prove that the entire text was re-typed, thus demonstrating that the book market demanded more copies than were initially produced.

The third *translatio* of *Några wijsor om Antichristum* can be observed in the research history, and in fact it can nearly be described as a negation of translation.

Book historians, and even hymnologists, have been aware of the existence of these polemical songs, but, as pointed out above, not only the Swedish but even the other Scandinavian reformations has often been described as slower, more conservative, and less irascible than the reformations in Central Europe. This view of the Scandinavian reformations is, however, only partly true. In fact, polemical texts or radical tendencies in the Scandinavian reformations have often been overlooked as they did not fit into the national and theological narratives of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.³³

Among other discourses, one finds this tendency in Nathan Söderblom's idea of "evangelical catholicity."³⁴ This, along with his work on mysticism and Martin Luther,³⁵ influenced the interpretation of the Swedish Reformation as being more conservative (that is "catholic") and less radical than other reformations in Europe.

Nevertheless, as was the case with other reformations, more polemical and even radical voices could also be heard in Sweden. One example of this is found with the radical reformer Melchior Hoffmann. After his Baltic adventures in Dorpat (Tartu) and Reval (Tallinn), Hoffmann visited Stockholm in the mid-1520s.³⁶ Before he was expelled from the country, he published a polemical print in Stockholm offering an interpretation of the twelfth chapter of the prophet Daniel.³⁷ This was by no means an isolated incident. Radical tendencies can be observed in Stockholm even after Hoffmann's expulsion, at least in the atmosphere of the German-speaking milieu.³⁸

33 Czaika, "Prolegomena zur frühneuzeitlichen Geschichte skandinaviens," 884–87, 96–901.

34 Nathan Söderblom, "Evangelische Katholizität," in *Christliche Frömmigkeit und Konfessionen*, eds. Dietz Lange, Nathan Söderblom (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2012). Note that the concept of "evangelical catholicity" served as an instrument to further his ecumenical ambitions.

35 Dietz Lange, *Nathan Söderblom und seine Zeit* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2011), 145–48ff.

36 Klaus Deppermann, *Melchior Hofmann. Soziale Unruhen und Apokalyptische Visionen im Zeitalter der Reformation* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1979).

37 Melchior Hoffmann, "Das Xij Capitel Des Prophetē Danielis Außgelegt" (Stockholm: Kungliga Boktryckeriet, 1526).

38 Emil Schieche, *Die Anfänge der deutschen St. Gertruds-Gemeinde zu Stockholm im 16. Jahrhundert* (Münster: Böhlau, 1952), 22–30.

In Finland (part of the Swedish Empire until 1809) Sabbatarians appeared in the 1550s.³⁹ The presence of these Sabbatarians illustrates a central problem historians have with the history of reformation in Scandinavia – the lack of sources. Aside from one single source naming the Sabbatarians, no other information exists about this radical group in Finland.

Knowing that *Några wijsor om Antichristum* was printed in two very similar editions, we may rightfully say that these polemical texts about the Roman Antichrist, printed in or around 1536, represent a kind of bestseller – at least by Scandinavian proportions. Three of the four polemical songs⁴⁰ had appeared previously in the 1530 song book, *Några gudelige visor (Some Godly Songs)*.⁴¹ The text from 1530 remains, however, unaccounted for and only the fact that these songs were a part of this print is known to us. Later, in 1572 *Några wijsor om Antichristum* were compiled with some other religious songs and printed again.⁴² The first of the songs about Antichrist, *O Rom går thet nu så med tich*, survived until the seventeenth century as a part of Swedish hymnals.⁴³

These polemical texts thus prove that they are not only a translation of ideas deriving from the Bible, the Old Church, and the Middle Ages, but these texts themselves were even transferred to later prints and were a part of other polemical and even more radical tendencies which can be observed at least punctual during the Swedish reformation. Thus these texts serve as well as a critical corrective that enriches our understanding of the Swedish reformation.

Last but not least *Några wijsor om Antichristum* illustrate the main problem confronting historians dealing with medieval and early modern Scandinavia – the sources we have are incomplete and punctual. It may be that punctual sources telling about resistance against the reformation or those expressing more radical and polemical tendencies of the reformation are simply punctual. But it could even be that these sources are paradigms and thus give us insights into what was characteristic

39 P. A. Norstedt, ed., *Gvr – Gustav Vasas Registratur [= Konung Gustaf den förstes registratur]*, ed. Johan Axel Almquist, vol. 24 (Stockholm: Norstedt, 1861–1916), 465–69. For this see as well: Jason Lavery, *Reforming Finland: The Diocese of Turku in the Age of Gustav Vasa 1523–1560*, Studies in Medieval and Reformation Traditions 210 (Leiden: Brill, 2018), 171–73.

40 *O Rom går thet nu så med tich* [Oh Rome, how does it go for you now]; *En nunnos ursegt* [A nun's excuse]; *Gud fadher wilie wij prijsa* [God the father we want to praise].

41 Collijn, *Sveriges bibliografi*, 1:362–64.

42 Laurentsson, ed., *Någhra Andeliga Wijsor: Simeons Loffsong, Luc. Ij* (Stockholm: Amund Laurentsson, 1572); Collijn, *Sveriges bibliografi*, 1:406.

43 Collijn, *Sveriges bibliografi*, 1:449–54; “Nyfunna tryck av Torbjörn Tidemansson,” *Nordisk tidskrift för bok- och biblioteksväsen* 17/1930 (1930), 5. The song *O Rom går thet nu så med tich* is also a part of the Swedish hymnal printed in 1695; a Finnish variant of this text can be found in the Finnish hymnal of 1701. Fredric Cleve, “Förändringar i tolkningen av reformationen avspeglade i en finländsk psalm,” in *Norden och Europa: Språk, kultur och identitet. Forskningsprogrammet Norden och Europa*, ed. Krister Ståhlberg (Copenhagen: Nordisk Ministerråd, 1999), 61.

for the Swedish reformation. Scandinavia was not only less literate than the central parts of Europe, it was also defined by another factor that has frustrated the historian's task. Most buildings in Scandinavian cities were constructed of wood and regularly destroyed in devastating conflagrations. Many sources from the age of Reformation have literally gone up in flames. The low level of literacy and the destruction of sources through fire are thus the main reasons why more is not known about Scandinavian history from the Middle Ages and the Early Modern Period.⁴⁴ Historians dealing with these periods therefore must always face the incomplete story of *translatio* from these historical periods to our time.

44 For this see: Czaika, "Prolegomena Zur Frühneuzeitlichen Geschichte Skandinaviens," 903–06.

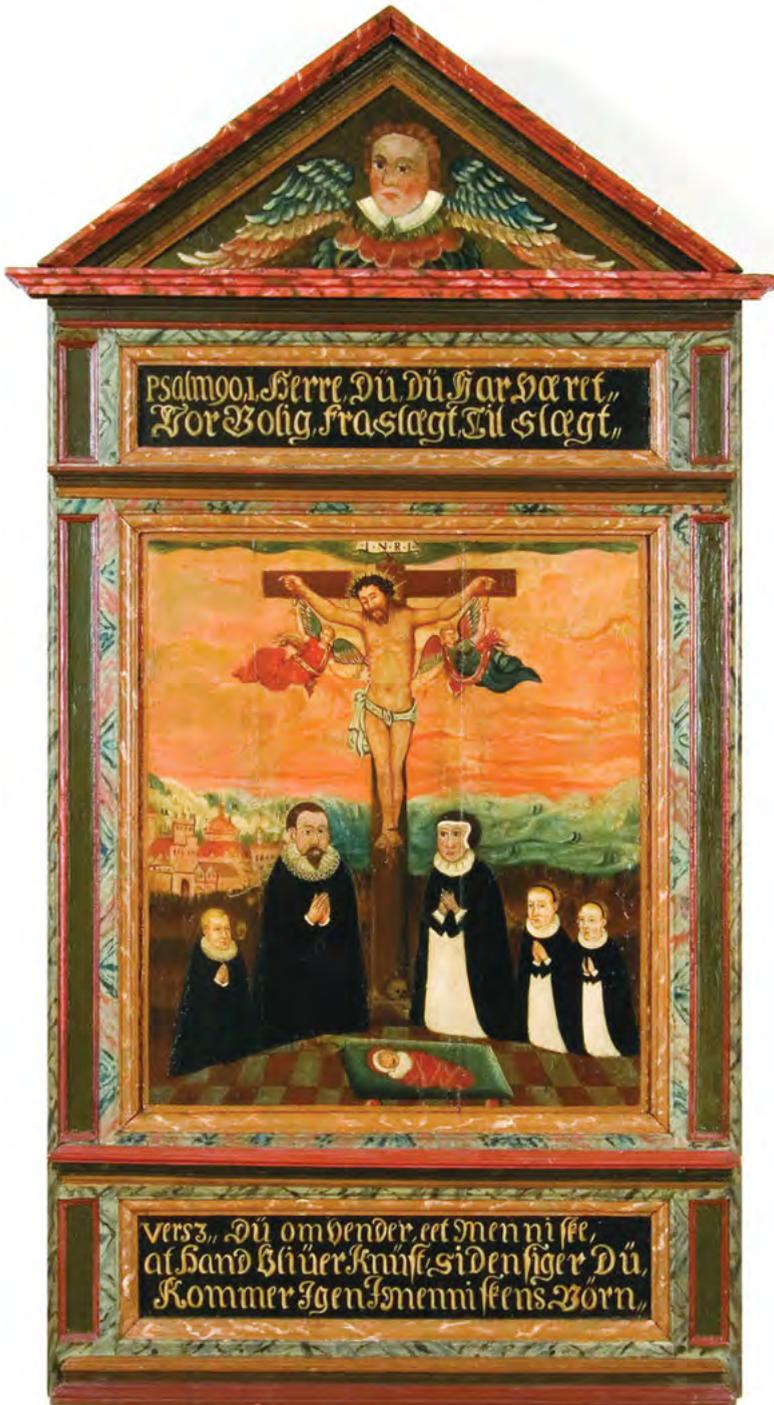


Fig. 17.0: Epitaph, c.1603, from Kerteminde Church, Funen. Jerusalem is discernible in the background.

**Part IV: Heavenly Jerusalem:
Between Promise and Reality**



Fig. 17.1: Epitaph, 1647, from Vilstrup Church in southern Jutland. Jerusalem is represented separated from the deceased by a wall.

Martin Wangsgaard Jürgensen

Chapter 17

Jerusalem and the Lutheran Church Interior

This chapter deals with the ways in which Jerusalem, both the earthly city and the notional promised future home, was present in the early modern Lutheran church interior. Whereas the examples on which the following builds are culled from the churches of Denmark, the conclusions drawn would certainly fit developments in churches across Scandinavia. Written sources from Germany are thus also quoted to show how the trends discussed here were a part of a larger, shared tradition. The Lutheran tradition, as it developed through the early modern period, inherited a rich fund of thinking and imagery from a medieval church transformed according to the theological concepts that came out of the confessional upheavals of the sixteenth century. It should accordingly be stressed from the outset that Jerusalem had not disappeared from church interiors by the onset of the Reformation. Jerusalem was as much present in the new Lutheran churches as it had been before, only it was now found in other places and in other forms.¹ How the celestial city was envisioned and interpreted has varied over time, but the basic idea of it being the true heavenly home for mankind can hardly be described as anything but a significant, continuous trope in Christian thinking across all confessional divides. The question, when entering a church from a given period, is therefore not whether the complex of ideas around Jerusalem is represented or not, but more specifically in what form they occur. However, before we turn to the Lutheran church interior, it would be well to address a number of issues pertaining to the Middle Ages in order to clarify developments that followed the Reformation.

A Few Words About the Medieval Legacy

There can hardly be any doubt that it was in Romanesque art of the twelfth century – and, in Scandinavia, the early thirteenth – that the Augustinian dichotomy between the heavenly and earthly Jerusalem, between this life and a celestial afterlife, was developed visually to a striking high-point. A rich and multifaceted iconography of Jerusalem grew out of this period, which blended into the imagery of the

¹ An impression of the number of preserved medieval wall-paintings and furnishings can be gained from Martin Wangsgaard Jürgensen, *Ritual and Art across the Danish Reformation: Changing Interiors of Village Churches, 1450–1600*, *Ritus et Artes* 6 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2018).

late Middle Ages, survived into the early modern period and, as we shall see later, can be found even in modern art. These visual components introduced into Romanesque imagery have accordingly remained a voice within the vocabulary of religious imagery ever since its heyday in the twelfth century. It is also well known that one of the firm and constant assumptions in these Romanesque portrayals of Jerusalem was what we can call a belief in the allegorical potential of the visible and tangible.² By showing or reflecting Jerusalem, they could give the churchgoer a sense, if only a sense, of the greatness to which these representations referred. A popular metaphor in the 1100s was, for instance, the distinction between gold and the gilded appearance of it. Man, in other words, saw only a fraction of the heavenly splendour when seeing the gold and riches used to adorn the interior of the church, but nevertheless these things hinted at the nature of the divine – something which more than anything seems to be encapsulated by the late Romanesque, so-called golden altars from medieval Denmark.³ The terrestrial versus the heavenly is the decisive axis here, but the axis between the present, earthly city of Jerusalem in Palestine and the future celestial Heavenly Jerusalem is also crucial because precisely that axis points to significant theological, if not intellectual, challenges in the later part of the Middle Ages. There was a gap or split through the medieval devotional culture which, on the one hand, invested enormous significance in what was specific, tangible or factual, but on the other hand, all of this could be rejected as irrelevant because it was only signs of the holy, not the thing itself.⁴

One characteristic feature of the representation of the Heavenly Jerusalem by the late Middle Ages was a growing emphasis on the portrayal, not of the celestial city as such, but of the individual inside the city and thus in a state of promised bliss.⁵ The danger here was, of course, of showing too much about the afterlife, and different abstractions were therefore employed within the images, which dissolved the firm iconographic focus on architecture when depicting the celestial home.

² The seminal study on this topic is Joseph Sauer, “Symbolik des Kirchengebäudes und seiner Ausstattung in der Auffassung des Mittelalters,” (Freiburg im Breisgau: Mehren und Hobbeling, 1924). See also the well-regarded reinterpretation of the same topic by Caroline Walker Bynum, *Christian Materiality: An Essay on Religion in Late Medieval Europe* (New York: Zone Books, 2011).

³ Find different aspects of these altar pieces and retables presented in Søren Kaspersen and Erik Thunø, *Decorating the Lord’s Table: On the Dynamics between Image and Altar in the Middle Ages* (Copenhagen: Museum Tusulanum Press, 2006). See also Poul Grønder-Hansen et al., *Image and Altar 800–1300: Papers from an International Conference in Copenhagen 24 October–27 October 2007*, Publications from the National Museum, Studies in Archaeology & History 23 (Copenhagen: National Museum of Denmark, University Press of Southern Denmark, 2014). For Jerusalem representations in medieval Scandinavia, see Chapter 14 (Øystein Ekroll) vol 1, 270–98; Chapter 15 (Line M. Bonde) vol 1, 299–323; and Chapter 16 (Kersti Markus) vol 1, 324–39; in vol 1. of this book series.

⁴ See for instance the discussions in Bynum, *Christian Materiality*.

⁵ This and the following points are expounded in my contribution to vol 1, Chapter 19 (Martin Wangsgaard Jürgensen), 394–421.

Rather than showing architecture, a shift took place, which portrayed the heavenly sphere as a paradisiacal, lush garden with blooming flowers and vines. Churches could accordingly, through sculptural modelling of the architecture itself or through wall-paintings, be transformed from the insistent, dressed materiality of the Romanesque and early Gothic architecture into shapes mimicking or alluding to living, organic structures.

Jerusalem in Lutheran Churches

The reformers of the sixteenth century were cautious, and reluctant to make absolute or too firm statements concerning what the afterlife looked like or what shape it took. Visualizations especially of the Heavenly Jerusalem, along with a whole series of other pictorial conventions, disappeared or almost disappeared in the decades following the Reformation.⁶ The late medieval fascination with paradise motifs and garden imagery as references to Jerusalem prevailed throughout the sixteenth century, and then slowly lost popularity. Rather than allowing the individual to peep inside the celestial sphere, as did the late medieval, lush garden iconography, they pulled the viewer back to see Jerusalem from the outside, looking at the open door without revealing what was inside. By this the Lutheran tradition, in a sense, returned to the way of showing Jerusalem that had dominated in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, where what lay inside the city wall was also mostly left unrevealed. In fact, if we look for actual depictions or visual imaginings of Jerusalem in the years after the Reformation, the motif is almost solely present as a backdrop to scenes showing the crucifixion; a motif repeated again and again on altarpieces and funeral monuments like the popular epitaphs. A typical example might be an epitaph in Kerteminde Church on the island of Funen, from around 1603, donated by the anonymous “C.P.” and “K.D.” (Fig. 17.0). We here see the deceased man and wife with their children, flanking Christ on the cross.⁷ Just above the right shoulder of the man the city of Jerusalem is discernible. In scenes such as this the aim is not to give the beholder a glimpse of things to come, but instead to use Jerusalem as an anchoring or underlining of the fact that the crucifixion really happened in this world. The

⁶ An impression of the survival of old motifs and the emergence of new ones after the Lutheran Reformation can be gained from works such as Werner Hofmann, *Luther und die Folgen für die Kunst* (Hamburg: Prestel-Verlag, 1983); Peter Poscharsky, *Die Bilder in den lutherischen Kirchen* (München: Scaneg Verlag, 1998); and Martin Wangsgaard Jürgensen, “The Arts and Lutheran Church Decoration: The Myth of Lutheran Images and Iconography,” in *The Myth of the Reformation*, ed. Peter Opitz (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2013), 356–80. See also Sigrid Christie and Riksanthikvaren, *Norges Kirker: B. 2: Den lutherske ikonografi i Norge inntil 1800* (Oslo: Land og kirke, 1973).

⁷ For further description of the epitaph see Danmark Nationalmuseum, *Danmarks Kirker: Odense Amt*, Danmarks Kirker (Copenhagen: Danmark Nationalmuseum, 1990), 2015–16.

visual and iconographic focus on Jerusalem was often significantly reduced from the complex allegorical representations of the Middle Ages, as the city first and foremost came to be depicted as a specific place in which the biblical events had unfolded. This theme, however, was often developed further from the late sixteenth century onwards, as for instance in the epitaph of Erich Raffuen from 1647 found in Vilstrup Church in southern Jutland (Fig. 17.1). As in the epitaph at Kerteminde, mentioned above, we see here the donor Raffuen and his family, dead and living, kneeling at the foot of the cross with their gaze directed outwards at the beholder, while Christ is staring upwards. Behind the kneeling family we again see a city which cannot be any other than Jerusalem; however, an ornate wall separates the kneeling family from the town. We furthermore note a dark, brooding sky which stretches above both Jerusalem and the family. The Holy City and the kneeling family do not occupy the same space, but they are linked through Christ on the cross who is among them, giving his life for their sake, and not restricted to the environs of Jerusalem. In the scene we see the exact moment of Christ's giving his life, which in the painting is shown by the dramatic storm clouds gathering in the sky and thus illustrating the wind which rose as Christ expired. The image tells us that Christ gave his life on the cross in a place and time far away from Erich Raffuen and his family, but that their grateful devotion and memory keep this sacrifice present within the community of their family, is drawing Christ out of time and space and into their midst, and with their gaze directed out towards the beholder, the family goes on to tell us, that we should do the same. This we can also find illustrated in the epitaph of the Godtzen family in Stavanger Cathedral, Norway, from 1662 (Fig. 17.2).⁸

Here the depicted family is gathered around Christ on the cross. The crucified appears as shrouded in light, penetrating the darkness which otherwise fills the space of the family. Christ in this picture is also pulled through time and space to be among the Godtzen family who now mentally can be understood as partaking or benefitting directly from this act of self-sacrifice. Interestingly the artist behind the epitaph, Andrew Smith, has included reliefs with scenes from the Passion on the borders surrounding the portrait of the family. These scenes thereby happen outside the sphere of the painting and belong to the biblical historical context of Jerusalem – only the final act of sacrifice, Christ on the cross, transverses time and reaches Stavanger and the family.

At this point, a chapter on the visual presence of Jerusalem in the post-Reformation church interior could easily end, as we mostly encounter images of the crucifixion in situations like those described above, or depictions of the Bible stories with Jerusalem serving as the setting. But there is in fact more to say about this, and to take inspiration from Michel Foucault, we can say that the question is not “[. . .] how continuities are established, how a single pattern is formed and

⁸ See Christie and Riksantikvaren, *Norges Kirker: B. 2*, 79.

preserved [. . .] the problem is no longer one of tradition, but one of division of limits, it is no longer one of lasting foundations, but one of transformations that serve as new foundations, the rebuilding of foundations.”⁹ It is from this vantage point that more of the road comes into view: to go on and show, not the continuities of medieval iconography in post-Reformation art, but how the Lutheran Church took certain aspects of pre-Reformation notions about the Heavenly Jerusalem in particular and transformed them according to Evangelical thinking. First and foremost, however, it should be stressed again that there are two ways in which Jerusalem is depicted or present in the church interior – one which is a direct illustration of the city, comprising concrete, pictorial representations of Jerusalem as a fully fledged architectural city, be that the earthly fortified settlement or the celestial abode. To this we can add the indirect way of alluding to Jerusalem, in a form more or less pronounced or implicit. That is, Jerusalem used as a vague metaphor for the afterlife and divinity as such. Both modes of showing the city are relevant, but the second is perhaps the more characteristic and pronounced for the Lutheran church. First, though, we need to take another look at the significance of the actual, direct representations of Jerusalem after the Reformation, which has already been touched upon when mentioning the images of the crucifixion.

Jerusalem as a Devotional Tool

As has been said, the pictorial representations of Jerusalem dwindled into certain specific scenes after the Reformation. Nevertheless, these few motifs – the Crucifixion, Christ entering Jerusalem etc. – still held great significance, because the idea prevailed that meditation on images, objects, and not least texts could facilitate an individual experience of coming closer to Christ.¹⁰ Jerusalem exactly is a crucial example of this, as it was believed that the study of Jerusalem would lead to greater piety and devotion. Thus, while the medieval search for accuracy and visual certainty was rejected, and one no longer needed to go to Jerusalem quite so literally, the significance of the place as a powerful symbol was retained. In Vokslev Church in northern

⁹ Michel Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge and the Discourse on Language*, trans. A. M. Sheridan Smith (New York: Random House, 1972), 5.

¹⁰ This is developed and discussed in Andrew Spicer, “Martin Luther and the Material Culture of Worship,” in *Martin Luther and the Reformation*, ed. Katrin Herbst (Dresden: Sandstein, 2016); Bridget Heal, “Sacred Image and Sacred Space in Lutheran Germany,” in *Sacred Space in Early Modern Europe*, eds. Will Coster and Andrew Spicer (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005); and “Visual and Material Culture,” in *The Oxford Handbook of the Protestant Reformation*, ed. Ulinka Rublack (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017); Jürgensen, *Ritual and Art across the Danish Reformation*, 355–58.



Fig. 17.2: Epitaph of the Godtzen family, 1662, Stavanger Cathedral, Western Norway.

Jutland, in the vault of the chancel, we see a curious example of this sort of devotional allusion to Jerusalem painted around 1720–30 (Fig. 17.3).

A portrayal of an urban landscape, including a little church, is here painted, stretching like a band through all four compartments of the vault, rising from an ornament which could be both ground and clouds. It is stated nowhere that this is in fact a depiction of Jerusalem, but the meaning can hardly be anything other than an allusion to the celestial city into which the congregation is on their way. Most likely this depiction of Jerusalem was painted in close dialogue with a decoration on the altar, which was later replaced by a painting during the first half of the nineteenth century, but nevertheless the intention behind the murals is still discernible. However, such direct allusions to the Heavenly Jerusalem became rare, and a much more subtle meditation on indirect representations of the city replaced them.

In place of such obvious references to the Heavenly Jerusalem as the one in Vokslev Church, an indirect way was preferred by the early modern Lutherans, communicated through text or music rather than images. To illustrate this we can turn to the Lutheran pastor Heinrich Bünting from Hamburg, who in 1581 published his famous *Itinerarium Sacrae Scripturae, Das ist, ein Reisebuch über die Gantze Heilige Schrift* (*Journeys in the Sacred Scriptures, that is, a guide book to all of Holy Writ*), a book describing the geography and travel routes mentioned in the Bible and, not



Fig. 17.3: The celestial architecture with what looks like a church, painted in all four vault chambers of Vokslev Church in northern Jutland c.1720–30.

least, the coins mentioned in Scripture.¹¹ Bunting takes his readers through the Holy Land and the history of the Bible, with Jerusalem as the centre of the narrative. The book reached a wide audience and quickly became particularly popular in the North, where several successive editions were published in Denmark and Sweden.¹² The descriptions of towns, roads, water supplies, and the coins, which Bunting has collected and introduces as illustrations in the work (in some editions), together amount to what can be understood as an emblematic exegetical Bible study and a meditation on Scripture. As Bunting states in a Danish edition: “Thus without reference to time and place no [Bible] stories can be properly described or understood.”¹³ This is, of course, an expression of the great antiquarian interest among early modern scholars, and the humanistic fascination of collecting sources that in one way or another could

¹¹ Heinrich Bunting, *Itinerarium sacrae scripturae, das ist, ein Reisebuch über die gantze heilige Schrift* (Helstedt, 1581).

¹² See the publication history discussed in Thorbjörn Sundquist, “Heinrich Bunting and his “Itinerarium” in Scandinavia,” *Europäische Numismatische Literatur* 17 (2005).

¹³ “Thi foruden Tids oc Steds anwiisning kand ingen Historier grundelige beschriffues eller forstaaes.” Bunting, *Itinerarium sacrae scripturae*, 1.

be linked to the biblical past.¹⁴ Yet for Bunting it went beyond simply collecting old sources. For him, the description of the Holy Land and its coins was a way in which he could approach Christ. He enables his reader, through meditation on the Holy Land as it emerges in the Bible, to achieve a sense of closeness to the biblical action, and thereby also what those doings meant in salvation history and accordingly to the reader himself. In effect he does here with his text, what the epitaphs discussed above did visually. Through an awareness of the biblical past, always with Jerusalem at the core, Christ is brought into the present and into the space of the reader, in the one case, or viewer, in the other.

How can we then describe the process of internalization found in both Bunting's meditations on the geography and currency of Palestine and the pictures of the crucifixion in the post-Reformation church interior? How do we pinpoint the shared understanding and functionality of these? A fruitful way to describe this process within Lutheran devotional culture, from seeing or hearing a reference to Jerusalem and transforming this into a meaningful religious experience, at least methodologically, can advantageously be described through the observations made by Edmund Husserl in his first studies of phenomenology. Here he formulated the thesis that the act of perceiving and understanding required the memory's help to function. Perception, taking the world in, Husserl argued, works retroactively, and what is experienced in the present, only gives meaning when it is rooted in the past.¹⁵ The same applies to religious experience, and that is exactly what the early modern, Lutheran images of Jerusalem did. By showing those biblical scenes with, for example, Christ on the cross and the city of Jerusalem in the background, they incited and called forth a never-experienced biblical past whose recall would spur affection and a sense of closeness to the divine. This may come across as a subtle interpretation, but it is surely necessary to think along these lines if we are to understand the processes of change which came about because of the Reformation, and understand the ways in which Lutherans came to terms with their past – both Catholic and biblical. Images, such as the depiction of Jerusalem, thus triggered a memory in the beholder or the churchgoer – the pictures called something forth in the minds of the congregation, which, in other words, was culturally planted as memory through the retelling of the Bible narrative. Aleida and Jan Assman would call this *Speichergedächtnis*, which is their term for such dormant notions in the mind which very suddenly could or can be

¹⁴ This scholarly interest is touched upon in Christopher S. Wood, *Forgery, Replica, Fiction: Temporalities of German Renaissance Art* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008); Truus van Bueren et al., *Reformations and their Impact on the Culture of Memoria*, *Memoria and Remembrance Practice 1* (Brepols: Turnhout, 2016).

¹⁵ See for instance this notion developed in E. Husserl, "Zur Phänomenologie des inneren Zeitbewußtseins (1893–1917)," in *Husserliana*, ed. R. Boehm (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1966).

activated.¹⁶ But it should be stressed that in order for the images of Jerusalem to trigger this sense of religious experience the act of memory and understanding should be helped along the way. In order to become potent, the images had to be supported by more powerful means than solely the images themselves, and this is where we arrive at what are here called the indirect Jerusalem representations.

Jerusalem as Subtext for the Church as a Whole

So far we have primarily discussed a selection of the most common depictions of Jerusalem in its guise as both earthly city and its abstract, celestial counterpart. In the following the perspective is to be widened considerably in order to show how the images presented above, along with other examples added here were only a small part of the massive presence Jerusalem held in the early modern church. We will therefore go beyond imagery and look at church furnishing as a whole and not least at music, which is highly important for our topic.

As should be clear by now, a reduction in the diversity of imagery relating to Jerusalem happened as a result of the Reformation, but the metaphorical structure surrounding the idea of the city, with its use of allusions to architecture, urban surroundings, and celestial order, remained central and present within the churches, as the Lutheran tradition developed during the early modern period. The closely connected metaphor of the *homo viator*, that is, man as a pilgrim on his way home, was of course inextricably linked with the ideas about the Heavenly Jerusalem, and continued to have a strong presence as well (Fig. 17.4).¹⁷ This theme we find illustrated through painted emblems in several churches, such as the one painted in 1738 on a pew end in the old monastery church at Horsens in Jutland. We here see man as the lone traveller going through the world, accompanied by the text: “We are strangers here / Think about this! Wherever you are.”¹⁸

The two linked metaphors of the city and the pilgrim ran together like a current through Lutheran thinking and in the actual staging of the church interior of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Inside the church, early modern Lutherans were convinced that the earthly and heavenly could meet and be contrasted. Here

¹⁶ For general introductions to this notion, see Jan Assmann, *Das kulturelle Gedächtnis: Schrift, Erinnerung und politische Identität in frühen Hochkulturen* (München: Beck, 2005); *Religion und kulturelles Gedächtnis* (München: Beck, 2004); *Religion and Cultural Memory: Ten Studies*, trans. Rodney Livingstone (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2006); Aleida Assmann, *Erinnerungsräume. Formen und Wandlungen des kulturellen Gedächtnisses* (München: Beck, 1999).

¹⁷ See the seminal modern presentation of the topic in G. Ladner, “Homo Viator: Medieval Ideas on Alienation and Order,” *Speculum* 42, no. 2 (1967).

¹⁸ For further presentation of the emblems in Horsens see Nationalmuseum, *Danmarks Kirker: Odense Amt*, 5816–45.



Fig. 17.4: Emblem on pew end in the old monastery church at Horsens in Jutland, painted 1738. The text beneath the wanderer reads: 'We are strangers here / Think about this! Wherever you are'.

the congregation could find a moment's rest on their way as travellers towards the Heavenly Jerusalem and for a while, during the service, have the opportunity to see the road or line that stretched before them towards what lay beyond. In fact this was a popular motif in devotional literature, spurring the imagination of the reader with its message, that the goal was almost in sight.

As the church interior developed during the last decades of the sixteenth century, the congregation could, in other words, clearly find the road between this life and the next mapped out (Fig. 17.5). Thus there was a mental connection or path leading from the congregation sitting on their pews through the pulpit where the Word was preached and up to the altar where the sacrament conflated time and space and created the instantaneous, difficult experience of the transcendence that lies in the Lutheran sacrament.¹⁹ Visually, this path running through the entire church was captured in the three-part structure of the numerous altarpieces produced during the seventeenth century.

On altarpieces such as the one from Undløse Church, shown here (Fig. 17.6), the imagery illustrated the road home for the congregation: the institution of the sacrament in the guise of the last supper, the crucifixion above this and the resurrection at the top of the altarpiece were devotional stepping stones for the faithful to behold and take to heart, because it was through the internalization of these steps that they would find their way. The Lutheran church interior, with its spatial orientation to the east, by this contained a

¹⁹ Martin Wangsgaard Jürgensen, "Image, Time and Ritual: The Motif of the Last Supper in Lutheran Churches," in *Images and Objects in Ritual Practices in Medieval and Early Modern Northern and Central Europe*, eds. Krista Kodres and Anu Mänd (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2013), 68–88.

visualization of the human route away from earthly existence.²⁰ We also encounter this path in the early modern devotional literature and spiritual exercises to be employed at home, but it was the firm belief that the church building and the church interior as a whole could facilitate something more than was possible with pious books and single sheets with pictures to be studied in private. At least this was so before Pietism asserted the opposite and turned the devotional focus away from both church building and the church institution, shaking the foundations of much of what is described here – but that is a different matter, which we cannot go into now.²¹

The congregation could, sitting with their eyes directed at the altar during the Sunday Service, see the road to their heavenly homeland mapped and clarified – a road leading from the earthly Jerusalem, glimpsed in pictures behind Christ on the cross, to the Heavenly Jerusalem which was, as has been stated, only rarely rendered visually. This is also the case on the altarpieces, where we instead are shown the home-coming through the resurrected Christ, who triumphantly leads the way for the congregation with the banner of victory in his hand (Fig. 17.6). The altar represented

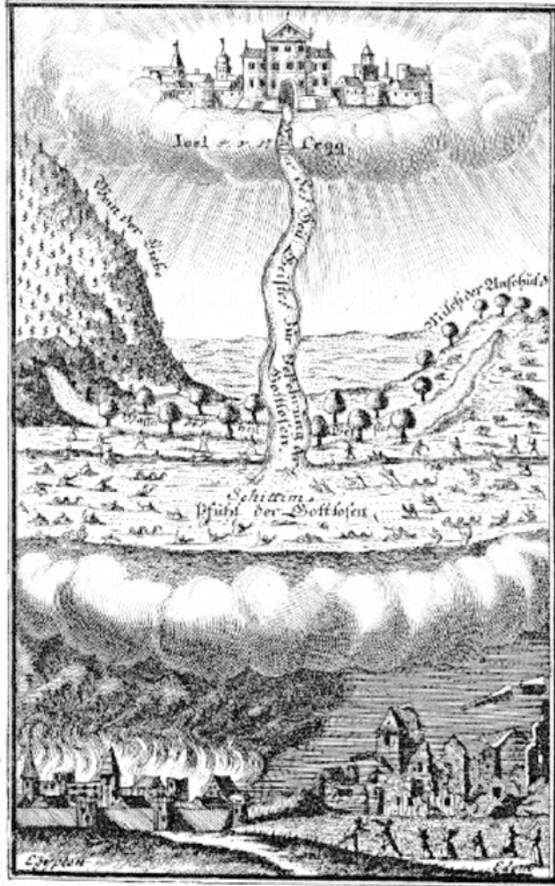


Fig. 17.5: The waters of salvation flow like a road or passage to Jerusalem and out this world. Etching by unknown artist. Dating from the first half of the seventeenth century. Herzog August Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel.

²⁰ For further discussion of the structure of Lutheran churches see Per Gustaf Hamberg, *Temples for Protestants: Studies in the Architectural Milieu of the Early Reformed Church and of the Lutheran Church* (Gothenburg: Gothenburg University, 2002); Jürgensen, *Ritual and Art across the Danish Reformation*.

²¹ For the inward turn of Pietism, see vol. 3, Chapter 4 (Elisabeth Engell Jessen), 86–107; and vol. 3, Chapter 8 (Jostein Garcia de Presno), 138–61.

a condensed staging of the path on which the congregation travelled in their pilgrimage towards the Heavenly Jerusalem, and this strategy of visualization was amplified by what was, by the Lutherans, considered to be the most powerful rhetorical instrument, namely music.²² In the sixteenth century this first and foremost happened through the communal singing of hymns and psalms but later also, in the so-called period of Lutheran orthodoxy, through the accompaniment of the organ, the significance of which for the unfolding of the rhetoric of the church interior only grew and grew through the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Music was understood to help pave the way for the projection of the ideas of the divine which were embedded into the fabric on which the service was based. To exemplify this, we can turn to the prolific German writer and preacher Conrad Dietrich, who, in a sermon printed in 1669, has a highly interesting discussion precisely on the connections we are addressing here. Concerning this devotional focus on the divine which the congregation should feel, he writes that the special atmosphere inside the church should cause within the churchgoers “[. . .] that we do not bring drifting, self-absorbed, simple mundane and mercenary thoughts in here but have all Our devotion and thoughts on God and his Word and His holy name [. . .].”²³ Dietrich here argues that the church banishes the worldly mindset of the congregation and attunes the churchgoer to the praise of God. Upon entering the church the congregation, at least on some level, leave this world and take a step closer to the Heavenly Jerusalem in which they shall again sing praises. This is an eschatological image, to which Conrad Dietrich returns several times, and as he continues, he directly likens the church building to the house of God – that is, the celestial home, the Heavenly Jerusalem, which is at the heart of our present concern. He consequently writes that the church is

[. . .] built in order for it to be our basilica. Thus, however, they are *basilica regnum habitacula*, which means the palace or residence of the king /as Isidore/ writes / and what causes them to have their name /causes us also to want to bring our sacrifice and service here *regi omnium Deo*, to God, king of kings and lord of all lords.²⁴

²² A good introduction to the importance of music within Lutheran devotional culture can be found in Elke Axmacher, “‘Aus Liebe will mein Heyland sterben’. Untersuchungen zum Wandel des Passionsverständnisses im frühen 18. Jahrhundert,” in *Beiträge zur theologischen Bachforschung* (Neuhausen-Stuttgart: Carus Verlag, 1984).

²³ “[. . .] Darumb dann wir hierin nicht fliegende/ üppige/ leichtfertige Welt und Geldt Gedancken / sondern all unser CONTEMPLATION und Nachsinnung von GOtt und Seinem Wort und heiligen Namen haben sollen [. . .],” D. Conrad Dietrich, *Sonderbare Predigten von unterschiedenen Materien, hiebevorn zu Ulm im Münster gehalten*, (Leipzig, 1669), 101.

²⁴ “Es ist gebauet daß es sol unser BASILICA seyn. Nun sind aber BASILICA REGUM HABITACULA, das ist/ der Könige Palläst oder Wohnung / wie Isidorus schreibt / daher sie auch den Namen haben/ darumb so wollen wir hierin *regi omnium Deo*, GOtt / dem Könige aller Königen/ dem Herrn aller Herrn [. . .] unser Opffer und Gottesdienst verrichten.” Dietrichs, *Sonderbare Predigten von unterschiedenen Materien*, 101.



Fig. 17.6: The Baroque altarpiece in Undløse Church on the island of Zealand, dating from 1644, with the traditional tripartite structure.

By this he argues that when worship was in progress, it was a way to approach not only God, but also God's dwelling – at least it was one way through which the congregation could receive an impression, however vague, of this divine dwelling, through the prism of faith. When seeing such devotional imagery, as for example Simon Thaddäus Sondermayr's illustration of the Book of Revelation from the second quarter of the eighteenth century, they could mirror themselves and their parish church in the afterlife (Fig. 17.7).

Where the visual arts operated under certain restraints in order not to show too much or visualize more than Scripture sanctioned, music stepped in as the primary vehicle which appealed to the emotions and senses of the congregation, evoking or stirring images of things to come at the end of times (Fig. 17.7). Unquestionably it is therefore in music that we find the most evocative imagery of the Heavenly Jerusalem, through the employment of a metaphorical richness which church furnishings and imagery could not emulate.²⁵ The hymns of the early modern period, sung by Lutherans, are filled with a deep yearning for Jerusalem. This longing and hope for the return to the heavenly within Lutheran culture is hardly expressed more urgently anywhere than in the hymn of the German theologian and hymn composer Johann Matthäus Meyfart, "Jerusalem, du hochgebaute Stadt" ["Jerusalem, thou elevated city"], written in 1626.²⁶ The framing of the theme is clearly established in the first and last verses. The first, about the earthly longing, reads:

Jerusalem du hochgebawte Stadt /
 Wolt Gott / wer Jch in dir!
 Mein sehnlich Hertz so groß Verlangen hat /
 Vnd ist nicht mehr bey mir!
 Weit über Berg vnd Thale /
 Weit über blache Feld /
 Schwingt es sich überale
 Vnd eylt aus dieser Welt.

Jerusalem, thou elevated city
 Would that I, God willing, were inside you
 My yearning heart has such great longing for you
 And is no more with me
 Far over mountain and vale
 Far over flat fields

²⁵ See also Chapter 20 (Beate Schmidt), 391–415.

²⁶ Find the original edition of the hymn and a short introduction to Mayfart in Albrecht Schöne, *Das Zeitalter des Barock. Texte und Zeugnisse* (München: Beck, 1988), 200–02. The hymn was also translated into Danish by the pietist Enevold Ewald and published 1704. See Anders Malling, *Dansk Salmehistorie*, vol. 5 (Copenhagen: Schultz, 1966), 294.

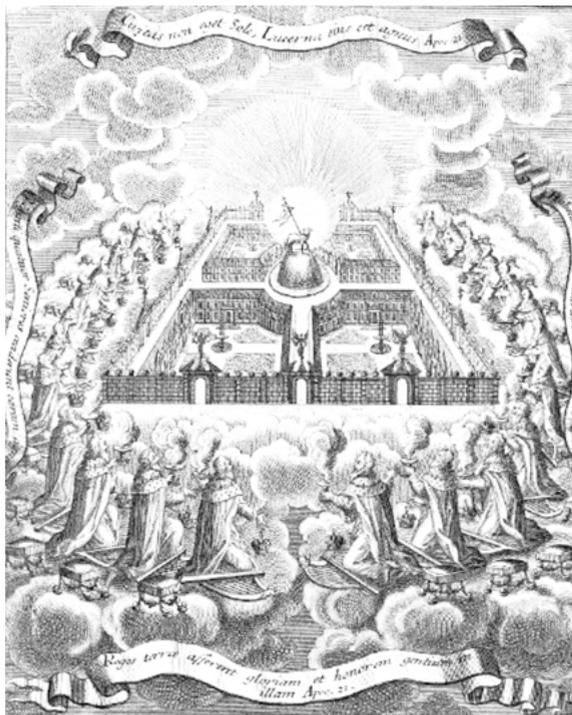


Fig. 17.7: Praising the Lord. An illustration from the Book of Revelation. Etching by Simon Thaddäus Sondermayr, c.1730–50. Herzog August Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel.

It ranges everywhere
And hastens to leave this world.²⁷

In the last verse, the eighth, we read how the soul has joined the thousands of believers who all now participate in the song of praise:

Mit JubelKlang! mit Instrumenten schon!
Auff Choren ohne Zahl!
Das von dem Schall / vnd von dem süßen Thon
Sich regt der Frewden Saal!
Mit hundert tausend Zungen /
Mit Stimmen noch viel mehr!
Wie von Anfang gesungen
Das Himmelsche Heer!

With the sound of jubilation! With instruments of course!
With choirs in endless numbers
Let the sound and the sweet tones
Shake the hall of joy!

²⁷ Schöne, *Das Zeitalter Des Barock*.

With a hundred thousand tongues
 With many more voices!
 As from the beginning
 The celestial host has sung!²⁸

It is not difficult to find many similar passages in Lutheran sacred music, where the theme of the believer's longing for the heavenly constantly recurs.²⁹ Neither should we be surprised that, for example, Conrad Dietrich turned to the early medieval theologian Isidore of Seville (d. 636) as a reference, because most of the metaphorical substance on which the Lutherans drew in connection with the Heavenly Jerusalem was gleaned from medieval sources and ideas. But the medieval, pre-Reformation exegesis and meditations were not incorporated into Lutheran thinking unadjusted. A process of transformation was set in motion with the Reformation which, to use the previously quoted words of Foucault, was the formation of a new, evangelical frame into which the already existing medieval metaphorical structures could be inserted.

The Church as the Temple

While the medieval theologians' writings about the Heavenly Jerusalem were in most cases straightforward or direct discussions, which to a great extent were built and expanded on the metaphors of Augustine's (d. 430) *De civitate dei*, the Lutheran theologians went a different way.³⁰ For them, the road had, unsurprisingly, first and foremost to go through the Bible and the scriptural descriptions of Jerusalem before they could approach and appropriate the abstractions of the metaphors about the holy to be found in the huge fund of thinking on the subject from the Early Church and the Middle Ages. The Lutherans, in other words, took a step back from the Jerusalem imagery, painted as well as written, and instead began their reflection on what to them was the factual, textual basis. This was not so much the city of Jerusalem as such, but what the Lutherans regarded as the heart of the matter – the lost Temple of Solomon. That first Temple came to be identical with Jerusalem in a Lutheran

²⁸ Schöne, *Das Zeitalter Des Barock*, 200–02.

²⁹ See for instance the ongoing discussion in Johann Anselm Steiger, *Johann Gerhard (1582–1637). Studien zu Theologie und Frömmigkeit des Kirchenvaters der lutherischen Orthodoxie* (Stuttgart: Fommann-Holzboog, 1997); Eric Lund, *Seventeenth-Century Lutheran Meditations and Hymns* (New York: Paulist Press, 2011).

³⁰ See for instance Brian E. Daley, *The Hope of the Early Church: A Handbook of Patristic Eschatology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991); Richard Kenneth Emmerson and Bernard McGinn, *The Apocalypse in the Middle Ages* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1992); Dinzelsbacher, *Die Letzten Dinge. Himmel, Hölle, Fegefeuer im Mittelalter* (Berlin: Herder, 1999); Ann Raftery Meyer, *Medieval Allegory and the Building of the New Jerusalem* (Woodbridge: D.S. Brewer, 2003). See also contributions in the first volume of this publication.

optic, and Jerusalem synonymous with the Temple. By unambiguously focusing on the historical and lost Temple described in the Bible, the Lutherans could play down the decisive importance of the present city of Jerusalem, and thereby avoid discussion of the merits, for instance, of pilgrimage. But first and foremost the focus on the lost Temple left an empty conceptual mould, into which a Lutheran theology could be poured. Here we see an active reappraisal of the medieval quest for accuracy and proximity to the holy or the sacred in physical, measurable form. This Lutheran focus on the biblical Temple also, particularly in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, provided the motivation they needed to open a discussion of the significance of the church building, the function of the church interior, and the impression of the divine which should fill the congregation during divine service. The idea of the Temple of Solomon became a cornerstone in Lutheran orthodoxy's understanding of the church, and it was a firm conviction among the early modern Lutherans that it was through the understanding of Solomon's Temple that one could understand the Heavenly Jerusalem, since Solomon's house of God was built as a reflection of the heavenly space in which the hosts gathered in praise of the Lord.³¹ The trends which this chapter attempts to bring together coincide in Lutheran thinking on the Temple, and that is why it is also the Temple that is to occupy our final pages, in order to return to the church interior and the representation of Jerusalem, which is the main topic here.

In 1600 the learned Danish theologian and historian Niels Heldvad published the hymn "En Lystig Stjerne-Sang om de Hellige Tre Konger, som reyste fra den Stad Susa af Persien-Land, til Jerusalem, og Bethlehem i Jødeland [. . .]" ["A merry star song about the Holy Three Kings, who travelled from the city of Susa in Persia to Jerusalem and Bethlehem in the Jewish country [. . .]"].³² The hymn perfectly illustrates this preoccupation with Jerusalem and the importance of the Temple among learned Lutherans. In it Heldvad describes a double movement: on the surface the focus is the journey of the three Magi to the Christ child in Bethlehem, but underneath this is the pious Christian's journey to Christ also described. By the end of the hymn we learn that just as the Three Magi made an arduous journey to honour the infant Jesus, so should the congregation do the same and travel to seek Him, which, of course, is to the church. At the end of the hymn Heldvad writes:

GUd give, vi maa det ogsaa giøre:
Hans Ord gierne lyde og høre.
Dernæst bekomme den evige Roe:
I himmerig hos hannem at boe.

³¹ See Hamberg, *Temples for Protestants*.

³² Niels Heldvad, *En lystig stjerne-sang om de hellige tre konger, som reyste fra den stad Susa af Persien-Land, til Jerusalem, og Bethlehem i Jødeland, ved 232 tydske mMile, at dyrke, ofre og tilbede det Lille Barn Jesum* (Copenhagen, 1600).

God beckons us to do the same:
 Hear and heed his Words.
 By this we gain eternal peace:
 And to dwell with Him.³³

The poetic retelling of the Bible narrative in Heldvad's hymn becomes a picture of the worshippers on their way towards God, exactly as the Magi were travelling towards the Christ child. This journey into the biblical past, which is also a journey into the eschatological future, is something Niels Heldvad cultivated in other writings as well.³⁴ In our context his small booklet *Tractatus de septem orbis miraculis* of 1598 is of particular relevance.³⁵ He here first describes the seven wonders of the world. However, this is only the rhetorical introduction to the true topic of the tract – the Temple of Solomon in Jerusalem. He revealingly uses more or less as much space on the description of the Temple as he devotes to the seven wonders together, and his point is of course that the Temple is the one true wonder, and that the pious reader should take his or her lesson from that fact. Heldvad accordingly makes a virtue of carefully describing the form, fabric, and lavishness of Solomon's Temple: "In all, this Temple was built most splendidly from fragrant cypress and cedar wood and marble in all manner of colours and with pure silver and gold and gems all over."³⁶

We might then ask why Heldvad finds it appropriate to put so much emphasis on the material extravagance and precious decoration of the Temple, and he indirectly gives us the answer. He tells us that the Temple is the house of God – exactly as does Conrad Dietrich, quoted above. The gorgeous appearance of the Temple, we learn, made it shine as if it were fashioned out of the purest gold, so that the edifice could be seen all over Jerusalem.³⁷ The Temple was consequently the heart of the city and, implicitly we understand that the parish church is no different among the Lutherans. Indeed Heldvad makes this point explicit by telling his readers that new, wondrous temples have been built, such as the church of Our Lady at Strasbourg with its enormous west tower. The citizens of Strasbourg had, in other words, followed the example set by Solomon and raised a – if not the – Temple in their midst.

³³ See verses 29 and 30 in Heldvad, *En lystig stjerne-sang om de hellige tre konger*, 5–6 [the pamphlet is unpaginated].

³⁴ The writings of Niels Heldvad can be found in H. V. Gregersen, *Niels Heldvad. En Biografi, Skrifter, Udgivne Af Historisk Samfund for Sønderjylland*, vol. 17 (Copenhagen: Danske Boghandleres Kommissionsanstalt, 1957). See also the scattered references to Heldvad in Charlotte Appel, *Læsning og bogmarked i 1600-tallets Danmark*, 2 vols. (Copenhagen: Museum Tusulanum Press, 2001).

³⁵ Niels Heldvad, *Tractatus de septem orbis miraculis* (Schleswig: Nicolaus Wegener, 1598).

³⁶ "Summa / so ist dieser Tempel von wollrichenden Cypressen und Cedern Holz / Marmellstein allerley Farben auff's aller herlicste durchbawet / und mit eitell Silber und Golde / und Edellgesteinen uber alle massen gewesen." in in Heldvad, *Tractatus de septem orbis miraculis*, 12 [the booklet is unpaginated].

³⁷ Heldvad, *Tractatus de septem orbis miraculis*, 10.

There is no doubt that when Heldvad writes about the Temple of Solomon as a replica of God's dwelling and alludes to the Temple as a model for Lutheran church building, his words were based on an ever-increasing self-assurance among Lutheran theologians in general. The initial hesitation of evangelical reformers over the material aspects of church architecture and church furniture in the mid-sixteenth century gradually fell into the background during the latter part of the century, and was completely replaced during the seventeenth century when costly materials and rich fabric became part of the rhetorical means by which the church attempted to visualize the heavenly or sacred.³⁸ One, perhaps the most important, rhetorical handle wherewith to legitimize this positive reappraisal of materiality and visual wealth was by constantly keeping the Temple of Solomon, and Solomon himself, in mind as a role model, whereby the Lutherans found everything they needed to legitimize their use of lavishness.

A Rural Solomon

Solomon and his Temple not only became a commonplace *topos* in Lutheran thinking about the church building, they also came to be a vehicle for Lutherans to create lavish church interiors. All of this can be illustrated by an example stemming from the very end of this early modern fascination with both Temple and Solomon that Lutheran orthodoxy cultivated. In the example, which we are shortly to examine more closely, we clearly see how these thoughts were spatially implemented in a church interior, and what they did to that interior when they were turned into actual furnishings and decorations – even in a smallish, fairly commonplace village church. It is evident that the Temple ideal urged the church owners – usually the nobility – to particular attitudes towards their church building and also imposed a responsibility on them – a responsibility to take on the role of the protectors of the Church and of the Lutheran faith as such. It was the nobility that, in Lutheran thinking, had to be at the forefront as examples for the rest of society, and it was the nobility that had to demonstrate a care and kindness which the rest of society could take as an example and learn from.³⁹ Just as the nobility should sit at the

38 See for instance Wangsgaard Jürgensen, *Ritual and Art across the Danish Reformation*.

39 On the role of the giver and the act of giving see Bo K. Holm, *Gabe und Geben bei Luther: Das Verhältnis zwischen Reziprozität und reformatorischer Rechtfertigungslehre* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2006); Martin Wangsgaard Jürgensen, "Pious Donations: The Act of Giving in the Lutheran Church and its Spatial Implications," in *Donations, Inheritance and Property in the Nordic and Western World from Late Antiquity until Today*, eds. Ole-Albert Rønning, Helle Møller Sigh, and Helle Vogt (London: Routledge, 2017).

front of the church and receive the sacrament first, they also had to give first and most generously, in order to set the example for everyone else.⁴⁰ By caring for their church they demonstrated the ideals of *caritas* and *pietas* to which they were committed as church owners and as the foremost among the flock. By this the church owner was also creating a mirror image of the divine world order inside the church and through the seating arrangements and furnishings, giving the parish a sense of the Heavenly Jerusalem towards which they were all *en route*, as the church was the earthly reflection of the celestial home.

The example is the Danish parish church of Engum in eastern Jutland, a small rural church of medieval origin (Fig. 17.8). Here the church patron Jørgen Hvass, later to be knighted, refurbished and redecored the building during the 1750s and 1760s⁴¹ – that is, some 100 or 150 years after the above mentioned Conrad Dietrich and Niels Heldvad were active. This refurbishing meant a renewal of pulpit, organ pulpitem, and pews as well as a chancel-arch grille along with several smaller features. All of this was executed in a rich Rococo style, luxuriously coloured in gold and bright pigments. The redecoration of the interior gave the parish church a sense of the majestic or elevated, which in places both alluded to and clearly addressed the Temple of Solomon.

In the chancel arch life-size cherubs with flaming swords were placed to guard the entrance to the chancel, barring all sinners from entering into this Holy of Holies, exactly like the Old Testament description of the Temple. Indeed it was nothing new among Lutherans to position such cherubs before the choir. The custom began to spread during the first decades of the seventeenth century, building on the late sixteenth-century practice of shielding the choir and altar from the congregation with grilles and pulpitem, through which the churchgoers were only allowed to pass after they had been through confession (Fig. 17.9).⁴²

The cherubs with flaming swords, such as those at Engum, were thereby a visual enhancement of an already existing reading of the church building as a reflection of Solomon's Temple. The material richness which imbued everything at Engum and set the building apart from the ordinary – at least compared to most secular, non-royal houses of the period – was again a part of the same strategy of couching the church as “the Temple”. The gold and luxurious colours used at

40 See Jürgensen, *Ritual and Art across the Danish Reformation* concerning the role of seating.

41 A relevant discussion and presentation of the church of Engum can be found in Ebbe Nyborg and Birgitte Bøggild Johannsen, “Herregård og kirke,” in *Herregården*, eds. John Erichsen and Mikkel Venborg Pedersen (Copenhagen: Nationalmuseet, 2005). København Nationalmuseum, *Danmarks Kirker: Vejle Amt*, Danmarks Kirker (Copenhagen: Danmark Nationalmuseum, 2004), 1935–38; Carsten Bach-Nielsen, “En høvedsmand i Nørup og en Salomon i Engum,” in *Vejle Amts Årbog* (1989).

42 Find this topic discussed by Carsten Bach-Nielsen, “‘Os Eden er igen oplukt’. Kerubmotivet i luthersk kirkekunst genovervejet,” *Hikuin* 40 (2017). See also Jürgensen, *Ritual and Art across the Danish Reformation*.



Fig. 17.8: The interior of Engum Church in eastern Jutland looking east.

Engum were references to the opulence of the Temple, despite the fact that in the Danish village we find only painted wood and not the precious stones and metal of the biblical original.

An explicit reference to the meaning behind this new splendour of the church is revealed in the inscription on the organ pulpitum, where in rhymed Danish verse it reads: “Among beautiful village churches, known for neatness, Engum certainly holds a prominent rank and place [. . .].”⁴³ Pride and the self-promotion of the patron Jørgen Hvass certainly play an important part in the orchestration of the interior. But there is more to it, if we follow the inscription on the altarpiece written in Latin. Here we read:

Solomon would not have built a castle for himself, if he had not also built a house for the Lord. Hvass [the church patron], a noble man, follows this example, when he prefers the Temple [Engum Church] to his own residence. In the light of such great expense, so beautifully lavished, may the name of Hvass flourish in eternity, may your offspring protect this Temple, your line be boundless.⁴⁴

⁴³ “Blant smukke Landsbye Kierker, som har navn af Ziirlighed Engom Kierke vist udvirker sig en værdig Rang og sted . . .”

⁴⁴ “Arce[m] non voluit Salomon / sibi condere qvondam / si non et Domino conderet / Ipse Domum / Hvassius exemplum hoc se / quitur Pernobilis Heros, / Templum dum præfert / ædibus Ipse suis. /



Fig. 17.9: The ornate chancel arch grille with cherubs in Hansted Church, eastern Jutland, dating from 1722.

Jørgen Hvass in other words cast himself in the role of a temple-builder, following the example set by King Solomon. This may have been sheer vanity on his part, but the tradition and the idea of drawing a parallel between church-building and church decoration and Solomon was not new: and is revelatory of the attitude or the sentiment with which the church building was to be regarded. It was the Lord's Temple and a place of absolute honour. However, by taking Solomon as the model and example, we can also return to the majestic element which a patron like Hvass can be said to have created or established in his church. The building was a place to be treated with the utmost veneration, not because of what it was – a house built by man – but because it was a place designated to petitioning the Lord and thereby not only deserved special treatment, but also gained a certain quality, which Lutheran theologians were hesitant to explain but definitely felt was there – that is, a certain sacred atmosphere, a quality of transcendence or contact with the divine. One can furthermore say that the role of the patron in the church was double-sided. Jørgen Hvass, on the one hand, could fulfil his legal and social obligations by taking care of the church, but on a deeper, existential level, the refurbishment of the

Fundatis ornate / sumtibus Egregiis / Floreat æternam Hvassorum / Nomen et Hæres / Protegat hoc Templum / Stirps sine fine Tua."

church enabled him to document or give witness to those around him that he was a true, pious Christian. And not least, Hvass could let his church shine like gold, so that it could be seen at a great distance, just as Niels Heldvad described the Temple of Solomon in Jerusalem.

If we here take a short leap back in time, we can take a closer look at the farewell sermon given by the Lutheran pastor Andreas Veringer, when in 1599 he left his parish of Freudenstadt in the Black Forest in Germany.⁴⁵ In his sermon the pastor not only likens his church to Solomon's Temple but he also very clearly elucidates for us, what all these references to the Temple and Jerusalem should affect, cause, or stir in the congregation. Veringer thus states that the church and organ music should cause "that we lift our hearts and strive for the eternal and heavenly."⁴⁶ The splendour of the church, the appearance of the interior and the content of the liturgy should trigger and strengthen the longing that the congregation ought to feel towards the heavenly equivalent of the space they are sitting in during the Sunday service. He even goes beyond this when at the end of his sermon he says:

[. . .] when we take in all of the church it can teach us a heartfelt lesson and by this remind us that just as the church is beautifully painted and furnished, so should each Christian human furnish and beautify his heart as the Temple of the Holy Spirit.⁴⁷

What Veringer is telling us here is that the physical, tangible church building and the interior of man are much the same. The heart of the believer is the Temple where God is going to live and to be worshipped, and the same applies to the interior of the church – as God resides in the heart of man, he also resides in the church, the heart of the community. Accordingly, the Temple's status as the visualization of the divine became both a concrete model to which the church interior could be adapted, as we saw in Engum, but also a metaphor for the individual's internalization of faith. Perhaps it is also through this that we best understand the Lutheran focus on the Temple and King Solomon – by imitating the idea of the biblical building in Jerusalem they aimed to heighten or stimulate the longing for the afterlife which all believers should foster. By stimulating this longing they not only built actual temples for worship in the landscape, but also transformed the hearts of the believers into temples. The praise of God was thereby not only a faith which was voiced during Sunday worship, but a hope and a love one always held in his or her heart.

⁴⁵ Andreas Veringer, *Ein christliche Predigt / von der newerbawten Kirchen zur Frewden-Stat / Welche an Statt einer Letzinpredig gehalten hat M. Andreas Veringer* (Stuttgart, 1608).

⁴⁶ "das wir unsere hertzen sollen empor heben / unnd trachten nach dem Ewigen und Himmlischen [. . .]," in Veringer, *Ein christliche Predigt*, 29.

⁴⁷ "[. . .] damit wir die ganze Kirchen zusammen nemen / kann uns dieselbige auch ein herzliche Lehre mittheilen / unnd warden wir darbey erinnert / daß wie die Kirch gar schön herauß gestrichen und gezieret ist: Also soll auch ein jeder Christen Mensch sein Herz als den Tempel des Heiligen Geistes / ornieren unnd schmucken [. . .]." in Veringer, *Ein christliche Predigt*, 39.

A Few Notes on Jerusalem in Churches After 1800

It is worth our while to note how these early modern trends of addressing Jerusalem in the church interior were in a sense accumulated over time and not, as such, replaced by other strategies of representation. While styles have changed, the content and iconography remained stable, but over time additions were made to what the young Lutheran church developed. In particular it is here noteworthy how the different trends of spiritual awakenings of the nineteenth century spurred a revival for a certain appropriation of medieval symbolism, especially culled from Catholic devotional art. Hence we may note a renewed enthusiasm in the 1800s for the retelling of the life of Christ, and the range of scenes from the earthly city of Jerusalem thus grew to embrace many of the motifs so common in medieval Stations of the Cross. Of particular importance in Denmark was the huge decoration in the Cathedral of Viborg in Jutland, painted by Joakim Skovgaard between 1899 and 1907.⁴⁸ This immense, visual retelling of the life of Christ has come to represent a pinnacle of the medievalism of the nineteenth century, and was afterwards a continuous inspiration for the strands of church art which sought inspiration in history when it came to creating visually and spiritually engaging art.

In the first decades of the twentieth century one sees both the expressive, emotionally charged renderings of Jerusalem inspired by Skovgaard's work in Viborg, and also subtler allusions to the Holy City (Fig. 17.10). In such decorations Jerusalem has the previously indirect presence in the representation, as an overall frame in which the subject is to be understood. To take two examples of this, we can turn to the altarpiece of the church of Gerskov on the island of Funen (Fig. 17.11) from 1927, painted by Ellen Hofman-Bang, where the central image – Christ resurrected – is framed by an arch between two tower-like spires. This structure repeats the Romanesque altar decoration in Sahl Church in Western Jutland dating from c.1200, which is specifically constructed around the idea of the Heavenly Jerusalem.⁴⁹

In Gerskov Church the point seems to be that when looking at the altar painting, the beholders are both to be assured of the divine qualities in that which is depicted, showing them how Christ has been raised into the next world, and secondly to be given a foretaste of that which is to come. One day we are all to be under the same roof in Jerusalem, the frame and image seem to say. The same idea, which is to be our last example, can be found in Revninge Church, also on Funen,

⁴⁸ Martina Kral, *Die Fresken Joakim Skovgaards im Dom zu Viborg. Religiöse Malerei für eine neue Zeit* (Kiel: Ludwig Verlag, 2001).

⁴⁹ For the Sahl altar and other Romanesque altar decorations suggesting Jerusalem, see the introduction to Volume 1 of this book series (Kristin Aavitsland), 12–41, and Chapter 15 (Line M. Bonde), 299–323 in the same volume. See also Kristin B. Aavitsland, “Civitas Hierusalem: Representing Presence in Scandinavian Golden Altars,” in *Image and Altar 800–1300*, ed. Poul Grindler-Hansen (Odense: Syddansk Universitetsforlag, 2014).



Fig. 17.10: Christ leading the redeemed into Heaven – The New Jerusalem. Painting by Joakim Skovgaard in Viborg Cathedral, painted 1899–1907.

where an altarpiece in limestone from 1952, carved by the artist Gunnar Hansen, shows a composite depiction of the risen Christ (Fig. 17.12).⁵⁰ On this piece, above the head of the Saviour, we see a depiction of urban architecture – also with an arch – which can hardly be anything but an allusion to the Heavenly Jerusalem, sitting at the top of the altarpiece as an indicator of where not only Christ is heading, but where the entire community is bound.

Whereas the taste for images functioning as illustration and elucidation of the biblical narrative gradually declined during the first half of the twentieth century, allusions to the Heavenly Jerusalem, such as the architectural references in Gerskov and Revninge, remained and have in fact only grown more popular over time.⁵¹ Such allusions to the Heavenly Jerusalem thus fit into the visual strategies behind modern church art, in which symbol-laden abstraction is the prevailing trend.

⁵⁰ Nationalmuseum, *Danmarks Kirker: Odense Amt*, 4498.

⁵¹ See such volumes as Anne-Mette Gravgaard, *Storbyens virkeliggjorte længsler: Kirkerne i København og på Frederiksberg 1860–1940* (Copenhagen: Foreningen til Gamle Bygningers Bevaring, 2001); Lisbeth Smedegaard Andersen, *Huset med de mange boliger – Ny dansk kirkekunst* (Copenhagen: Kristeligt Dagblads Forlag, 2013); Karsten Nissen and Lisbeth Smedegaard Andersen, *En åben dør som ingen kan lukke – Reformationen i nyere dansk kirkekunst* (Copenhagen: Kristeligt Dagblads Forlag, 2017).



Fig. 17.11: Christ resurrected. Altarpiece in Gerskov Church on Funen, painted 1927 by Ellen Hofman-Bang.



Fig. 17.12: The resurrected Christ. Limestone altarpiece in Revninge Church on Funen, carved 1952 by Gunnar Hansen.

Concluding Remarks

As was noted at the outset, one cannot speak of an absence of Jerusalem in the church interior after the Reformation – far from it. In fact Jerusalem is a salient feature in Lutheran churches. The number of representations may have dwindled after the Reformation, but the few motifs that remained came to be crucial in setting the tone for the interior of the church, along with the representations of Jerusalem in the music. In fact, the whole structure came gradually to be interpreted as an alter-image of the Temple in Jerusalem, and served as a visual and emotional guide to the road to the divine on which the congregation was ostensibly travelling. While the number of images dwindled, the references to Jerusalem and the Temple of Solomon retained their great impact and were in many ways strengthened in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, compared to the late medieval antecedents. In the early modern period Jerusalem was indeed a decisive framework for understanding the church building as a whole, and the most important metaphor available to the early modern Lutherans when they explained to themselves, why they took the rich form of the Baroque and filled their church space with new, sumptuous furniture. A turn of events the evangelical reformers in the 1520s, with their reluctant attitude towards the material aspects of the church, could hardly ever have imagined.

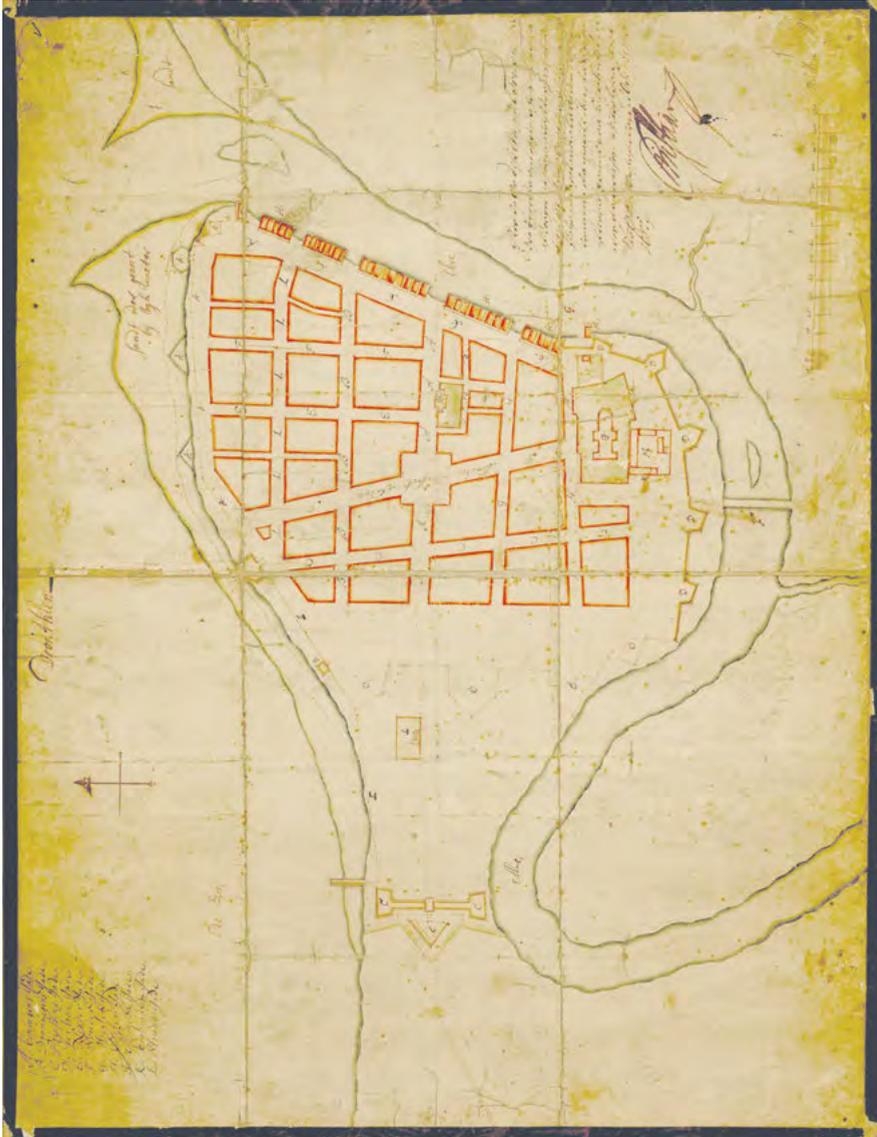


Fig. 18.1: The city plan of Trondheim 1681, the small version (59 x 45 cm). Regional State Archives in Trondheim.

Eystein M. Andersen

Chapter 18

The Heavenly Jerusalem and the City Plan of Trondheim 1681

The city of Trondheim in central Norway has a Baroque city plan from 1681. This article will examine how Christian faith, understandings, and symbolic systems were integrated into the plan. The dominating approach in studies of early modern city planning has been to emphasize the irreligious aspects, but the search for heavenly perfection did not stop with the building of churches. It is found in city planning as well. This article will, with the city plan of Trondheim as a case study of the Jerusalem Code, explore how interpretations of the Temple and the urban prophesy of the Heavenly Jerusalem were integrated into city planning on the outskirts of seventeenth-century Europe.

In his review of Rudolf Wittkower's 1949 book *Architectural Principles in the Age of Humanism*, W. A. Eden wrote in 1950 that the search for heavenly perfection in the Renaissance did not stop with the building of churches, but is found in city planning as well.¹ However, it is only quite recently that this perspective, with an emphasis on Christian symbolic systems and understandings of connections between shapes and numbers in the earthly and celestial worlds, has become more familiar in scholarly literature on Baroque architecture and cities. Nonetheless, in Scandinavia it is hardly used at all, where the dominant approach has been to emphasize the irreligious aspects. The 1681 Baroque city plan of Trondheim in central Norway can, by utilizing Eden's approach, supplement the history of city planning in Europe and be an interesting case study of the Jerusalem Code in early modern Scandinavia.²

The night between 18 and 19 April 1681 was devastating for the old medieval city of Trondheim. The whole city, which at that time was the second largest in Norway, burned down within a matter of twelve hours. Only the old cathedral and the archbishop's palace from medieval times on the southern outskirts of the

¹ W. A. Eden, "Wittkower, *Architectural Principles in the Age of Humanism* (Book Review)," *The Town Planning Review* 21, no. 3 (1950).

² This article is based on my article: Eystein M. Andersen, "Cicignons katolske byplan for Trondhjem," in *Fortidsminneforeningens Årbok 2015* (Oslo: Fortidsminneforeningen, 2015).

peninsula were spared. This was the most devastating fire in the history of Trondheim. Just a few months later on 10 September, King Christian V of Denmark and Norway approved the new city plan of the Luxembourgian Jean Gaspard de Cicignon (1625–96) – a plan that changed the visual layout of Trondheim completely and still constitutes the central parts of the city.

The medieval city of Trondheim with its narrow streets and organic form had been rebuilt after earlier fires, like so many other cities, with a relatively similar layout to its earlier one. This time, however, the initial starting point disregarded property borders and other obstacles in order to make way for the northernmost planned city in early modern Europe. The result was a geometrical and monumental Baroque city with wide, straight streets in a grid, radial streets, a large main square, axes, and vanishing points – one of the few realized Baroque planned cities in Europe (Fig. 18.1).

There are very few studies of Cicignon's plan in any discipline in Norwegian historiography. The two main and still most influential studies both belong to an object-centred tradition where architecture and city planning in the early modern period are understood as practical, secular, and aesthetic phenomena.³ Topographical circumstances and practical and political considerations and demands were of course important in early modern city planning and influenced the new layout of Trondheim in 1681 as well. The constant threat of fire and frequent wars against Sweden obviously affected the plan. It is, nonetheless, a fallacy to emphasize this more than other considerations like philosophy, theology, and the Christian faith of persons involved. Contemporary Christian faith and interpretations of the Temple and the Heavenly Jerusalem were integral parts of architecture, garden art, and urban form in the Renaissance and Baroque periods.⁴

Scholars associated with the Warburg Institute in London, such as the aforementioned art historian Rudolf Wittkower, have with a cultural-historical interdisciplinary approach created an alternative to object-centred modernism and the widespread

³ Guthorm Kavli, *trønderske Trepaléer* (Oslo: J.W. Cappelens Forlag, 1966), 36–51; Rolf Grankvist, ed., *300 år med Cicignon 1681–1981* (Trondheim: Trondhjems Historiske Forening, 1981), 45–66.

⁴ Berthold Hub, "'Vedete come é bella la cittade quando é ordinate': Politics and the Art of City Planning in Republican Siena," in *Art as Politics in Late Medieval and Renaissance Siena*, eds. T. B. Smith and J. B. Steinhoff (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012); George L. Hersey, *Architecture and Geometry in the Age of the Baroque* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000); Claus Bernet, *"Gebaute Apokalypse". Die Utopie des Himmlischen Jerusalem in der Frühen Neuzeit* (Mainz: Phillip von Zabern, 2007), 1–3; Frank E. Manuel and Fritzie P. Manuel, *Utopian Thought in the Western World* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1979), 161–67, 77–78; Eystein M. Andersen, *Paradishaven. Trondhjems kulturmiljø på 1700-tallet* (Trondheim: Trondhjems Historiske Forening, 2014); Victor Plathe Tschudi, "Heavenly Jerusalem in Baroque Architectural Theory," in *Visual Constructs of Jerusalem*, eds. Bianca Kühnel, Galit Noga-Banai, and Hanna Vorholt, *Cultural Encounters in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages 18* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2014).

view of the Renaissance as secular. Wittkower wrote: “Thus, the line of art-historians have generally taken falls in with the attitude of those historians who emphasize the irreligious aspect of the Renaissance. Their interpretation derives from the simple – not to say naïve – formula that mediaeval transcendental religion was replaced by the autonomy of man in the Renaissance.”⁵ In *Architectural Principles in the Age of Humanism*, he changed the focus to the wider history of architectural thought behind the realization of churches and buildings.⁶

The Baroque city plan of Trondheim is an interesting example of the realization of European ideas in urban form in the early modern period, and even more so when we – following Wittkower and Eden – examine the oft overlooked, but essential Christian aspects of city planning in this period. The plan was, as we will see, designed by a devoted Catholic working for the Counter Reformation in Lutheran Norway.

Jean Gaspard de Cicignon

Jean Gaspard de Cicignon was born to a Catholic noble family in Luxembourg in 1625 (Fig. 18.2).⁷ During his Grand Tour he studied at several institutions and built himself a career as a mercenary in different armies. According to him, the Tour included Spain, Italy, Malta, Flanders, and Holland. Moreover, Cicignon probably studied mathematics, architecture, and fortifications at several Jesuit institutions. He worked as an officer in Flanders where he – despite his religion – became a mercenary in the Danish-Norwegian army in 1657 where he remained for the rest of his life. In 1662, he was relocated to Norway where he swiftly rose in his military career, culminating in his appointment as Major-General for Norway and commander at Fredrikstad close to the Swedish border. Cicignon was at the top of his career when he was asked to design a new city plan for Trondheim – his only known city plan among several fortifications.

Major-General Cicignon had a seat on the Generals’ board led by Ulrik Frederik Gyldenløve (1638–1704), an illegitimate son of King Fredrik III. Gyldenløve was viceroy and Commander-in-Chief of Norway, the supreme civil and military authority in Norway from 1666 to 1699. Major-General Cicignon answered to Gyldenløve, and thus received from him the king’s mission to create a new city plan for

⁵ Rudolf Wittkower, *Architectural Principles in the Age of Humanism* (London: Academy Editions, 1973), 2–3. First published in 1949 as volume 19 in *Studies of the Warburg Institute*.

⁶ James S. Ackerman, “Reviewed Work: Architectural Principles in the Age of Humanism by Rudolf Wittkower,” *The Art Bulletin* 33, no. 3 (1951).

⁷ O.v. Munthe af Morgenstjerne, “Generalmajor Johan Caspar von Cicignon liv og levned,” in *Personahistorisk Tidsskrift* 7. Rekke 5. Bind (1921).



Fig. 18.2: Jean Gaspard de Cicignon. Copper engraving from 1674 by Willem van der Laegh. National Gallery of Denmark (Statens Museum for Kunst), Copenhagen.

Trondheim.⁸ Cicignon engaged the Fortifications Department, led by Chief Engineer Anthony Coucheron (1650–89), for the practical work and led the process, came up with the ideas, and signed the plan himself.⁹

In Denmark-Norway several engineers and fortification and city planners were, like Cicignon, recruited from the Continent, particularly the Low Countries. Planning cities and fortifications along with the related theories were important parts of a military education and a very sought-after competence. Cicignon obtained the necessary theoretical and practical background for city planning during his Grand Tour and his work as an officer on the Continent. He was, like other students, given a language and knowledge of city planning and architecture with deeply integrated Christian ideas. The Heavenly Jerusalem and the Temple were frequently used subjects, but the perceptions and understandings were diverse and multiple in a confessionally divided Europe.

⁸ Grankvist, *300 år med Cicignon 1681–1981*, 11–26, 228.

⁹ The Fortifications Department had the responsibility of the supervision of cities in general and fortresses and military sites in particular in seventeenth-century Norway.

The Jerusalem Code in City Planning

In the course of the Middle Ages cities were increasingly looked upon as a gradual creation of a Heavenly Jerusalem on earth.¹⁰ The interpretation of Church Father Augustine's *Civitas Dei* was turned into a development of the earthly city. The Italian commune of Brescia illustrates this by its new ordinance in 1287 which prevented destruction of buildings with the justification “*Quod civitates facte sunt ad similitudinem paradisi*” (for cities are made to the likeness of paradise).¹¹ Order, harmony, and aesthetics in streets, squares, and buildings thus became something more than just an administrative regulation. It was transformed into ethical and theological categories in city planning and heavenly and transcendental qualities of cities and architecture. Through the gradual construction of heavenly cities on earth the ultimate goal was to make terrestrial life as similar as possible to the heavenly city of Jerusalem in order to be worthy of living in it someday. “Look! God’s dwelling place is now among the people, and he will dwell with them” (Rev 21:3).

These ideas were inherited from the Middle Ages and developed further in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.¹² Within the theory of city planning the Heavenly Jerusalem as an urban vision, the vision of Ezekiel, the Temple of Solomon, and other theological themes were combined with Neoplatonism and inspiration from classical antiquity, especially *De architectura* by Vitruvius from 20 BC. His ideas on beauty, proportions, symmetry, and harmony were rediscovered by Italian architects in the fifteenth century along with the Roman grid.

This was put into a contemporary Christian context, resulting in different attempts at reconstructing or symbolizing the Temple and at creating a Heavenly Jerusalem on earth.¹³ Many were inspired by the highly influential volumes on the vision of Ezekiel combining theology, science, and architecture by the Spanish

10 Hub, “‘Vedete come é bella la cittade quando é ordinate’,” 72–75; Tessa Morrison, *Isaac Newton and the Temple of Solomon: An Analysis of the Description and Drawings and a Reconstructed Model* (Jefferson: McFarland & Company, 2016), 55–61.

11 Manuel and Manuel, *Utopian Thought in the Western World*, 177–78.

12 Manuel and Manuel, *Utopian Thought in the Western World*, 150–80, 205–21; Claus Bernet, “Goldmann, Nikolaus,” in *Biographisch-Bibliographisches Kirchenlexikon* (Nordhausen: Verlag Traugott Bautz, 2005); John Hendrix, “Neoplatonism in the Design of Baroque Architecture,” in *Neoplatonism and Western Aesthetics*, eds. Aphrodite Alexandrakis and Nicholas J. Moutafakis (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2001); John B. Knipping, *Iconography of the Counter Reformation in the Netherlands: Heaven on Earth* (Nieuwkoop: De Graff, 1974), 1–11.

13 Bernet, “*Gebaute Apokalypse*,” William J. Hamblin and David R. Seely, *Solomon’s Temple: Myth and History* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2007), 106–26, 65–90; Wittkower, *Architectural Principles in the Age of Humanism*, 121; Per Gustaf Hamberg, *Tempelbygge för protestanter* (Göteborg: Svenska Kyrkans Diakonistyrelses Bokförlag, 1955); Morrison, *Isaac Newton and the Temple of Solomon*; Andersen, *Paradishaven*.

Jesuit and architect Juan Villalpando (1552–1608).¹⁴ He believed that the Temple of Solomon was based on Ezekiel's vision and given by God. The proportions of the Temple corresponded with celestial harmonies, the plan of the Temple as a microcosmos of the universe corresponded with the plan of the heavens as macrocosmos, and it made a connection with the Heavenly Jerusalem described in the *Book of Revelation*, an analogy found in the *Book of Wisdom* 9:8.

City plans were thus, until the late eighteenth century, in varying degrees given Christian and celestial attributes, symbols, and qualities, especially with reference to the Temple and the Heavenly Jerusalem, with – for example – the use of numerology.¹⁵ Symbolic representation and mathematics were common as visual communication in the seventeenth century. Everything, including fortifications and garden art, was turned into an aesthetic search for perfection in geometry and harmony to reflect the divine and celestial. Early modern garden art was for instance largely based on the idea of recreating the earthly Paradise (Garden of Eden) by collecting the scattered botanical parts described in the *Book of Genesis* after the Flood into a garden with a geometrical and systematic form as a new paradise.¹⁶

The Catholic Church used these ideas and theories with strength and commitment in the Counter Reformation through the development of buildings and cities.¹⁷ The Catholic Church with its buildings and cities (among other things) was understood to be God-given and a prefiguration of the Heavenly Jerusalem. The tradition of regarding Rome as the successor to the earthly Jerusalem and the connection of Rome with Solomon's Temple dated back to the fourth century, but the idea became strongly established in the Renaissance.¹⁸ St. Peter's tomb provided the fulcrum of a program to transform the basilica of St. Peter, and all of Rome, into the earthly Jerusalem's successor made in the likeness of its heavenly counterpart. In the view of the Catholic Church, Rome was formed as the New Jerusalem in the period from

14 Juan Bautista Villalpando and Hieronymus Prado, *In Ezechielem Explanaciones* (Roma, 1596–1604); Morrison, *Isaac Newton and the Temple of Solomon*, 11; Wittkower, *Architectural Principles in the Age of Humanism*, 121; Tschudi, "Heavenly Jerusalem in Baroque Architectural Theory," 183–84.

15 Heinz Meyer, *Die Zahlenallegorese im Mittelalter. Methode und Gebrauch* (München: Wilhelm Fink, 1975), 9; Manuel and Manuel, *Utopian Thought in the Western World*, 161–62, 208; Annemarie Schimmel, *The Mystery of Numbers* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), 19–25; Hendrix, "Neoplatonism in the Design of Baroque Architecture," 115; Paul v. Naredi-Rainer, *Architektur und Harmonie. Zahl, Mass und Proportion in der abendländischen Baukunst* (Köln: DuMont Buchverlag, 1986), 40–44.

16 Andersen, *Paradishaven*, 43–47.

17 Tschudi, "Heavenly Jerusalem in Baroque Architectural Theory;" Knipping, *Iconography of the Counter Reformation in the Netherlands*, 1–11.

18 Morrison, *Isaac Newton and the Temple of Solomon*, 60; Tschudi, "Heavenly Jerusalem in Baroque Architectural Theory." See also Chapter 3 (*Translatio Templi*) in vol. 1 of this series (Eivor Andersen Oftestad), 49–55.

Pope Sixtus V in 1585 to the death of Pope Alexander VII in 1667.¹⁹ With Rome as a role model and showcase of an earthly Jerusalem with celestial qualities, cities were formed to protect the Church and the Catholic faith,²⁰ and as we shall see most likely inspired Cicignon's work with Trondheim as well.

The Jesuit order worked actively to spread these ideas as part of the Counter Reformation. The Heavenly Jerusalem and the Temple as a forecourt for the City of God were very important to the Jesuits and strongly linked to the self-understanding of the Catholic Church. Based on the Catholic teaching that heaven has already partly descended on earth through the body and blood of Christ, present on the altar in the Eucharist and then present within every faithful believer, they claimed it was possible to make terrestrial life similar to the heavenly city of Jerusalem. The Jesuits teachings influenced several disciplines, even Baroque fortifications because of the Jesuits' military origin and focus.²¹ It was customary for the *mathematicus* to teach military architecture in the many colleges and seminars run by the Jesuit order. Their writings and teachings were widespread and would have been known to a man like Cicignon.

Norway and Protestant City Planning

The square-shaped cities Christiania (1624, today's Oslo) and Kristiansand (1641), both founded and partly planned by the Lutheran King Christian IV (1577–1648), are Norwegian examples of Protestant city planning. The reference to the square in the Heavenly Jerusalem (Rev 21:9–23) in both cities was strengthened by the streets' width of 24 Danish cubits (circa 15 meters). This most likely referred to the twenty-four elders surrounding the throne of God in the Heavenly Jerusalem (Rev 4:4). In his *Vorreden zur Bibel* Luther interpreted the twenty-four elders as bishops and the learned crowned with the totality of the Christianity of the faithful. The cities could,

19 A. E. J. Morris, *History of Urban Form before the Industrial Revolutions*, 3rd ed. (New York: Routledge, 1994), 175–87; Dorthy Metzger Habel, *The Urban Development of Rome in the Age of Alexander VII* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002); Tschudi, "Heavenly Jerusalem in Baroque Architectural Theory."

20 Examples are Valetta on Malta designed as "the shield of Christianity," Palmanova in Italy protected by the Holy Trinity with a design as a nine-pointed star, Scherpenheuvel in Belgium designed as a seven-sided star in honour of the Virgin Mary, and Richelieu in France inspired by the ideas of the Dominican theologian and philosopher Tommaso Campanella. See Hanno-Walter Kruft, *Städte in Utopia: Die Idealstadt vom 15. bis zum 18. Jahrhundert zwischen Staatsutopie und Wirklichkeit* (München: Beck, 1989), 51–67, 82–98; and Christine Toulter, *Richelieu – Le château et la cité idéale* (Saint-Jean-de-Braye: Berger M. Éditions, 2005).

21 Denis De Lucca, *Jesuits and Fortifications: The Contribution of the Jesuits to Military Architecture in the Baroque Age*, History of Warfare 73 (Boston: Brill, 2012); Knipping, *Iconography of the Counter Reformation in the Netherlands*, 6.

with this numerological interpretation and a square form, be seen as symbolic temples of those who are faithful to the word of God.

Protestant city planning theory can trace its roots back to the early Reformation. The dominant understanding, derived from *Confessio Augustana* among others, was that church buildings and cities could only be considered as terrestrial symbols of the Temple or the Heavenly Jerusalem.²² In Protestant teaching the Heavenly Jerusalem had not yet descended on earth. Protestant city planning thus had no thought of realizing the Heavenly Jerusalem on earth in the same manner as in the Catholic context, had less use of symbols and allegories, and was Bible centred.²³ The square, or in some cases rectangle, as a geometrical form found in biblical descriptions of the Temple and the Heavenly Jerusalem was consequently the most preferred form by far for Protestant cities,²⁴ as in Christiania and Kristiansand. Even though the square is found among Catholic cities as well, it was almost an ideological sign of Protestant self-assertion.

The square-shaped ideal city of Albrecht Dürer (1471–1528), described in his book *Etliche Underricht zu Befestigung der Stett, Schloss und Flecken* printed in Nürnberg in 1527, became influential for Protestant city planning. He described a royal square-shaped city which followed the principle of *Cuius regio, eius religio* (whose realm, his religion),²⁵ with the royal palace symbolically in the centre square with the other official buildings of *Kirche*, *Rathaus*, and *Kaufhaus* following the rank on the corners around it. This concept became common within Protestant city planning. One famous and influential example is the Lutheran square-shaped city of Freudenstadt in today's Germany, built around 1600.²⁶ The Norwegian cities Christiania and Kristiansand are also built on this concept.

Kristiansand (Fig. 18.3) was designed in 1642 by the royal engineer Hans J. Schiørt (1608–74).²⁷ He had studied mathematics and fortifications at the Calvinistic dominated

²² “Dominant” is to be understood in general and not limited to the Lutheran areas alone. Several subjects in Protestant teaching and *Confessio Augustana* led to this understanding of the terrestrial, for example: Original Sin, Justification by Faith, and the Mass understood only as a public gathering for the purposes of community worship and the receiving of the Eucharist.

²³ Bernet, “*Gebaute Apokalypse*,” 49–54; Kruft, *Städte in Utopia*, 68–81; Jeroen Goudeau, “Ezekiel for Solomon. The Temple of Jerusalem in Seventeenth-Century Leiden and the Case of Cocceius,” in *The Imagined and Real Jerusalem in Art and Architecture*, eds. J. Goudeau, M. Verhoeven, and W. Weijers, *Radboud Studies in Humanities* 2 (Leiden: Brill, 2004).

²⁴ Bernet, “*Gebaute Apokalypse*,” 35, 158–59; Hamblin and Seely, *Solomon's Temple*, 165–67; Kruft, *Städte in Utopia*, 79–81.

²⁵ The principle was invented in Protestant central Europe and agreed upon at the Peace of Augsburg in 1555 and the Peace of Westphalia in 1648.

²⁶ Bernet, “*Gebaute Apokalypse*,” 150–66; Kruft, *Städte in Utopia*, 68–81; Manuel and Manuel, *Utopian Thought in the Western World*, 289–308; Hamberg, *Tempelbygge för protestanter*, 49–80.

²⁷ Vello Helk, *Dansk-norske studierejser fra reformationen til enevælden 1536–1660. Med en matrikel over studerende i udlandet* (Odense: Odense Universitetsforlag, 1987), 373; Bernet, “Goldmann, Nikolaus;” Goudeau, “Ezekiel for Solomon.”

University of Leiden, a centre of Protestant Temple study. Schiørt probably was acquainted with the Calvinistic and Bible-centred architectural theorist Nicolaus Goldman (1611–65) who also studied there at the same time. Goldman is best known for his book *Civilbaukunst* where he promoted a square-shaped ideal city based on the Temple and the Heavenly Jerusalem.²⁸

Schiørt used known Protestant city planning theory in his layout of Kristiansand. He seems to have planned the city with two churches on each side of the main square and a tower in the centre.²⁹ The idea of a centralized tower points to a known subject among Protestants and especially Calvinists. It is used in, for example, Jacques Perret's ideal cities from around 1600 with *le grand pavilion Royal* at the centre³⁰ and by J. Andreae in the book *Christianopolis* from 1619 with the centralized "*Templum cum Prytaneo*."³¹ The actual Temple of Herod in Jerusalem was a tower, and the Church Father Hermas wrote in the much-used text *The Shepherd of Hermas* of a vision where he describes the tower (interpreted as the Temple) as the Church, and the stones of which it is built as the faithful.

City planners like Schiørt for Kristiansand and Cicignon for Trondheim played key roles in the realization of ideas and theories, and worked with practical opportunities for the realization of both their own and their commissioners' ideas.³² Cicignon had, with support from his superior Gyldenløve, the opportunity to practice his Catholic faith and work for the Counter Reformation. He was thus able to give Trondheim a city plan with a layout, symbols, allegories, and versions of the Jerusalem Code different than that of the Protestant Renaissance cities of King Christian IV.

Cicignon and the Counter Reformation

Cicignon came to Norway at a time when the heaviest Counter Reformation thrusts were being repulsed, but that did not prevent him from becoming acquainted with

²⁸ Bernet, "Goldmann, Nikolaus;" "*Gebaute Apokalypse*," 38–39, 69–71, 232.

²⁹ Jan Henrik Munksgaard, "Kristiansand byplan – teori og praksis," in *Fortidsminneforeningens Årbok* (Oslo: Fortidsminneforeningen, 1989), 168–70. The original map is unfortunately not preserved.

³⁰ Hamberg, *Tempelbygge för protestanter*, 35–38.

³¹ Joh. Valentinus Andreae, "Reipublicae Christianopolitanae Descriptio," (Argentorati [Strasbourg]: Sumptibus haeredum Lazari Zetzneri, 1619). Shown on the famous illustration and plan at the end of the book. This reference to classical antiquity suited a Protestant mind of the seventeenth century well. The *Prytaneion* was the building that normally stood at the centre of the city, in the agora, in ancient Greece. This was where the sacred fire of the community was kept and tended by the royal family or later by the prytanis (those who held the chief office in the state). The *Prytaneion* was regarded as the religious and political centre of the community – the nucleus of all government.

³² Krufft, *Städte in Utopia*, 16.

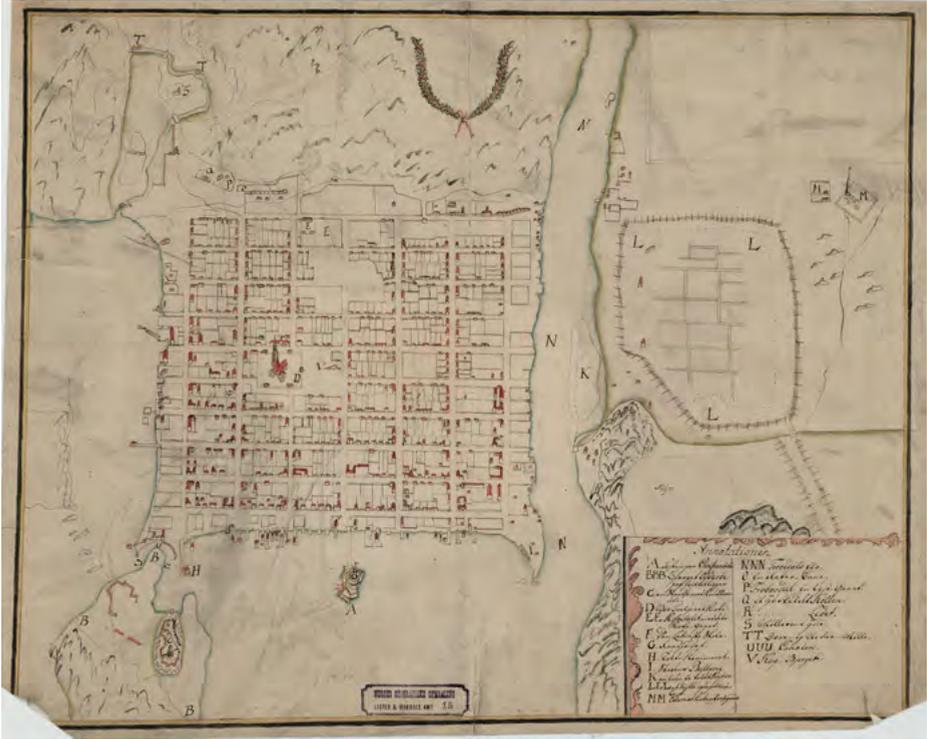


Fig. 18.3: City plan of Kristiansand. Map from 1764. The Norwegian Mapping Authority (Kartverket).

Catholic sympathizers, like the Bjelke noble family.³³ He even led the very final effort of the Counter Reformation in the years 1675–91, during the same period that he created the city plan of Trondheim.³⁴

Viceroy and Commander-in-Chief for Norway Ulrik Frederik Gyldenløve facilitated and protected Cicignon's Catholic activities in Norway. The sources give us a diffused image of Gyldenløve's Christian faith, but he had at the very least, as many of his colleagues in the state apparatus, an open mind towards the Catholic cause and faith, and he supported Cicignon.³⁵

³³ Håkon A. Andersen and Terje T.V. Bratberg, "Hemmelige katolikker. Et kryptokatolsk miljø omkring kanslerne Bjelke på 1600-tallet," *Årbok for Fosen* (2001). The brothers Ove, Henrik, and Jørgen Bjelke were described as "Carriers of the Catholic Party" in Norway.

³⁴ Johs. J. Duin, *Streiftog i norsk kirkehistorie* (Oslo: St. Olav Forlag, 1984), 235–55; Oscar Garstein, "Undergrunnskirkern 1537–1814," in *Den katolske kirke i Norge*, eds. John Willem Gran, Erik Gunnes, and Lars Roar Langslet (Oslo: Aschehough, 1993), 130–36.

³⁵ Louis Bobé, "Katolske strømninger i anden halvdel af det syttende aarhundrede. Kirken S. Maria in Traspontina," in *Rom og Danmark gennem tiderne*, ed. Louis Bobé (Copenhagen: Levin & Munksgaards Forlag, 1935). Griffenfeldt, Frederik Ahlefeldt, and Gyldenløve were all positive towards the Catholic faith, and all three had positions in the state apparatus.

Gyldenløve had spent several years in Italy on his Grand Tour,³⁶ and was enrolled at University of Siena in 1654. During his stay in Rome, he sought out none other than the famous and influential Jesuit Athanasius Kircher (1602–80) who taught and researched at the Jesuit Collegium Romanum.

Kircher (Fig. 18.4) was a scientific luminary on several topics in the seventeenth century, an important missionary for the Catholic Church, and a firm believer in divine influence on earthly phenomena such as architecture.³⁷ Kircher also guided many of the high-ranking Danish-Norwegian visitors to Rome like Gyldenløve. The two hit it off to such an extent that Kircher in a letter to King Frederik III spoke in high praise of his son and offered his scientific assistance. Whether Gyldenløve was theologically convinced by Kircher is not known, but it is reasonable to conclude that his years in Italy and his subsequent stay at the court of King Philip IV of Spain gave him a mind open to the Catholic faith and a good knowledge of Catholic architecture and city planning and theory. Both Gyldenløve and Cicignon were familiar with Kircher's theories and publications, which, as we will see later, probably had an impact on the city plan of Trondheim.

During the war against Sweden in 1675–79 Cicignon established a Jesuit mission station in Fredrikstad with the help of Gyldenløve. All Jesuits had a duty to report back to the *Congregatio de Propaganda Fide* in Rome as part of the Counter Reformation. Cicignon had several Catholic mercenaries, because of whom Gyldenløve accepted Cicignon having two Catholic army chaplains even though one would have been more than sufficient for Cicignon's soldiers. Gyldenløve defended Cicignon from Lutheran objections and gave him the opportunity to continue having Jesuit chaplains even after the war was over. He sold his seat farm just outside Fredrikstad to Cicignon in 1680, where Cicignon carved several Catholic texts onto large rocks as a clear expression of his faith and commitment.³⁸ In 1682 Gyldenløve made Fredrikstad a city with freedom of faith for the sake of Cicignon.

One of the chaplains always followed Cicignon on his journeys to inspect and improve the fortifications in Norway. When Cicignon came to Trondheim to work on the city plan in July 1681, he brought the Jesuit chaplain Caspar Meyer with him, who preached at the baptism for the new fortress of Christiansten on the Sunday before they left the city. Cicignon's respected position and the short span of time involved indicates that Gyldenløve gave him a free hand in making the new city plan without regard to property borders.

From 1688 onwards, however, Cicignon met with great resistance when King Christian V introduced a new law incorporating all previous provisions against Catholic activities, including forbidding Catholics to reside in the kingdom. In 1691

³⁶ Helk, *Dansk-norske studierejser*, 59, 228.

³⁷ Tschudi, "Heavenly Jerusalem in Baroque Architectural Theory," 179, 81.

³⁸ Several of the carvings are still preserved, with texts like "Sancta Maria ora pro nobis."



Fig. 18.4: Athanasius Kircher. Copper engraving by Cornelis Bloemaert 1665. Germanisches Nationalmuseum Nuremberg.

work on the mystery of numbers which became prevalent and important at that time.³⁹ Christian numerology and the mathematical and harmonic structure of the universe and Creation were integrated into a variety of forms of expression. City planning and architecture in the early modern period was no exception.⁴⁰ It was based on faith in the harmonious and divine in the world expressed through numbers (*harmonia mundi*), often with reference to the *Book of Wisdom* 11:21 which states that God has “arranged all things by measure and number and weight.” The relationship between shapes and numbers in the earthly and celestial worlds characterized the mindset until well into the eighteenth century.

chaplain Weimer suggested to his contact in Rome that the mission was terminated, as Gyldenløve could no longer make exceptions for Cicignon.

Cicignon’s Catholic faith was, as we have seen, an integral part of his work in Norway, especially between 1675 and 1691. It is reasonable to assume that the city plan of Trondheim to a large degree builds on the Catholic ideas of Cicignon, perhaps with influence from Gyldenløve and his personal acquaintance with Athanasius Kircher.

The Number of Streets

Christian numerology evolved as part of exegesis in the centuries following Church Father St. Augustine’s writings on the subject, with many influential works written about numerology in the Middle Ages and subsequent centuries. For example, the aforementioned Jesuit Athanasius Kircher published in 1665 a

³⁹ Athanasii Kircheri, *Arithmologia sive De Abditis Numerorum Mysteryis* (Roma: Varesius, 1665).

⁴⁰ Meyer, *Die Zahlenallegorese im Mittelalter*, 9; Hersey, *Architecture and Geometry in the Age of the Baroque*; Schimmel, *The Mystery of Numbers*, 19–25; Hendrix, “Neoplatonism in the Design of Baroque Architecture,” 115; Manuel and Manuel, *Utopian Thought in the Western World*, 161–67; Naredi-Rainer, *Architektur und Harmonie*, 40–44, 60–62.

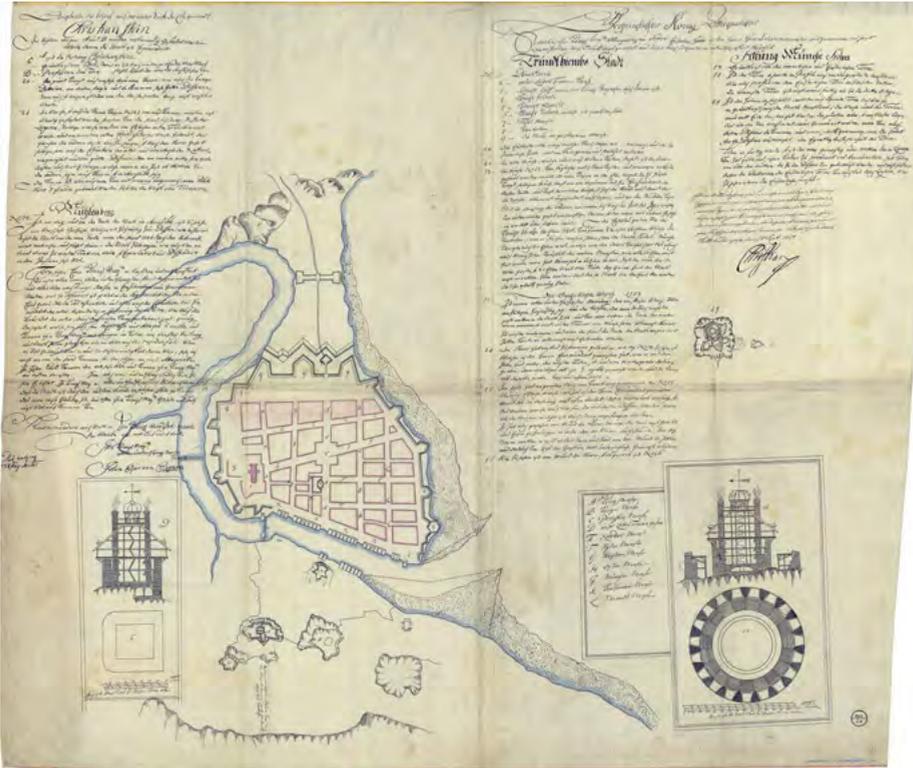


Fig. 18.5: The city plan of Trondheim 1681, the large version – drawn copy from 1881. Municipal Archives in Trondheim. The original version (195x75 cm) is unfortunately rather unreadable. Key: J is *Munkegaten*, A is *Kongens gate*, K is *Kjøpmannsgaten*, 1 is Nidaros Cathedral, and 2 is Church of Our Lady. North is to the right.

Thus, it is not surprising to find the use of Catholic numerology in the city plan of Trondheim, in view of Cicignon's faith and commitment to the Catholic Church. It was one of his possibilities available to him in Lutheran Norway where it was common to find ambiguous Christian messages in visual communication.⁴¹ Symbolic systems with multiple meanings were fashionable in the seventeenth century.

Cicignon did not give Trondheim a square shape in the Protestant manner like earlier Norwegian planned cities, but instead followed the outline of the peninsula (see Fig. 18.5). This gave the city more of a Baroque shape with a fan of radial streets extending from the old cathedral.

⁴¹ Andersen and Bratberg, "Hemmelige katolikker," 28.

Cicignon's plan consisted of five north-south main streets and five east-west within a grid, i.e. ten main streets within the city plan, resulting in very large quarters with a number of narrow alleyways. Streets and quarters west of *Munkegaten* were not developed before the eighteenth century because there were too few inhabitants. The number of main streets was thus not derived from natural conditions or needs, but rather to get the right numbers.

The number five was symbol for various things, such as the *Pentateuch*, the Old Testament, and most traditionally the passion of Christ (the five wounds).⁴² A wide range of interpretations is therefore possible. Considering the mind of a Catholic, however, it is interesting to note that the number five was strongly linked to the Virgin Mary. She achieved a particularly important position during the Counter Reformation – as Cicignon himself demonstrated in the carved rocks at his estate. The Virgin Mary had taken over many Venusian attributes, such as the pentagram – the five-pointed star. The star of Venus was seen as St. Mary's star, as the old hymn *Ave Maris Stella* illustrates. The five-pointed star was, like the six-pointed star, also called the "Seal of Solomon" in the seventeenth century by (among others) Athanasius Kircher in his book *Oedipus Aegyptiacus*,⁴³ thus linking the number five to the Temple of Solomon and the Heavenly Jerusalem as well.

The five-pointed star has ten sides, just as the city plan had ten main streets in total. In traditional Christian allegorical exegesis ten was linked to the Ten Commandments and the perfection of good deeds. Ten in the form of 5+5, as in Trondheim, could be an analogy for the parable of the five wise and five foolish virgins (bridesmaids) who were in the wedding (Matt 25:1–13). A Catholic interpretation, inherited from St. Gregory, was that five is doubled into ten because the Church's faithful are called from both genera.⁴⁴ Another possibility is that it was a Christogram (composed of XP as the first two letters, Chi and Rho, in the Greek Xristos). The number ten was thus understood as a symbol of Christ from the Roman numeral X as the cross of Christ (*forma crucis*) and the Greek Xristos.⁴⁵

Ten also symbolized wholeness and perfection in the Pythagorean tradition from classical antiquity. The Church Fathers St. Gregory and St. Augustine described ten as the perfect number, as the golden number of the Creator symbolizing divine order and harmony.⁴⁶ Athanasius Kircher did the same when applying the Ten Sephirot of the Kabbalah, representing the ten emanations by which God

⁴² Schimmel, *The Mystery of Numbers*, 105–21.

⁴³ Athanasii Kircheri, *Oedpus Aegyptiacus*, vol. 2 (Roma, 1652–54), 397, 477.

⁴⁴ Schimmel, *The Mystery of Numbers*, 180–88, ill. 7; Meyer, *Die Zahlenallegorese im Mittelalter*, 142–45.

⁴⁵ Wolfgang Schiedermaier, *Pflanzenmalereien in drei unterfränkischen Kirchen. Ikonographie, Kunstgeschichte und aktuelle Bedeutung in Bezug auf die Entwicklung von Medizin und Pharmazie* (Würzburg: Julius-Maximilians-Universität, 2003), 81; Schimmel, *The Mystery of Numbers*, 184.

⁴⁶ Anton Knappitsch, *St. Augustins Zahlensymbolik* (Graz: Styria, 1905).

brought the universe into being, as a model for how God brings light and harmony into the world. Furthermore, St. Augustine described ten as the symbol of true wisdom (*sapientia*) in the eternal life. Both of these understandings of the number ten, divine order and wisdom, were often linked to the Heavenly Jerusalem and the throne of God described in the *Book of Revelation*.

Cicignon thus seems to have given Trondheim the perfect number of streets with divine or celestial harmony as in the Heavenly Jerusalem representing the Virgin Mary, Sapientia, Christ, and the Catholic Church.

Radial Streets and the Cross

Cicignon gave Trondheim a different type of symmetric and harmonious plan than a classical square-shaped grid plan. Within the grid of 5 + 5 main streets he designed the streets *Kjøpmannsgaten* and *Munkegaten* radial in the axis north-south with their starting, or ending, point at the cathedral (see Fig. 18.5). This is an early and rare example of a radial city plan.⁴⁷ The most and best-known examples are either (almost contemporaneously) Versailles, or at a later date Karlsruhe and St. Petersburg. The design was used mostly in Baroque garden art. The model for all, and probably also the direct inspiration for Cicignon's design in Trondheim, was the Catholic Church's Baroque design of Rome as the New Jerusalem.

Piazza del Popolo was the northern access and forecourt to Rome. Many travelers in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, like Cicignon and Gyldenløve, entered Rome through the city gate there. The Church from Pope Sixtus V (1585–90) onwards created processional routes and axes connecting the city's pilgrimage churches starting from *Piazza del Popolo* and the church there to emphasize Rome's sacred character as the Eternal City and the New Jerusalem.⁴⁸ The Church with its capital was, as mentioned above, seen as the successor to the earthly Jerusalem made in the likeness of its heavenly counterpart. The analogy with Jerusalem assumed concrete shape when the processions at Easter transformed the city into a Jerusalem prepared for the entry of Christ. The churches, once in isolation, became through divine geometrical routes part of the city that in its totality corresponded to a sacred reality. A trivium, i.e. three radial streets, emanated from *Piazza del Popolo*. The trivium and the use of axes and vanishing points like churches and obelisks developed into a model for the monumental Baroque city plans in Europe

⁴⁷ Grankvist, *300 år med Cicignon 1681–1981*, 46–49; Spiro Kostof, *The City Shaped: Urban Patterns and Meanings through History* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2009), 235–43.

⁴⁸ Morris, *History of Urban Form before the Industrial Revolutions*, 175–87; Manuel and Manuel, *Utopian Thought in the Western World*, 178; Habel, *The Urban Development of Rome in the Age of Alexander VII*.

and the colonies.⁴⁹ The city plan of Rome was a popular subject on the widespread printed engravings, woodcuts, and etchings in early modern Europe.

It is a well-known idea to place churches as focal points in city plans as the Pope did in Rome. Cicignon planned, as the large version of the plan shows (Fig. 18.5), Trondheim with the medieval cathedral on the peninsula's highest point as the starting point from where a trivium with the radial streets *Kjøpmannsgaten*, *Munkegaten*, and *Vår Frue gate* emanated. Thus, Cicignon made the old cathedral and burial church of St. Olav the focal point of the city. The planned straight mid-street *Vår Frue gate* (Street of Our Lady), called *Unsere Liebe Fraue strasse* by Cicignon, went down to the Church of Our Lady (*Vår Frue kirke*) to tie the two medieval churches together in the same manner as the churches in Rome. The main idea with the trivium was realized, even though *Vår Frue gate* as the mid-street for reasons unknown remained the winding alleyway of *St. Jørgensveita* inside a quarter as before the fire.⁵⁰ The Church of Our Lady, though, became the vanishing point as seen from the fjord up the street *Nordre gate*.

Strada Felice in the axis from the *Piazza del Popolo* in Rome (never fully realized) formed a “*bellissima croce*” with the long cross-street *Via Pia* that went from the city gate *Porta Pia* to the Pope's *Palazzo del Quirinale*.⁵¹ Considering Pope Sixtus's aim concerning the city program and his obsession with the symbol of the cross, this important cross point most likely referred to Jerusalem and the pilgrimage church (number six of seven) *Santa Croce in Gerusalemme* at the other end of the axis from *Piazza del Popolo*.⁵² It was a medieval convention to represent the earthly Jerusalem as a circle sectioned into four quarters by crossroads symbolizing Christ – an understanding that was strongly linked to the Heavenly Jerusalem as well.⁵³ This was an important element of Gothic city planning in the Middle Ages which was continued in the following centuries with Renaissance and Baroque city planning. In classical Christian numerology, the number four is linked to different interpretations of the Cross of Christ, and is a symbol of the earthly world with its four corners, four elements, and four seasons of the year.⁵⁴ The “*bellissima croce*” of Sixtus V was appropriately marked with four fountains.

⁴⁹ Morris, *History of Urban Form before the Industrial Revolutions*, 213; Kostof, *The City Shaped*, 216, 43.

⁵⁰ *Vår Frue gate* became instead the name of another small street in the same quarter.

⁵¹ Habel, *The Urban Development of Rome in the Age of Alexander VII*, 11–95; Morris, *History of Urban Form before the Industrial Revolutions*, 181–82; Kostof, *The City Shaped*, 243.

⁵² Marcello Fagiolo, “La Roma di Sisto V, le matrici del policentrismo,” *Psicon* 8–9 (1976).

⁵³ Werner Müller, *Die heilige Stadt. Roma quadrata, himmlisches Jerusalem und die Mythe vom Weltabel* (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1961), 53–68. See Chapter 20 (Kristin Aavitsland), in vol. 1, 424–53.

⁵⁴ Meyer, *Die Zahlenallegorese im Mittelalter*, 125–27. This inheritance is also found in the different interpretations of the heraldic Jerusalem Cross to symbolize (among others) the four quarters of Jerusalem and the four corners of the world.

Cicignon seems to have used this idea from Rome in the plan of Trondheim. The wide central streets of north-south *Munkegaten* and east-west *Kongens gate* with the main square in the cross point sectioned the city into four parts or quarters. *Kongens gate* was the mid-street of the main east-west streets. It was planned, just as *Via Pia* in Rome, in a straight line from the city gate in the eastern outskirts of the city through the main square crossing *Munkegaten*, with the cathedral and a former monastic island as vanishing points. The *Kongens gate* was for practical reasons (among other things the position of the Church of Our Lady) never realized in a strict straight line, but the map of Cicignon's city plan clearly shows his intention and idea (Fig. 18.5). An inspiration from Rome and Jerusalem can thus help explain the main square's remote location at that time which has been characterized as difficult to understand compared to the completely different situation before the fire.⁵⁵

The Numbers Twelve and Seven

When we turn to the streets' width, the numerology is not as equally accessible as the number of streets. Cicignon wrote in his short description of the plan that the three widest streets, *Munkegaten*, *Kongens gate*, and *Kjøpmannsgaten*, would be 60 Danish cubits wide (38 meters).⁵⁶ The other streets would be 36 Danish cubits wide (23 meters). Cicignon justified the width only by fire protection, and neither 36 nor 60 can be said to be numbers with an obvious or much used symbolism. None of the possible interpretations seem plausible and related in the context of the plan, except perhaps for a Protestant understanding meant for the king.⁵⁷

However, if we look at the measurement unit Cicignon used for the city plan of Trondheim, but chose for obvious reasons not to express explicitly in his description to the Lutheran king, the numbers immediately become more interesting. Only one of the two maps of the plan, the small version that was not sent to the king (Fig. 18.1), gives the measurement unit. Cicignon made the new city plan with the measurement unit "*Rutter*" (equivalent to *Rute* in German, *canna* in Italian and Spanish, *canne* in French, and perch, pole, or rod in English).⁵⁸ This was the preferred

⁵⁵ The new location and design has earlier been described as strange and unexplainable (Grankvist, *300 år med Cicignon 1681–1981*, 58).

⁵⁶ Grankvist, *300 år med Cicignon 1681–1981*, 228.

⁵⁷ Thirty-six could be part of St. Augustine's *numeri perfecti* as the square number of six and thus be related to the Work of Creation, and one could argue that 60 cubits are the width and height of the Temple of Jerusalem according to Ezra (Ezra 6:3). The most common understanding of the number 60 was, however, linked to the parable of the sower yielding sixty times what was sown, describing someone who hears the word and understands (Matt 13:23).

⁵⁸ Grankvist, *300 år med Cicignon 1681–1981*, 85; SNL, "Store Norske Leksikon." s.v. "enhetssystem, eldre og fremmede måleenheter".

measurement unit for surveying in many European countries, and consequently widely used in urban planning like Cicignon did in his work with the city plan of Trondheim. The measurement unit *Rute* was divided in many different ways around Europe and varies in lengths equivalent to three to six meters. One *Rute* in seventeenth-century Denmark-Norway was equivalent to five Danish cubits or 3.1 meters. The widest streets in Cicignon's plan were thus equivalent to twelve *Ruten* wide and the other ones seven *Ruten* wide – very important and symbolic numbers in Catholic numerology.

The widest main streets, *Munkegaten*, *Kjøpmannsgaten*, and *Kongens gate*, were twelve *Ruten* wide. Three streets of this width may have been a deliberate choice to symbolize the Trinity. The number twelve was unbreakable, linked to the twelve Apostles. All other interpretations were either related or subordinate thereto.⁵⁹ The twelve baskets of Jesus feeding the five thousand (Mark 6:43) were, for example, associated with the Apostles and could also simultaneously refer to the Catholic communion. The number twelve symbolized the Apostles, the Church which they founded, and the Church's teachings expressed through the Apostles' successors. The Pope on the Chair of St. Peter in Rome was to Cicignon and other Catholics the premier of the successors of the Apostles. The number twelve could thus be understood as a symbol of unity among the faithful to the Catholic Church.

New monasteries were often founded with twelve monks, or numbers derived from twelve, as successors of the Apostles. This probably explains why Cicignon gave one of the main streets the name *Munkegaten* (“*München Strasse*”: the monks' street) – the street refers to the monasticism of the Catholic Church in both its name and width. This becomes even clearer when we consider that the street has the island *Munkholmen* (i.e. “the monks' island” after the monastery located here in the Middle Ages) and the old medieval cathedral of St. Olav as vanishing points at each end (Fig. 18.6).

Munkegaten was, as we have seen, part of the cross-sectioning of the city, as a reference to both Rome and Jerusalem, while the width of twelve *Ruten* strengthens this symbolism. The number twelve is deeply associated with the Heavenly Jerusalem in relation to the Apostles. Twelve was the basic number of the Heavenly Jerusalem with its twelve gates, twelve foundations with the twelve Apostles' names written thereon, etc. (Rev 21), and the Virgin Mary as Queen of the Heavenly Jerusalem had a crown of twelve stars (Rev 12:1). Twelve was thus a very important and widely used number in visual communications such as city plans. By using the number twelve, Cicignon most likely meant to give Trondheim celestial qualities as a Heavenly Jerusalem.

The other main streets in the city plan had a width of seven *Ruten*, a symbolic number which is the subject of many exegeses. The Bible is filled with the number

⁵⁹ Meyer, *Die Zahlenallegorese im Mittelalter*, 146–48.



Fig. 18.6: The street *Munkegaten* seen from the tower of the cathedral. The island of *Munkholmen* as a vanishing point at the other end.

seven, such as the seven steps to the Temple of Solomon with all its interpretations and connections to the Heavenly Jerusalem. Exegeses have often seen seven as a sign of the gifts of grace and spirit, like the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit in Catholic theology (Isa 11:2 and Rev 5:6). Seven is also in this context the Catholic Church's seven sacraments. The seven sacraments, the sevenfold grace, the seven churches (Rev 2–3), and the seven pillars (Prov 9:1) were, according to Gregory the Great, all connected.⁶⁰

The numerology of the number seven and the tradition around the wisdom of Solomon was much used in the seventeenth century and by the Catholic Church in the Counter Reformation, as in Francesco Borromini's church *Sant' Ivo alla Sapienza* in Rome (1642–60). The church is itself a metaphor for divine wisdom seen in, among others, the *Book of Proverbs* and the *Book of Revelation*, built on the theories of Athanasius Kircher and others. The decoration program was filled with complex Solomonic symbolism, as well as symbols referring to the Temple and the Heavenly Jerusalem.⁶¹

⁶⁰ J. Robert Wright, ed., *Ancient Christian Commentary on Scripture, Old Testament IX: Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Song of Solomon* (Downers Grove: Inter Varsity Press, 2005), 72.

⁶¹ Pierre de la Ruffinière du Prey, "Solomonic Symbolism in Borromini's Church of S. Ivo Alla Sapienza," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 31, no. 3 (1968).

Seven was in the early modern period a predominantly Catholic number, and in the Counter Reformation inextricably linked to the Virgin Mary, as in the planned city Scherpenheuvel in Belgium formed as a seven-sided star. Seven is a symbol of the seven Joys and seven Sorrows of Mary in Catholic theology. The Virgin Mary was traditionally personified as *Sapientia*, Wisdom, with its seven pillars. The house of Wisdom (Prov 9:1) was understood as the Heavenly Jerusalem as well as the Temple of Christ's body (Hippolytus),⁶² i.e. the crowned Virgin Mary of the Heavenly Jerusalem, protector of the universe, was the house of Wisdom. These interrelated ideas and understandings of the number may have been a key reason for Cicignon using it in the plan.

Twelve and seven were related as the sum of the Trinity (3) and the Creation (4). Both numbers were seen as symbols of wholeness and perfection, and thus associated with the Heavenly Jerusalem.⁶³ This and the multiple Catholic understandings of the numbers individually probably contributed to give heavenly and transcendental qualities to the new Trondheim in the eyes of Cicignon.

The City Square as the Heavenly Jerusalem

Trondheim was not designed as a square-shaped city, but at the centre of the city plan, where the main streets of *Munkegaten* and *Kongens gate* created the cross-sectioning of the city, Cicignon designed a large equal-sided square. Here we encounter complex symbolism.

The equal-sided square was sectioned into four by the streets with a Greek cross, even though *Munkegaten* crossed it almost diagonally. A square with a Greek cross is a well-known subject in Baroque architecture that probably inspired Cicignon, particularly Bramante-Michelangelo's plan for St. Peter's Basilica in Rome. Within a square, they placed – as the centre of the church plan – a Greek cross with four squares as a reference to Jerusalem and the Temple of Solomon, combining the symbol of the Greek cross with the symbolic values of centralized geometry.⁶⁴ This solution had

⁶² Wright, *Ancient Christian Commentary on Scripture, Old Testament IX*, 72; Hamblin and Seely, *Solomon's Temple*, 173.

⁶³ Meyer, *Die Zahlenallegorese im Mittelalter*, 133–39, 47; Schimmel, *The Mystery of Numbers*, 127–43.

⁶⁴ Wittkower, *Architectural Principles in the Age of Humanism*, 25. Wittkower points out three arguments in support of a Greek cross design: 1. Michelangelo later declared that all architects who departed from Bramante's plan (to which he, Michelangelo returned with his Greek cross plan) had departed from the truth (letter to Ammanati 1555). 2. Egidio da Vierbo's contemporary report which proves that Bramante had centralized concepts in mind. 3. The spate of later Greek cross churches would be difficult to account for without Bramante's great example.

enormous impact on the architecture of the period, and seems to have played a role in the city plan of Trondheim as well.

The square as a geometrical form was associated with wholeness, perfection, and harmony as the geometrical definition of God and the Heavenly Jerusalem.⁶⁵ The form was, as we have seen, widely linked to interpretations of the Heavenly Jerusalem and the Temple of Solomon among both Protestants and Catholics. The Heavenly Jerusalem is described as a square in the *Book of Revelation* (21:9–23), and we find the square in Ezekiel’s vision of the new Temple (Ezek 40–42). This was of great importance in architecture and city planning during the Renaissance and the Baroque period, for example based on the influential books about Ezekiel’s vision by the Jesuit and architect Juan Villalpando, where he gave the biblical square multiple symbolic meanings.

Villalpando, and other Jesuits like Athanasius Kircher, strongly inferred the existence of a link between the celestial bodies and geometrical and mathematical harmonies. Villalpando believed that the Temple had to incorporate itself into the universal harmony according to the movements of the planets and fixed stars, because it reflected the creation of God.⁶⁶ They interpreted the biblical square as a mathematical harmony. Kircher found such celestial and divine mathematical harmony in, among others, magic squares, i.e. a square in which the sum of the elements of each row, column, and diagonal is constant. Magic squares of order three (3x3) through nine (9x9) were assigned to the seven planets.

One of the magic squares described in several books by Athanasius Kircher, including his 1665 volume on numerology,⁶⁷ is the Square of Jupiter – a magic square of order four. The harmony of this square was made by the square being divided into 4x4 smaller squares (16 squares) of numbers where the sum of the squares was 34 whether you went vertically, horizontally, or diagonally. Kircher also pointed out that the total was always 136, i.e. 4x34. This mathematical harmony of numbers can be found in art as well. In Albrecht Dürer’s famous *Melancholia I* from 1514 the Square of Jupiter can be seen built into the wall. (Fig. 18.7)

When we examine the measurements of Cicignon’s square in Trondheim, we find exactly this harmony of the Square of Jupiter. The sides were 170 Danish cubits (107 meters). This is equivalent to 34 *Ruten*, and thus the four sides make a total of 136. As the numbers correspond exactly with the Square of Jupiter, this must have been done deliberately. The form and measures of Cicignon’s square make it a harmonious constructed symbol of Solomon’s Temple and the Heavenly Jerusalem. He probably used Kircher’s or similar descriptions of the Square of

⁶⁵ Hersey, *Architecture and Geometry in the Age of the Baroque*, 114–17.

⁶⁶ Morrison, *Isaac Newton and the Temple of Solomon*, 64–65; Tschudi, “Heavenly Jerusalem in Baroque Architectural Theory,” 183–84.

⁶⁷ Kircher, “*Oedpus Aegyptiacus*, 2:47; Kircheri, *Arithmologia sive De Abditis Numerorum Mysteriis*, 66–67.



Fig. 18.7: *Melancholia I*. Copper engraving from 1513–1514 by Albrecht Dürer. The Square of Jupiter can be seen in the wall. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

Jupiter as an inspiration to give Trondheim divine protection and celestial qualities. The indications of a devoted Catholic desire of Cicignon to design a city square made in the likeness of the Heavenly Jerusalem seems convincing.

To the Likeness of the Heavenly Jerusalem

In this article we have studied the Baroque city plan of Trondheim from 1681 with emphasis on how Christian faith, understandings, and symbolic systems were integrated into the city plan. This is a new approach to the history of urban form in a Scandinavian context, and hence a supplement to the history of city planning in Europe.

While the planned Renaissance cities in Norway, like Kristiansand, followed known Bible-centred Protestant city planning theory with a square-shaped layout, Jean Gaspard de Cicignon planned Trondheim with a different outlook. As argued above, it is reasonable to suggest that he used his Catholic faith, leading position, and knowledge of Catholic city planning theory and practice to realize his ideas of the new Baroque Trondheim. He used Catholic numerology, inspiration from Rome, and multifaceted references to, among others, the Catholic Church, the Heavenly Jerusalem, and the Temple to give Trondheim heavenly and transcendental qualities. His plan with its design and measurements still constitutes the central parts of Trondheim.

It is natural to interpret the city plan as part of Cicignon's work for the Counter Reformation, but few could or wanted to read the Catholic messages. It is unlikely that the plan had a primarily missionary intention on Lutheran territory. Rather, we should more likely consider the plan as a genuine desire of a devoted Catholic to give the inhabitants a city with celestial qualities like a Heavenly Jerusalem through a geometric and harmonious plan reflecting the divine. Like Athanasius Kircher, Cicignon most likely was a believer in the celestial influence on earthly phenomena. They saw the Heavenly Jerusalem as partly already descended on earth through perfection, harmony, and meaning in (among other things) geometry, mathematics, and numbers.

The northernmost planned city in early modern Europe thus illustrates how the urban prophesy of the Heavenly Jerusalem was used from varying viewpoints in Scandinavian city planning. On the outskirts of seventeenth-century Europe, Jean Gaspard de Cicignon planned on the basis of his Catholic world view a city in the likeness of the Heavenly Jerusalem.



Fig. 19.1: King Christian V of Denmark–Norway receives his royal crown from the hand of God. The open bible on the altar quotes 1 Kgs 3:9: “Give therefore thy servant an understanding heart”, or, as the engraver has it, “an intelligent soul” [animum intelligentem]. Engraving, late seventeenth-century. The Royal Danish Library (Det Kongelige Biblioteks Billedsamling), Copenhagen.

Joar Haga

Chapter 19

“The Song from Jerusalem”: Thomas Kingo Frames the Absolute King and His Congregation

This chapter considers one of the most important media of Jerusalem-representation in the culture of Lutheran piety, namely the hymns. The influential Danish hymn writer Thomas Kingo (1634–1703) and his description of Jerusalem are seen from two perspectives: first, how Kingo through his poem “Hosianna”, framed the absolute king in Denmark–Norway as David, where the musician-king leads his people in song; and second, how Kingo wrote several penitential hymns for Lent, where the singer was led into a visual-acoustic experience of the suffering Christ in Jerusalem. Both these elements, the king and the culture of penitence, were cornerstones of the Lutheran culture of piety in seventeenth-century Denmark–Norway.

The role of the king and the culture of penitence was an important context for Kingo and his writings. In the historiography of Denmark–Norway, the seventeenth century has often been called the period of orthodoxy, and it marked a transition from Philippism, as the influence of Philipp Melanchthon’s disciples faded.¹ The first half of the century was marked by the long reign of Christian IV (1588–1658), who ruled by the motto *regna firmat pietas*, piety strengthens the reign. This motto points to his double interest: the strict authority-controlled intellectual life and uniformity on the one hand, and a public demand for pious literature and mystical experience on the other.²

¹ Bjørn Kornerup’s old account of this period has been superseded but never surpassed. Kornerup regarded the installation of Hans P. Resen as the Zealand bishop in 1615 as the beginning of the orthodox period, cf. Bjørn Kornerup et al., *Det lærde tidsrum: 1536–1670; Enevældens Første Aar: 1670–1700 / Urban Schrøder*, vol. 4 (Copenhagen: Gyldendalske Boghandel, 1959), 221. Jens Glebe-Møller’s treatment of the Theological Faculty of University of Copenhagen in this period is also very valuable, but is mostly concerned with the theoretical questions at the doctrinal level. Cf. Jens Glebe-Møller, “Det teologiske fakultet 1597–1732,” in *Københavns universitet 1479–1979*, ed. Svend Ellehøj (Copenhagen: Gad, 1980).

² Carsten Bach-Nielsen, “1500–1800,” in *Kirkens Historie Bind 2*, eds. Carsten Bach-Nielsen and Per Ingeman (Copenhagen: Hans Reitzels Forlag, 2012), 259–67. Charlotte Appel also characterized the period 1600–1660 as “the orthodox battle for the correct faith [retroenhed]” on the one hand, and penitence and the true fear of God on the other hand. She claimed that the household order was of particular importance for the latter. Charlotte Appel, *Læsning og bogmarked i 1600-tallets Danmark* (Copenhagen: Museum Tusulanum, 2001), 120–31.

In light of the perspectives of this book, we could say that the vision of Jerusalem was cultivated from two sides. From the top level of society, the king used his significant power in religious matters to secure what he considered to be the “pure gospel” (and hence the true worship as it was once performed in Jerusalem).³ Therefore, Christian IV would intervene and punish representatives for what he considered divergent doctrinal positions.⁴ From the bottom level, uniformity was secured by a strong interest in literacy to learn the catechism by heart.⁵

The royal intervention stretched far into the religious life of the Danish–Norwegian subjects. When Christian IV entered war against the German emperor in 1626, for example, the king demanded weekly prayer-days in addition to the services on Sundays.⁶ Up until 1626, such prayer-days had been held on a yearly basis. The content of the literature that was published, such as sermons, prayers, and pious admonitions had some common features: the people had sinned, but they could be saved by turning to God and the king.⁷ Since the king had fought for his country with his own life and fortune, God himself considered Christian IV to be like the king of Israel.⁸ However, the wrath of God was inevitable – only after being hit by God’s punishing hand would God annihilate Denmark’s enemies and save the “Jerusalem of the North.”⁹

On the other hand, the demand for pious literature was strong among the laity. Books on piety were among the most popular books. The writings of Johann Arndt (1555–1621), particularly his *Garden of Paradise*, appeared in numerous Danish editions.¹⁰ In the section “Thanksgiving for the Christian Church” [Tacksigelse for den H. Christelige Kircke / oc at Gud vilde hende opholde och beskærme], Arndt had underlined that the Church was the bride of Christ, “the lovely God’s city and the heavenly Jerusalem.”¹¹ Therefore, the reader was a “citizen of the heavenly Jerusalem,” and had the promise of leaving the church militant for

3 See also chapter 1 (Eivor Andersen Oftestad), 17.

4 Kornerup et al., *Det lærde tidsrum*, 4, 229.

5 Charlotte Appel, Morten Fink-Jensen, and Ning de Coninck-Smith, *Da læreren holdt skole: tiden før 1780*, Dansk skolehistorie 1, vol. 1 (Aarhus: Aarhus Universitetsforlag, 2013), 97–100.

6 See also Chapter 7 (Nils Ekedahl), 119–45.

7 For an overview over the propaganda and censorship in this period, cf. Appel, *Læsning og bogmarked*, vol. 1: 423–29. See also Arne Bugge Amundsen and Henning Laugerud, *Norsk fritenkerhistorie 1500–1850* (Oslo: Humanist Forlag, 2001); and Øystein Rian, *Sensuren i Danmark-Norge. Vilkårerne for offentlige ytringer 1536–1814* (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 2014).

8 Paul Douglas Lockhart, “Dansk propaganda under Kejserkrigen 1625–1629,” *Jyske Samlinger* 2 (1998), 231.

9 Lockhart, “Dansk propaganda under Kejserkrigen 1625–1629,” 240.

10 Christian Bruun, *Bibliotheca Danica*, vol. 1 (Copenhagen: Gyldendalske Boghandel, 1877), 306.

11 “[. . .] hun er din kiere Søns Jesu Christi Brud [. . .] en skøn Guds stad; det himmelske Jerusalem [. . .]” Johann Arndt, *Paradis Urtegaard* (Copenhagen: Salomon Sartorius, 1625), 347.

the church triumphant.¹² The key to entering bliss in the life hereafter was a life of penance, as Johann Arndt also forcefully underlined.

In many ways, this could be seen as a cultivation of Jerusalem within the individual believer. In his famous treatise *True Christianity*, Johann Arndt claimed that “Scripture describes the New Jerusalem, and it must be in me, and I myself must be it.”¹³ In order to bridge the disparity between the two locations, namely New Jerusalem and the believing self, Arndt added a footnote, which was included in a later edition: “The paradise of God is above us, in heaven, but if we want to come to the paradise, our heart has to become a paradise. The new Jerusalem is above in heaven, but if we want to enter it, our heart must first become a heavenly Jerusalem, a city of the living God.”¹⁴

On the other hand, penance had also – and perhaps primarily – a social aspect, and the king wanted to foster personal penitential piety. This was not merely done by *appealing* to piety – rather the king used *legal* means in order to secure a correct understanding in the hearts of his subjects. In Christian IV’s “rescript” of penance from 1629, the king demanded that there should be appointed “helpers” to the ecclesiastic ministers. The task of these helpers was to uncover “vices that are difficult to abrogate or prove,” such as negligence of keeping the Sunday holy, swearing, and frivolity.¹⁵ The idea of such a control was that sinners could be admonished to better their conduct, and piety could prosper not merely in the external realm, but also in the internal realm, in the hearts of the believers. If the admonishment failed, punishment could be used, from accusations in public to excommunication.¹⁶ At the end of the long prescript, the king underlined the reason for this and other prescripts: avoidance of God’s wrath [Guds fortørnelse].¹⁷

12 “[. . .] Oc at wi oc endelig kunde annammis / fra denne stridende Kircke / ind vdi den Triumpherende Kircke [. . .]” Arndt, *Paradis Urtegaard*, 349.

13 “Die Schrifft beschribet das neue Jerusalem / das mus in mir seyn / und ich mus es selbst seyn.” Johann Arndt, *Vier Bücher von wahrem Christenthumb* [. . .] *Das Erste Buch* (Magdeburg: Johan Francken, 1610), 59.

14 “Das Paradies Gottes ist über uns im Himmel; aber wenn wir in das Paradies kommen wollen, muss zuvor in dem zeitlichen Leben unser Herz paradiesisch werden. Das neue Jerusalem ist droben im Himmel; aber wenn wir sollen dort hinein kommen, muss zuvor unser Herz ein himmlisch Jerusalem, eine Stadt des lebendigen Gottes werden.” Johann Arndt, *Sechs Bücher vom wahren Christenthum* (Schaffhausen: J. F. Schalch, 1857), 90.

15 Holger Frederik Rørdam, *Danske Kirkelove . . . 1536–1683: D. 1* (Copenhagen: Selskabet for Danmarks Kirkehistorie, 1883), 146.

16 Arne Bugge Amundsen, “Mellom Bot og Felleskap,” in *Norsk Religionshistorie*, ed. Arne Bugge Amundsen (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 2005), 224–27.

17 Holger Frederik Rørdam, *Danske Kirkelov* (Copenhagen: Selskabet for Danmarks Kirkehistorie, 1889), 168.

The king was not merely responsible for the protection of “the true religion”, but also for the people’s ecclesiastical well-being.¹⁸

Absolute rule was introduced in 1660, when the king acquired hereditary rights and dismissed the Privy Council.¹⁹ The king ruled the church “from the highest to the lowest,” as the new code, the famous *Lex Regia* (Kongeloven), stated. The subsequent anointment pulled the king into a divine – even Christological – sphere, as we will see later.²⁰ It was an important event of communication as well – the sermon of the anointment service by Bishop Hans Wandal (1624–75) was published in 1000 copies.²¹

Arguably, the poems and hymns of Kingo wove these two motives together. He praised the absolute king as the sun and staged the believers’ penitential religious culture in hymns to be sung in homes and in churches. Both themes had Jerusalem as important components: first, his panegyric descriptions of the absolute monarch in the image of the Israelite kings, such as David and Solomon; second, his hymns of *passiontide*, where Kingo depicted Christ’s suffering in Jerusalem.

Kingo, the King, and the Hymn Book

Thomas Kingo (1634–1703) was the main figure among the poets and hymn writers of orthodox absolutism. His legacy lasted long after his death, and he is arguably the most influential hymn writer in Denmark–Norway since the Reformation. Together with H. A. Brorson (the Pietist), and N. F. S. Grundtvig (the Romantic), Kingo forms the towering trinity of hymn writing in post-reformation Copenhagen until this day.²² The popularity of Kingo’s hymns are not only seen by the centrality he occupies in the Lutheran Churches in these countries today, but also in the fact that the official hymn book edited and published by Kingo (1699) proved difficult to replace with a more modern one. Although the rationalistic hymn book of 1798 excluded Kingo, some areas of Denmark still used Kingo’s hymn book until the 1960s.

In Norway, there was an even greater reception of Kingo. The first national hymn book of the Church of Norway, edited by Landstad (1869), contained no less

¹⁸ Bernt T. Oftestad, *Den norske statsreligionen: Fra øvrighetskirke til demokratisk statskirke* (Kristiansand: Høyskoleforlaget, 1998), 66.

¹⁹ C. O. Bøggild Andersen, *Statsomvæltningen i 1660: Kritiske studier over kilder og tradition* (Copenhagen: Levin & Munksgaard, 1936).

²⁰ Oftestad, *Den norske statsreligionen*, 56–62.

²¹ Appel, *Læsning og bogmarked*, 519; see also Chapter 5 (Arne Bugge Amundsen), 72–95 in this volume.

²² In the Danish tradition, B. S. Ingemann (1789–1862) is perhaps included. His influence is more confined to the national mainland, however, with one exception: the popular Christmas carol *Deilig er jorden*.

than 116 hymns written by Kingo, from a total of 634.²³ The current authorized hymn book in the Lutheran Church of Denmark (2005) has 791 hymns, and Kingo is responsible for 82 of them. In 1936 article, the Norwegian pastor and hymnologist P. E. Rynning remarked that one of the most striking aspects of Kingo’s hymns is that they are much easier to sing than the older ones. Their formal structure is more rounded and playful. In spite of the previous attempts by authors such as Hans Thommissøn and Hans Christensøn Sthen, Rynning claimed that Kingo was the creator of the original Danish hymn. Although the new form of hymn composition was already present in the work of Anders Arrebo (1587–1637), particularly his translation of the psalms of David, Rynning wrote that their compositional form is not yet “ripe” before Kingo.²⁴

Kingo and the Danish King

Before the new king, Christian V, was anointed on 7 June 1671, Thomas Kingo wrote a poem, *Hosianna*, to celebrate the occasion.²⁵ The poem reflected the new ideology of absolute rule, as laid down in the famous *Lex Regia* (published 1665) and theologically justified in Hans Wandal’s, *Jus Regium*, a six-volume work that appeared between 1663–72.²⁶

23 The number of Kingo’s hymns, however, decreased steeply thereafter. In the revised version of Landstad’s hymn book, by Gustav Jensen (1924), Kingo was only represented with 64 out of 886 hymns. In the official hymn book *Norsk Salmebok* (1985), he had 24 of a total of 866. In the most recent version of the hymnal (2013) for the Church of Norway, only 16 of a total of 899 came from Kingo’s hand.

24 In line with the national ideology in the 1930s, Kingo was seen as “the conscious Danish-national emancipation from the German hymn writing.” P. E. Rynning, “Thomas Kingo. Salmeskalden Kingo og Noreg,” *Kirke og Kultur* 42 (1935), 234.

25 Cf. Chapter 5 (Arne Bugge Amundsen), 72–95 in this volume.

26 Paolo Borioni, “Suverænitetsbegrebet i Bog IV af H. Wandals Jus Regium” (PhD Diss., University of Copenhagen, 2003). A main point for Wandal was to reject the difficult critique of kingship as it appeared in 1 Sam 8. In his book, “A defence of the people of England,” John Milton had – on behalf of the Council of State – defended the Commonwealth against the monarchical theory of the French Protestant, Claudius Salmasius. The crucial point was the understanding of the Hebraic word for kingship, *mishpat*. Milton claimed that God, speaking through Samuel, “disapproved of it, blamed it, considered it a fault [. . .].” John Milton, *Political Writings*, ed. Martin Dzelzainis, trans. Claire Gruzelier (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 85. Wandal attacked this interpretation, and claimed that it was only its *misuse* that was disapproved. Its proper use was divinely sanctioned. Cf. Joar Haga, “Gerhard (Un)Seen from Copenhagen? Danish Absolutism and the Relation between State and Church,” in *Konfession, Politik und Gelehrsamkeit. Der Jenaer Theologe Johann Gerhard (1582–1637) im Kontext seiner Zeit*, eds. Markus Friedrich, Sascha Salatowsky, and Luise Schorn-Schütte (Stuttgart: Steiner, 2017), 126. It should be underlined that the theocratic interpretation by Wandal was by no means undisputed. For a discussion of this, see Sebastian Olden-Jørgensen,

The title of the poem, *Hosianna*, is worth considering due to its status as the cry that met Jesus from the multitudes when he entered Jerusalem. As Christ, King Christian V enters the city to be crowned as the true king. On the title page, it was stressed that *finally* [omsider] Christian V let himself be anointed and blessed (see Fig. 19.1). The passive²⁷ description of the King's act was important as God was the active part in shaping the royal ideology: the anointing and blessing had been conducted "according to the manner and style God himself had introduced," the title page underlined.²⁸ The king had not received his office through a royal Charter with the Privy Council, but through his noble birth. Through Kingo's description as a prayer, this natural order was baptized and sanctified. His aim was to create a sanctuary "to lead the profane time through the gates and lift it up to sacred time," as Erik A. Nielsen has described it.²⁹

In a cosmic description, the king appeared as the "Nordic sun itself" on display. "His fair queen" is the moon, passive, receiving the light from her active man. The Danish nobility, who had faded from their former glory, should now enter their new role as stars, bowing to the great sun.³⁰ It was the start of a new hyperbolic style, where a true poet "can make flattery into art."³¹ One can hardly overestimate the impact of the sun as a central metaphor in the hymn writing of Kingo.

The allegorical use of the sun in *rex* and *regina* was heavily enacted in Early Modern Europe, perhaps most famously by Louis XIV in his identification with Apollo.³² Kingo's biographer in the nineteenth century reminded his readers that the almost parodic use of poetic devices such as the Alexandrine, should be interpreted in light [!] of

"Enevoldsarveregeringsakten og kongeloven. Forfatningsspørgsmålet i Danmark fra oktober 1660 til november 1665," *Historisk Tidsskrift* 93 (1993), 295–321.

27 In Danish: "Lod sig".

28 "[. . .] efter dend aff Gud selv indførde og Himmelbudne Maneer og Maade / Salve og Signe." Thomas Kingo, *Samlede Skrifter*, 6 vols. (Copenhagen: Reitzel, 1975), 2: 1.

29 "[. . .] er det digtets målsætning at føre tiden *ind* i helligdommen, at opløfte profan tid til sakral." Erik A. Nielsen, *Thomas Kingo: Barok, enevælde, kristendom*, Billed-Sprog, vol. 2 (Copenhagen: Gyldendal, 2010), 156.

30 Richard Petersen, *Thomas Kingo og hans samtid* (Copenhagen: Karl Schönbergs Forlag, 1887), 165.

31 F. J. Billeskov Jansen, "From the Reformation to the Baroque," in *A History of Danish Literature*, ed. Sven H. Rossel (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1992), 109.

32 Jörn Sieglerschmidt, "Sonne und Mond," in *Enzyklopädie der Neuzeit*, ed. Friedrich Jaeger (Stuttgart: J. B. Metzler, 2010), 200–01. Philip Riley has underlined the strategic *moral* role of Louis XIV's identification with Apollo: "The symbol of Apollo, the god of divination – the intermediary between the divine and human realms – not only permitted the new Sun King to aspire to be the center of the European world but also accommodated his charge, as 'God's Most Christian King,' to represent the Son of God, Jesus Christ." Philip F. Riley, *A Lust for Virtue: Louis XIV's Attack on Sin in Seventeenth-Century France* (Westport, CN: Greenwood Press, 2001), 25.

the fact that everything Kingo wrote coincided with the time of Louis XIV.³³ In this tradition there is a curative aspect of the king as the sun. Racine compared his French king to the sun and labelled his reign as the golden age, as he recovered from illness.³⁴ In his poem to the king, Kingo expanded on this notion, by comparing the king to his vision of Christ: the great light that redeems sinful man from the powers of darkness.³⁵ In Denmark, Willich Westhov published his *Emblemata* in 1640, where he included the radiating king and queen as sun and moon inside a wedding ring (Fig. 19.2).

This image did not stand alone, but was preceded by another important image in the royal ideology, namely that of David.³⁶ He appeared as the example of the king, kneeling while playing a harp, “offering pleasing hymns” from the Hebrew psalms while his mind was illuminated by God (See Fig. 19.3).

As the sun, the king represented reason and intellect in the earthly realm.³⁷ Kingo’s understanding of the order of creation was erected on chaos. Compared to his contemporary German hymn writer Paul Gerhardt (1607–76), Kingo had a very different view of the world. Gerhardt portrayed an experience of a world “in a pale sunlight” and the “goodness and grace of God was found everywhere.” Kingo, however, saw the world as a “great battle, where darkness followed light, the great sun followed the night, but always with the hope, that the light would prevail.”³⁸

For Kingo, the king reflected not merely a primordial order, but his office was a tool to keep the forces of chaos at a distance. As it was underlined in the introduction, God’s wrath could enter the kingdom at any time. Therefore, Kingo’s

33 Petersen, *Thomas Kingo og hans samtid*, 126. Petersen added that the somehow pompous effect of his poetry to modern readers may have been intensified by Holberg, who let his comic figure Peder Paars sail into the world as he proclaimed an Alexandrine verse.

34 Peter Burke, *The Fabrication of Louis XIV* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), 22.

35 Nielsen, *Thomas Kingo*, 2: 233. Nielsen underlines the typological relation between Christ and the first day of creation: the separation of light and darkness prefigured the darkness-conquering work of Christ.

36 Cf. Chapter 6 (Sivert Angel), 97–117 in this volume.

37 The role of the sun was perhaps most evident in the work of seventeenth-century philosopher Robert Fludd. In his highly speculative work on metaphysics, Fludd used the sun to connect the micro-world of men with the macro-world of the heavens. Cf. Robert Fludd, *Utriusque cosmi maioris scilicet et minoris metaphysica, Physica atque technica historia* (Frankfurt: Hieronymus Galler, 1619), 254.

38 “Paul Gerhardt er rolig og blød. Verden ligger mest for ham i Solglands, han ser Guds Godheds spor i alle Ting, Naaden er ham vis [. . .] Annerledes er Kingo, heftig ildfuld og bevæget; i ham bruser og gjærer det, han kjender og skildrer Synden i sine mangehaande Skikkelser, han kjender og sukker under Kampen med den. Og som han ser det personlige Kristenliv oftest som en Kamp, saa er det hele store Verdensliv ham ogsaa en vældig Kamp, hvor Lys vexler med Mørke, den gylne Sol med den skumle Nat, dog altid med Fortrøstningen, at Sejren bliver paa Lysets Side [. . .].” Petersen, *Thomas Kingo og hans samtid*, 151. For Gerhardt, see Christian Bunnens, “Nichts Schönres unter der Sonne als unter der Sonne zu sein . . . ’ Zum Sonnenmotiv bei Paul Gerhardt,” in “*Und was ich noch sagen wollte . . .*” *Festschrift für Wolfgang Kabus zum 80. Geburtstag*, eds. Johannes Hartlapp and Andrea Cramer (Berlin: Frank & Timme, 2016) 96–97.

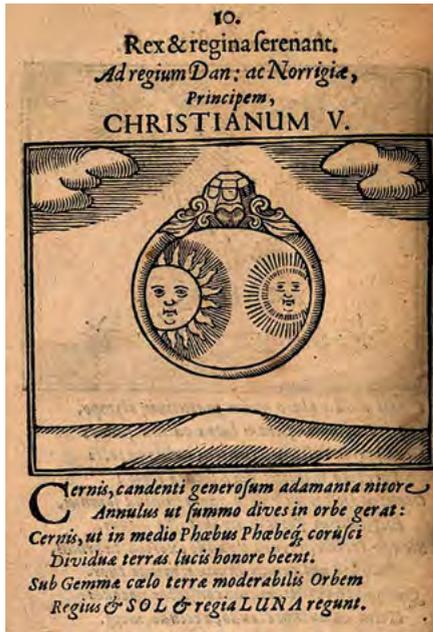


Fig. 19.2: King Christian V depicted as the sun, and his queen, Charlotte Amalie, as the moon. They are set within a ring, representing the “celestial gems” who rule over a manageable world. Woodcut from Willich Westhov, *Emblemata*, 1640, fol.9.



Fig. 19.3: According to Westhov, a good king should follow the example of the biblical King David: fall on his knees and contemplate the lights of God. Above all, the king should offer hymns. Woodcut from Willich Westhov, *Emblemata*, 1640, fol. 7.

understanding of a threatening chaos reflected a basic cultural assessment. The optimistic mood that had formed the first years of Reformation in Denmark–Norway gave way to a religiosity that can be characterized as *penitential*.³⁹ Already King Christian IV, who reigned until 1648, promoted the sorrow and grief of a particular deficiency: good deeds as the fruits of faith.⁴⁰

In addition to the focus on penitence, Kingo also utilized the *heating* aspect of the sun, as the king was giving warmth to the cold creatures of the North:

I hver en Straale glands er Krafftig virkning lagt.
Hand øser Lius og Lyst paa alle Stjerne-flokke,

³⁹ See also Chapter 12 (Eivor Andersen Oftestad) in this volume, 235–57.

⁴⁰ J. Oskar Andersen, *Dansk Syn paa Fromhed og “Gudfrygtigheds Øvelse” i ældre Luthersk Tid. En kirkehistorisk Indledning til Kingo’s “Siunge-Koor”* (Copenhagen: Levin & Munksgaards Forlag, 1931), 35–38.

Hand bukker offte sig til Jordens vaade Sokke,
Og stikke Qvegnings Krafft i hendes kolde Bryst [. . .]⁴¹

In every radiant beam, a powerful effect is placed,
He dispenses light and happiness on all the groups of stars,
He often bends over the cold swamps of the Earth,
And induces life-giving power in her cold breast.⁴²

The life-giving effect that the Nordic sun king had on the barren and cold land gave witness to the divine origin of his kingship: “Hence, the heavens have ordered your regiment.”⁴³ The metaphor of the sun corresponded with the strong erotic connotations that Kingo presented elsewhere, particularly in the poem where Kingo described the king’s entrance to the island of Funen. In a language worthy of hierogamy, the Island opened up for the king who brought about his life-giving seeds.⁴⁴

In *Hosianna*, Kingo included the blessing of Solomon as well. On the title page, the wish for the king’s fortune [Kongen skee Lykke!] was exactly how the people had responded to the anointing of Solomon by the priest Zadok, according to the contemporary Bible translation of Hans Svane (1647).⁴⁵

Kingo could state that King Christian V was received by the bishop of Zealand as David and Saul were received by the prophet Samuel, thereby constructing an analogy between Samuel and Bishop Wandal as divine instruments in installing kings. A peculiar feature is Kingo’s remark that the “Samuel” who anointed the king, Hans Wandal, was – just as the boy Samuel – nourished or “suckled” into the House of the Lord.⁴⁶ In addition, the ecclesiastical order of the Danish church was performing the same function as the priests of ancient Israel.

Her staar din Samuel, til HERrens Huus opammed,
Med Olien I Haand, hans Hierte det er krammed
Med mange hellig Suk, hans Læbers tale skiøn
Har HOSIANNA sit fra ald sin Ordens Bøn.

Here is your Samuel, suckled into the House of the Lord,
with oil in his hand, his heart is surrounded

41 Kingo, *Samlede Skrifter*, 2:4.

42 Translation from Svend Erik Larsen, “Myth and Meaning of Foreign Lightscapes in Nordic Literatures 1: The Imaginary Elsewhere,” in *Nordic Literature: A Comparative History*, eds. Mark B. Sandberg, Steven P. Sondrup, Thomas A. DuBois, and Dan Ringgaard (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 2017), 299.

43 “Saa har og Himlen selv dit Regimente skikked.” Kingo, *Samlede Skrifter*, 2:6.

44 “Bryd op dit rige Skiød! du grøde-fulde Dronning! Feed-bugget Fynske Jord, her træder frem din Konning!” Kingo, *Samlede Skrifter*, 2:126.

45 Kingo, *Samlede Skrifter*, 6A:199.

46 The commentary to the critical edition points to the relation between Bishop Wandal and Samuel as a matter of biographical coincidence: as Samuel was handed over to the temple, so was Wandal – the son of a bishop – designated for service in the church. Kingo, *Samlede Skrifter*, 6A:203.

with holy sighs, his lips of beautiful oratory
 have their Hosanna from the whole of his order's prayer.⁴⁷

In addition to the mere performative aspects, the spatial imagination of “your Samuel” opened up the possibility for interpreting Copenhagen as Jerusalem as well. It was simply the place where the chosen king is anointed by God. Such a spatial charging was a politically important historical dimension of Wandal's office. The oil in the bishop's hand was used in the propaganda and legitimation for the absolute rule as the will of God. As the main representative of the ecclesiastical ministry, Wandal was framed as the final product of a development that aimed towards the anointing of the absolute king. Kingo's clever framing of the fruit of the church's long pondering in prayer, their “holy sighs” through the centuries, had now been finally answered. Being raised in God's house, the clergy was at last anointing the king. As the Aronitic service in the temple reached its summit with Samuel anointing the king, so also did the Lutheran church office. Read in this way, the poem was not only constructing a simple comparison between Samuel and Wandal, but it points to the teleological direction of religion itself, namely to baptize political power in the figure of a king.

The Lent and Easter Hymns of Kingo

Thomas Kingo did not merely lead the king into the temple to become anointed, but through his hymns, Kingo also lead the congregation into the city of Jerusalem to see the suffering and dying Christ. A royal decree was made concerning “preparation of a new hymn book” in 1683, since the public hymn book was a *royal* responsibility. This responsibility fit well with Kingo's framing of the king as David, the king who led his people in the art of praising the Lord.

In the decree, the king not only referred to a lack of songs to fit the texts of the liturgical year, but he also complained about the hymns in use.⁴⁸ They were “collected by clerks without erudition and had not been corrected by theologians.” Therefore, Kingo should collect the best and supply them with “some of his own hymns.”⁴⁹ The decree gave clear direction of how the hymn book should be organized,

⁴⁷ Kingo, *Samlede Skrifter*, 2:8 (My translation).

⁴⁸ Even though Thomissøn's *Salmebog* from 1569 was the official hymn book, there were different hymn books in circulation. Many of them were full of errors and suffered from poor printing quality, while many of the included German hymns were poorly translated. Kingo, *Samlede Skrifter*, 6B:431.

⁴⁹ “[. . .] stor Urigtighed udi adskillige Sange, som derudi ere indførte, endeel formedelst u-lærde Bogførere, der allehaande udøgtige og ubeqvenne Sange sammensancker [. . .] endeelog fordi at saadanne Psalmebøger ey af Theologis ere giennemseet og rettede: da er Voris allernaadigste Villie og Befalning, at Du, det snariste muligt er, est betenckt paa en ret Psalmebog af de gamle sædvanlige

namely that each Sunday in the liturgical year “has its own songs.”⁵⁰ Despite the critics, there was a strong wish to preserve hymns that were in use.⁵¹

Six years later, Kingo published his work, the “Winter-part,” covering the Sundays from Advent to the first Sunday after Easter.⁵² His hymns for Lent and Easter represent some of the most central works in Danish Christian poetry,⁵³ and form a journey with Jesus in Jerusalem from his song after the Last Supper to his crucifixion.

Just like the meditations in the Middle Ages, the hymns represent stations where the singer can view the sufferings of Christ, or perhaps can rather be adopted into the drama. All the seventeen passion hymns can be seen as a work in its own right, a 210-stanza composition.⁵⁴ In the final and official edition of 1699, the commission of editors wanted to omit them, claiming that they were better suited for private piety than public liturgy. For Kingo, however, it was paramount that they were included. In the end, the commission struck a compromise, namely to place them together at the end of book.⁵⁵

In the preface to “the most merciful Lord and King,” Kingo reminded Christian V that he, as a regent preoccupied with the composition of a hymn book, was in fellowship with the most noble and God-fearing of kings. King David, Kingo stated, not only took the royal sceptre in his hand to rule his people, he also “took the harp in his hand in order to praise God.” And further: “He did not merely write hymns but sang them as well. Indeed, he makes it publicly known that he will not cease, but rather will glorify the Lord as long as he lived and sing his praises as long as he was here.”⁵⁶

By placing the king in a tradition of musicians, Kingo did not alter the ideology of the king, but instead underlined the liturgical aspect. Referring to the report of

og beste Kirkesange og Psalmer at sammenskrive og indrette, saa og dend med endell af dine egne forbedre [. . .].” Rørdam, *Danske Kirkelove*, 548.

50 The former official hymn book, Hans Thomissøn’s collection from 1569, had its content partly organized according to the large liturgical events, and according to their catechetical and dogmatic content. Stig Wernø Holter, *Kom, tilbe med fryd* (Oslo: Solum Forlag, 1991), 295–96. For example, between the hymns of Christmas and Easter, Thomissøn inserted a large section under the heading “The person of Christ,” cf. Hans Thomissøn, *Den ny danske Psalmbog* (Copenhagen: Laurentz Benedicht, 1592), 28r.

51 Ove Paulsen, “Salmer som gudstjenesteled i Kingos Vinterpart 1689 og ‘Kingos Salmebog’ 1699,” *Hymnologiske meddelelser* 29, no. 1 (2000), 61.

52 In one of the most spectacular events in the Danish history of literature, Kingo fell into disgrace and the king withdrew his authorization of Kingo’s work. Although there have been many attempts to explain the reason for this, they are mere speculations. Cf. Kingo, *Samlede Skrifter*, 6B:431–46.

53 Nielsen, *Thomas Kingo*, 2:401–02.

54 Petersen, *Thomas Kingo og hans samtid*, 364.

55 Vigdis Berland Øystese, “Hør en lovsang, høye himler,” in *Nytt norsk salmeleksikon*, eds. David Scott Hammes, Inger Vederhus, and Stig Wernø Holter (Trondheim: Akademika Forlag, 2012), 143.

56 “David tog ey allene sit Kongl. Spir i Haanden til at love sin GUD: Hand ey allene skrev selv Psalmer, men hand og sang dem, ja hand giver offentlig tilkiende, at hand til sin Døde-Dag ey vilde lade det, men at hand vilde love HERren, saa længe hand vaar her.” Kingo, *Samlede Skrifter*, 1–6, 4, 7.

2 Chr 20, Kingo underlined the military benefits of singing. The king of Judah, Josaphat, did not win the final battle against the children of Ammon, Moab, and Mount Seir due to sheer military force, Kingo pointed out. Rather, Kingo claimed that Josaphat had won because he had appointed singers unto the Lord. Josaphat's attack was not defined by the swords, but by the people's praise. It pleased God, Kingo wrote, to give victory to the praising tongue, not to the drawn sword.⁵⁷

Was Kingo's framing of the king in the light of a singing king of Israel an attempt to make a political statement? Could it be read as a critique of a more aggressive line of politics? Probably not, at least not in the short term. In 1674, Kingo pointed merely to a political goal for the king's reign, namely the wish for peace.⁵⁸ This could perhaps be read as a critique of the more aggressive line of foreign policy that Christian V pursued compared to his father, Frederick III. When the king of France, Louis XIV, had marched into the Netherlands two years earlier, the emperor and elector of Brandenburg urged the other European nations to join in an alliance against the French aggression. At first, Denmark followed a neutral line, but during the summer 1674, Christian V joined an offensive alliance with the enemies of France.⁵⁹ However, although there is hardly any evidence of Kingo as a political writer, one can still see certain political implications by Kingo in integrating the king into his interpretation of Jerusalem. Kingo's creative mind did not leave the king alone with his secular affairs. When the king was put in relation to an embodiment of political leadership, David of Israel, David was at first accentuated only as a good and just ruler. Interestingly, we can then observe a change in Kingo's use of the image of David – he was transformed into a God-pleasing singer in his *Vinterparten*.

In Kingo's universe of texts, one can observe a similar movement of melodies. In line with his "transformation" of the king, Kingo was eager to baptize secular melodies for religious use. His *contrafactum* demanded a more dramatic change than for the king, however, when Kingo sought to make "a song about Sodom" into "a song about Zion." He wanted to make the "pleasant and agreeable melodies" – that is secular and popular songs – "so much more heavenly" by using them for religious purposes.⁶⁰ Kingo exploited Luther's idea that the hymn itself created a service, outside the cultic order. The Christian place was not restricted to the church, as everyone could worship God "in their estate and calling" [kald og stand], as Kingo stated in a famous morning song. When Kingo wrote a hymn "for seafaring people," there was no requirement for performing it

⁵⁷ Kingo, *Samlede Skrifter*, 4:7.

⁵⁸ The element of military success against the enemies was particularly important and repeated many times. For example, for the sixteenth stanza of Kingo's *Dend Syvende Aften-Sang* [The seventh evensong], Kingo ended it by asking that the king "grow higher than his enemy" ["og høyt sin Fiende overgroe"]. Kingo, *Samlede Skrifter*, 3:393.

⁵⁹ Knud J. V. Jespersen, "1660–1700. Drømmen om revanche," in *Danmarks krigshistorie*, eds. Ole L. Frantzen and Knud J. V. Jespersen (Copenhagen: Gad, 2010).

⁶⁰ Kingo, *Samlede Skrifter*, 3:9.

in a congregation gathered in a church building. On the contrary, Kingo framed the hymn with the intention of men singing it at work. He visualized the ship as a church and the seamen as a congregation, sailing on their way to heavenly Jerusalem.⁶¹

There is, however, considerable flexibility in Kingo’s use of Jerusalem. It was not merely the seat of the psalm-king David and the praising congregation, but it was also the place where Christ met his destiny in passion and death cf. Fig. 19.4.

O ye Highest Heavens, Listen

The first hymn in Kingo’s “passion suite”⁶² opens with an appeal to the most fundamental of the senses of the Danish Lutheran of seventeenth-century Denmark, namely the ear. The first stanza summons the heavens, the angels, and the people on earth to listen.

HØrer til I høye Himle,
Hører til I Engle-Koor!
Hører O I Folk som vrimle
Og som Jordens Klod beboer!

Listen, o ye highest heavens,
listen, o ye angel choir!
Listen, o ye people abounding
who live on planet earth!⁶³

His cosmic exhortation has a direction. It is not intended to attune the soul to a particular mood, but rather leads the singer to the acoustic event in Jerusalem. It is a space filled with sound. Jesus himself is singing: “Jesus, oh, our Jesus is singing.” The effect of Kingo’s exhortation “listen!” is dependent on how he links Jesus’s voice to the cosmic harmony. Kingo took the idea of a static consonance of the heavenly bodies and used the singing of Jesus as a dramatic element, putting the whole of creation in motion.

Himlens heele Harmoni
Sættes nu i Melodi

The complete heaven’s harmony
is now given melody.⁶⁴

⁶¹ Th. Borup Jensen, “Hvad er en salme? Forsøg på en genrebestemmelse,” in *Salmen som lovsang og litteratur*, eds. Th. Borup Jensen and K. E. Bugge (Copenhagen: Gyldendal, 1972), 29–32.

⁶² Nielsen, *Thomas Kingo*, 2:442.

⁶³ Kingo, *Samlede Skrifter*, 4:276. (My translation).

⁶⁴ Kingo, *Samlede Skrifter*, 4:276. (My translation).

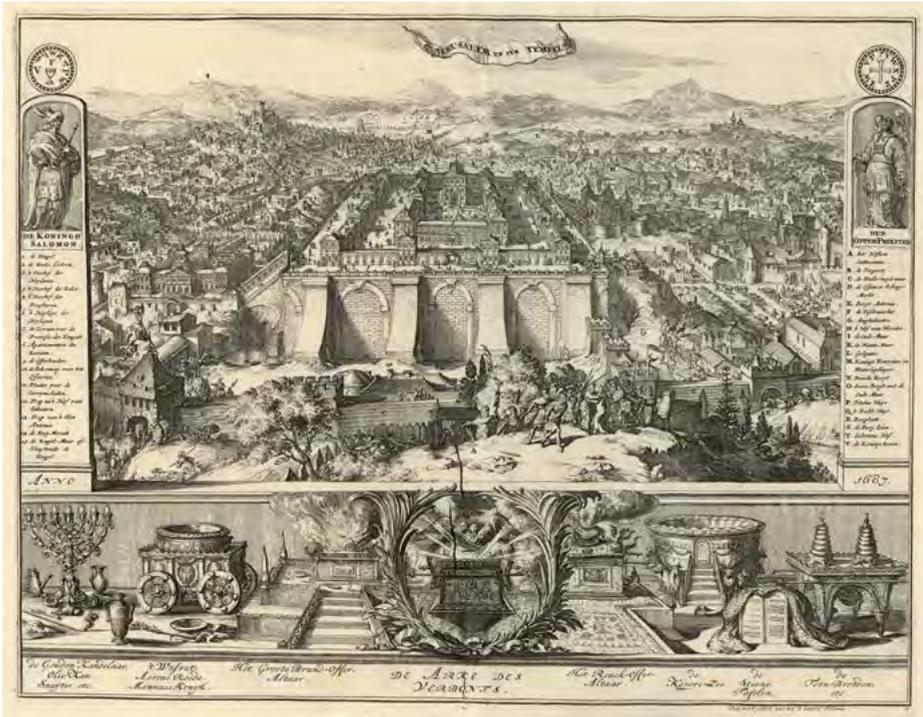


Fig. 19.4: Reconstruction of Jerusalem and the Temple seen from the Mount of Olives, engraving from Jan van der Avelen, *Atlas Major* Bd. 60, tvl. 6, Amsterdam 1687. It is not known whether Kingo saw this particular reconstruction or not, but it is possible that the bishop of Odense knew of its existence. The Temple dominates the scene in a striking way.

For the singer of the hymn, his song is not merely connected to the pre-established harmony of the spheres, but is tied to – or included in the event – by hearing Christ sing. In his hymn for Good Friday, Kingo explicated the effect as a touch from Christ’s hand in his famous 15 verses. After a series of requests to the singer to contemplate the events on the cross, Kingo suddenly turns to the singer with the prayer: “write yourself, Jesus, on my heart.”⁶⁵ The objective inscription on the cross is understood as transported into the heart. Such a mystical awareness of the *inhabitation* of Christ is more prominent in these late passion hymns intended for congregations than in Kingo’s earlier production of pious hymns for the home. These changes of the “I” of the hymn were perhaps caused by a new interest in the theology of Johann Arndt, particularly his book *True Christianity*. Whereas the early Kingo could write about being “dressed” in Christ, with the meaning of “hiding” his sins in him, the

⁶⁵ “Skriv dig Jesu paa mit hierte.” Kingo, *Samlede Skrifter*, 4:470.

later Kingo could simply use the metaphor of dressing up in Christ as “I wear my Christ.”⁶⁶

The song of Christ should not be reduced to a reflection of a stabilized order. Rather, Kingo’s use of the motive transforms or gives the static harmony a moving melody. Kingo was acutely aware of the importance of melodies to the hymns and was a competent musician himself. In his book *Musicus Danicus*, the contemporary Mathias Schacht regarded Kingo as one of the most gifted musicians of his generation.⁶⁷ The appeal to silence is part of the rhetorical *genus grande* and was intended to move the audience’s feelings. Thus, the exhortation “listen!” is linked with the motion of the passion narrative – emotion and motion are intertwined. At the same time, it was designed to capture the goodwill of the audience, a *captatio benevolentiae*, as it signalled the expected humility. Simply put, it was the correct feeling when encountering such a grave theme as Christ’s suffering.

According to the gospel of Matthew, chapter 26, the apostles of Christ sang hymns before going to the Mount of Olives, possibly referring to the Psalms 113–118 that were sung during Passover. Kingo’s interpretation of Jesus singing this “great Jewish Hallelujah” was filled with awe. Christ’s and the Apostles’ singing was in Kingo’s interpretation structured as an echo of the “Hallelujah” that sounded as the Israelites marched out of Egypt.

Even more importantly, perhaps, the music of the spheres is merely an echo of Christ’s singing, because as true God and true man, Christ takes in his mouth the voice that sounded on the first day of creation.⁶⁸

Levels of Christ’s Song

One can observe many levels of interpretation in Kingo’s account of Christ’s singing, also in light of a *quadriga*-perspective.⁶⁹ The possibility of a polyvalent production of meaning seems particularly fruitful for the concrete hymn of Kingo. Erik A. Nielsen has labelled the different levels of *quadriga* “conditions” or “states” [tilstander]⁷⁰ and, utilized on Kingo’s poetry of Christ’s singing, these conditions exist simultaneously.

⁶⁶ Andersen, *Dansk Syn paa Fromhed*, LXXII. Andersen also mentions Kingo’s enthusiastic recommendation of Samuel Ild’s translation of *True Christianity* by Johann Arndt in 1682.

⁶⁷ A. C. L. Heiberg, *Thomas Kingo, Biskop i Fyen. En levnetsbeskrivelse* (Odense: den Hempelske Boghandel, 1852), 26–27, note 1.

⁶⁸ Nielsen, *Thomas Kingo*, 2:459.

⁶⁹ The fourfold scriptural interpretation is at the core of our project, see Prelude (Kristin B. Aavitsland, Eivor Andersen Oftestad, and Ragnhild J. Zorgati), 3–5.

⁷⁰ Erik A. Nielsen, *Kristendommens retorik: Den kristne dignings billedformer*, Billed-Sprog, vol. 1 (Copenhagen: Gyldendal, 2009), 232–33.

On a *literal* level, it refers to the fact that Jesus began his *via dolorosa* with song. Already in the second stanza, Kingo points to the death that should meet Jesus after he has set the passion in motion by his song. Closely connected is the *typology* of Christ's passion, prefigured by the exodus of Israel from Egypt's plagues. In the third stanza, the exodus and "happy days of Canaan" are merely referred to as the content of the Hallelujah, but in the fourth stanza it becomes clear that the whole world "should get their freedom." Whereas the first exodus was limited to the people of Israel, Jesus would win liberty for all the people and prisoners of the world.⁷¹ As Adam saw his death when he left paradise, Jesus was also looking to meet his death in Jerusalem – the difference, however, was the way in which they met it. Whereas Adam wept, the new Adam, Jesus, met his death with song:

Adam gik aff Paradiis,
Græd for HErrens Vredes Riis,
Du igien med Sang oplukker
Himlens Dør, og Slangen sukker.

Adam went out of Paradise
weeping because of the Lord's rod of wrath
By song you open again
the door of heaven, and the snake sighs.⁷²

There is also an *allegorical* element in Kingo's hymn, for beyond Jesus's song in Jerusalem, the whole universe – including the angels – is listening to the music. There are "sweet heavenly sounds" upon the tongue of Christ, linking the sound to his home in heaven. A special Lutheran feature can be seen in Kingo's use of the natures of Christ. In his use of the union of the natures, *unio personalis*, the *intimacy* of the divine and human nature was strongly underlined. When Kingo described some aspects of the human Jesus, one could claim that there is always an element of divine presence surrounding him. For example, when he characterized the singing Jesus as "a sweet singer of heaven," Kingo was not merely pointing to the earthly Jesus singing a heavenly song. Due to the union of Christ's natures, heaven was also present through his person, his divine nature. The one singing is no less than the incarnated creator.⁷³

An intriguing aspect of the singing Christ is to see it as allegory in its most precise sense of the term. Jerusalem is re-presented as the church, not by a far-flung ideal construction in the sky, but by the congregation singing *in* Christ. Such a mystical aspect would go too far if one sees the two subjects merged into one

⁷¹ Nielsen, *Thomas Kingo*, 2:460

⁷² Kingo, *Samlæde Skrifter*, 4:278. (My translation).

⁷³ "Søde Himmel Sanger", Nielsen, *Thomas Kingo*, 2:459.

“substance” – instead of a simple identity between Christ and his church, Kingo seems to have supposed a communication between them, analogous to the *communicatio idiomatum* (the exchange of properties) in Christ.⁷⁴

The hymn’s most significant level, however, was arguably its *moral* aspect. Whereas the first five stanzas are concentrated on Jesus and his singing, Kingo turned to the singing “I” in the sixth stanza. In the first three stanzas, Kingo had addressed the angels and the apostles in a second person plural perspective, commanding them to listen to Jesus. In the fourth and fifth stanza, Kingo allowed the singer to address Jesus directly in the second person. In the sixth stanza, Kingo extracted theological content and directed it to the first person singular. This shift is significant because it pointed to a change in the overall mode of the hymn. Up to this point, the singer had been in a mood of prayer and meditation, viewing the scene with piety. Now, the *exemplum* of Christ is turned into a content that “preaches” (forkynder) comfort to the “weak faith” of the singer. This passive element of listening was crucial to Kingo. For him, the song of Jesus provides not only an example of how the faithful should act, but also reaches the singer – who has now become a listener – in his heart *prior* to his own singing. In the conclusion of the stanza, the usefulness becomes clear. When the singer reaches the end of his life and beholds his death, the song will “cast out” [for-drive] death itself. The key to this version of *ars moriendi* is that the “I” of the singer remains in Christ:

At, naar Jeg min Død og Vee,
Skal for mine Øyne see,
Jeg i Dig skal trøstig blive,
Og i Sang min Død fordrive.

When I my death and sorrow,
behold for mine eyes,
I in you will find comfort,
and chase away my death in song.⁷⁵

The closeness – even intimacy – between the Christian and Christ is a significant feature of this literature. In the seventh stanza, where Kingo portrayed the “I” as an instrument, as a string on a violin, a passive ego was “tuned in” by Christ. The singer begs Christ to “tighten his weak heart” [stem da opp mit svage Hierte], but also his tongue, soul, and spirit. As Carsten Bach-Nielsen has pointed out, there is a peculiar use of the metaphor of the heart by Kingo that links him to the tradition of

⁷⁴ For this aspect as a central motif in the Lutheran tradition, cf. Johann Anselm Steiger, “Die communicatio idiomatum als Achse und Motor der Theologie Luthers: Die ‘Fröhliche Wechsel’ als hermeneutischer Schlüssel zu Abendmahlslehre, Anthropologie, Seelsorge, Naturtheologie, Rhetorik und Humor,” *Neue Zeitschrift für systematische Theologie und Religionsphilosophie* 3 (1996).

⁷⁵ Kingo, *Samlede Skrifter*, 4:278. (My translation).

emblems.⁷⁶ For Kingo, the heart is the very place where dead old texts become alive. Indeed, Kingo was interested in the idea of inhabitation, as Christ should have his residence in the human heart.⁷⁷ However, Jesus does not move in entirely, according to Kingo, because no total *unio cum Christo* (union with Christ) could take place, as the heart was full of sin.⁷⁸ Hence, there was a resistance to a transformation of the heart into a Jerusalem that could include Christ in the full sense. Drawing on the imagery of the prophet Ezekiel, the stony heart is not yet exchanged with a heart of flesh.⁷⁹ Therefore, the singer always retains the double identity of being a sinner and justified at the same time, but the song of Christ is providing comfort in the time of dying.

As a result, when Kingo ended his hymn on an *anagogical* note and the singer was promised he would “ascend singing into the kingdom of heaven,” it was nevertheless conditional and never fully realized during the singing. Kingo’s text admonished the soul that “your death” must become “the only tune it hums,” in order that “I can kill death, with your death on my lips.” Even in the final stanza, eternal bliss was not promised without qualification. After the last request to sing, Kingo reminded the singer not to forget “pious weeping,” due to “the apple Adam ate.” Only after having stated such a demand to recollect the sinful state of man was the fruit of Christ’s suffering and death a proper subject of the singing:

Siung min Siæl, og lad dig høre!
 Glem dog ey andægtig Graad!
 Jesu Aand dend dig skal røre,
 Siung om Eblet Adam aad!
 Siung saa om det JEsus leed,
 Om hans Kors, hans blood og sved,
 Siung og troe, saa skal du stige
 Siungendes I Himmerige.

Sing, my soul, and let it be heard!
 Do not forget pious weeping!
 The spirit of Jesus will touch you,
 sing about the apple Adam ate!
 Then sing about Jesus’s suffering,
 of his cross, his blood and sweat,
 sing and believe, and you will ascend
 singing into the heavenly kingdom.

⁷⁶ Carsten Bach-Nielsen, *Kingo CCC: Studier udgivet i 300-året for salmedigterens død* (Copenhagen: Anis, 2003), 23.

⁷⁷ Bach-Nielsen, *Kingo CCC*, 41.

⁷⁸ Bach-Nielsen, *Kingo CCC*, 46.

⁷⁹ Ezek 36:26.

It is difficult to decide whether the admonition to have a particular pious attitude should be understood as a condition for the ascension, but it is easier to imagine the description of “the apple Adam ate” as an objective description of the human situation. As we will see, the evil that Jesus was exposed to during his passion was orchestrated by Kingo as the result of the sinful human beings. The contrasting technique between Adam and Christ seems to be used to create a state of thankfulness rather than a sacrifice.⁸⁰

One could ask how the singers placed themselves in relation to Adam and Christ. Perhaps a modern reader would infer that Adam is an *example* of the destiny of man, and Christ is an *example* of how one could be saved. However, it is more likely that Adam would be understood as a common place, a *locus communis*, for mankind.

Kingo’s great biographer of the nineteenth century, the Danish pastor Richard Petersen, pointed to Kingo’s *personal* lust for this world, which Kingo described in one of his morning songs. In line with the romantic ideals embedded in the bourgeois novel as a process of enlightenment, Petersen saw Kingo’s description as autobiographical, reflecting an early stage of a person’s development. Kingo had, according to Petersen, a particularly strong desire for worldly lust and glory.⁸¹

Petersen considered these lines:

Hafde du af Lykken fyldet
 Mig med Verdens Lyste-skaal,
 Og mit Levnet slæt forgyldet,
 Føert mig til mit eget Maal,
 Vaar jeg bleven Ynske-mæt,
 Og paa Lykkens Tinding sæt,
 Da, maa skee, du blev forgiet

If you from happiness had filled
 Me with the wordly cup of lust,
 If the life of mine were poorly gilded,
 And led me to my own purpose,
 If my desires were fully met,
 And I was placed on the summit of bliss,
 I would, perhaps, have forgotten thee.⁸²

80 Such an interpretation is not indisputable, however. As Laila Akslen has shown in her book about the contemporary Norwegian poet and hymn writer Dorothea Engelbretsdatter (1634–1716), the use of the motive of penance was seen as a prerequisite for God’s favour. Interpreting the story of the prodigal son, Engelbretsdatter underlined that he “became pleasing to the father / and acquired his favor by contrite crying and artful praying.” Laila Akslen, *Norsk Barokk: Dorothe Engelbretsdatter og Petter Dass i retorisk tradisjon*, Skriftserie 109 (Landslaget for Norskundervisning: Trykt Utg.) (Oslo: Cappelen Akademisk Forlag, forlag, 1997), 199–200.

81 Petersen, *Thomas Kingo og hans samtid*, 66.

82 My translation. Kingo, *Samlede Skrifter*, 222. (My translation).

Although Petersen underlined the difficulty of stating whether Kingo had a “real” conversion or whether he merely experienced a “dawn” of faith in his youth, Petersen still had the idea that Kingo’s experiences were individually anchored. As a trained theologian in the older Lutheran tradition, however, Kingo would probably interpret his situation in terms of the Universal-singular Adam. By partaking in this personalized “humanity,” Kingo can let the “I” of the hymn transcend the isolated individual. It does not prevent Kingo from having perceived the described situation with his own eyes, but seen from a rhetorical perspective it is possible for the narrations experienced in Kingo’s hymns to be available for other individuals to partake.

The most striking “subsection” to which Kingo recurs many times, is to admonish the singer – often through a prayer to Christ – to remember the salvific sight of Christ in the times of uttermost despair and agony. In the sixth stanza of Jesus’s doxology, Kingo breaks out of the acoustic metaphors and introduces a vision of the singer’s own death:

At, naar Jeg min Død og Vee,
Skal for mine Øyne see,
Jeg i Dig skal trøstig blive,
Og i Sang min Død fordrive

When my death and agony,
Stand before my eyes to see,
I remain in thee, comforted,
And by song my death, expelled.⁸³

Jesus’s song in Jerusalem is transported into an envisioned future and is stored in the memory of the singer. It was intended to comfort the believer, not only at the time of listening and singing, but even at the hour of death.

Conclusion

In this article, two elements in Kingo’s poetic imagination involving Jerusalem have been emphasized: first, how Kingo portrayed the Danish absolute king as the righteous King David; and second, how Kingo used the song of Jerusalem to construct the intimacy between the suffering Christ and his congregation in the penitential hymn. In Kingo’s poem *Hosianna*, the image of the sun was used to portray the king’s curative and life-giving qualities. In addition, Kingo particularly emphasized the King’s priestly function as singing and leading the people in song. When the new hymn book was published, Kingo reminded the Danish king that David had

⁸³ Kingo, *Samlede Skrifter*, 278. (My translation).

not only ruled, but also praised the Lord through song. This aspect was partly fulfilled when the king – through Kingo’s penitential hymn – leads his people to Christ, singing after the last supper. In Kingo’s Jerusalem of song, all aspects of the *quadriga* seem to be at work, with a special emphasis on the moral aspect, *sensus tropologicus*. However, the morality of Kingo was more to admonish the believer to partake in the salvific song from Jerusalem. A peculiar aspect of Kingo’s hymn is the intimacy between the ego, the “I” of the hymn, and Christ. This oneness was supposed – at the very moment of death – to lead the believer to the eternal City.

Beate Agnes Schmidt

Chapter 20

Angels and the Muses of Zion: Michael Praetorius and Cultural Exchange between the Danish and German Lutheran Courts before the Thirty Years' War

The chapter focuses on the vision of a New Jerusalem of sound as developed by the Wolfenbüttel composer and court master Michael Praetorius (1571–1621), and the role of this vision within a distinctly Lutheran cultural exchange between German courts and Denmark at the beginning of the seventeenth century. This cultural exchange, involving the giving of valuable musical instruments, musical books, and other gifts, solidified the dynastic relationships between the Danish court, the Dukes of Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel, and Electoral Saxony. Praetorius used these relations to promote his music. However, unlike any of his contemporaries, he also infused this exchange with an aspirational theological, almost utopian interpretation of the role of music in sacred history, which he communicated through various texts. According to Praetorius, the practice and promotion of (good) music, especially sacred music, is inseparably linked to the heavenly city of God both in its current existence and with respect to God's eternal kingdom after the Last Judgement. Music in this eschatological sense as “music of Zion” furthers the future Jerusalem in preparing the believers for their role in the heavenly chapel and the eternal praise of the Lord. Good practice of music was thus a key prerequisite to achieve this vision. It had to be defended against philistines and the Calvinist critics of lavish music in church service. Praetorius believed that this message would be especially well received at King Christian IV's (r.1588–1648) court in Copenhagen.

In the essay *On Worldly Government and Church Service* prefacing his magnum opus *Polyhymnia Caduceatrix & Panegyrica* of 1619, Wolfenbüttel court chapel master Michael Praetorius derives the patronage of music from generosity, a “virtue foremost proper and fitting for princes and high potentates.” In his appeal for a generous “princely spirit” he points to the magnificent orchestra at the court of Old Testament King David, who, together with Theodosius and Constantine, the first

Note: For critical comments and improvements I am grateful to Alexander Schmidt.

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Christian emperors of Rome, should be prime models for every Christian prince.¹ Among the intended addressees of this message mixing self-interest with piety was also King Christian IV of Norway and Denmark, to whose court Praetorius would send a gift copy of the *Polyhymnia Caduceatrix & Panegyrica*.² As Wolfenbüttel *Hofkapellmeister* and non-resident chapel master at Dresden,³ Praetorius benefitted throughout his career from the dynastic relations of his lords and patrons to the Danish court. Here Duchess Elisabeth of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel (1573–1626), sister of King Christian IV, played a key role in maintaining this net of dynastic relations and the cultural and political exchange that went with it. Her marriage to Duke Heinrich Julius of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel (1564–1613) in 1590 furnished multiple occasions for King Christian to visit Wolfenbüttel from 1595 onwards and to intervene in the politics of the duchy up to the 1620s.

During his visits at his sister's court King Christian also took an interest in the construction works and the architecture of the new town quarters of Wolfenbüttel, which informed his planning in the re-foundation of Christiansstad in the then Danish province of Scania. The questions in the following will address whether the transfer of musical culture amounted to a real exchange or whether it was restricted to the same one-way path from Germany to Denmark as in the case of architecture. While the outlines of this cultural transfer, including the material objects exchanged between Praetorius and the Danish court are fairly well known,⁴ the symbolic meaning and context of gift-giving of musical prints and instruments to Christian IV in terms of both aesthetics and confessional politics have not been studied, even though Praetorius was perhaps the most influential German Lutheran composer before the Thirty Years' War.

My chapter here focuses on the symbolic meanings implied in the reciprocal gift-giving and in the celebration of joint festivities involving these two Lutheran courts. But the interest of this chapter goes beyond the examination of material

1 Michael Praetorius, *Polyhymnia Caduceatrix & Panegyrica* (1619), ed. Wilibald Gurlitt, GA vol. 17 (Wolfenbüttel: Kallmeyer, 1930), VII–IX. Note that GA here and in following instances stands for *Gesamtausgabe der musikalischen Werke*.

2 Det Kongelige Bibliotek København, Musiksamlinger, mu 6602.2631 Box U260. Accessed February 12, 2019. http://www.kb.dk/da/nb/samling/ma/digmus/pre1700_indices/praetorius_polyhym.html.

3 On Praetorius's biography, see Siegfried Vogelsänger, *Michael Praetorius – Diener vieler Herren* (Aachen: Alano, 1991), Arno Forchert, "Musik als Auftragskunst – Bemerkungen zum Schaffen des Michael Praetorius," *Schütz-Jahrbuch* 27 (2005): 37–51; Wilibald Gurlitt, *Michael Praetorius (Creuzbergensis). Sein Leben und seine Werke* (1914/15), eds. Josef Floßdorf and Hans-Jürgen Habelt (Wolfenbüttel: Floßdorf, 2008).

4 On this particular connection, see Peter Hauge, "Praetorius's Connections to the Danish Court," in *Michael Praetorius – Vermittler europäischer Musiktraditionen um 1600*, eds. Arne Spohr and Susanne Rode-Breyermann (Hildesheim: Olms, 2011), 33–49. For Praetorius as model-agent of cultural transfer see Arne Spohr and Susanne Rode-Breyermann, "Michael Praetorius als Agent von Kulturtransfer in der Frühen Neuzeit. Eine Einleitung," in *Michael Praetorius – Vermittler europäischer Musiktraditionen um 1600*, ed. Arne Spohr and Susanne Rode-Breyermann (Hildesheim: Olms, 2011), 15.

exchange. My main emphasis lies with the theological, confessional, and political meanings that were implied in this exchange. Here this chapter argues that, based on his very personal vision of a celestial music, Praetorius developed an ideal of angelic polychoral church music that heralded a new Jerusalem and a heavenly Zion. This was not just an appeal to individual believers to prepare in this life for the eternal pleasures of serving the Lord as heavenly singers and musicians in the afterlife. His praise for the music so highly esteemed in his day is also an exhortation to patrons and rulers to promote and protect it against unbelievers and music critics. How important was Praetorius's ideal of a musical new Jerusalem in this exchange? What were his strategies of conveying his ideas? My aim is to discuss the venues of exchange and the patterns of musical-aesthetic and confessional-political argumentation in the context of Lutheran music writing in the early seventeenth century, and in the light of the cultural transfer between Praetorius and the Danish court.

North German-Danish Connections

Praetorius first came into contact with Christian IV and the Danish court chapel during the “guest performances” of individual chapel members accompanying the king during his stays in Wolfenbüttel. As prince of the North-German duchy of Holstein, Christian IV not only held a seat on the Bench of Princes in the Imperial Diet. Due to the skilful matrimonial politics of his father, Friedrich II of Denmark and Norway, was also in close dynastic relations with two influential Lutheran courts in Germany – that of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel since 1590, and that of the Electoral Saxony since 1602.

From the very beginning, these dynastic relations of blood were smoothed by a shared interest in music, marked on Christian's side not just by patronage but also by the king's personal fondness for making music. At the Kronberg wedding ceremonies for Duke Heinrich Julius and Duchess Elisabeth, the king distinguished himself as proficient in playing the trumpet, the lute, the cornet, the violin, and the trombone.⁵ Concerts and other forms of musical performances were, of course, an integral part of courtly representation and accompanied all types of aristocratic festivities and diplomatic gatherings.⁶ The first major opportunities for Praetorius to present his music to

⁵ Count Heinrich Posthumus von Reuss, who was a guest at the wedding in Copenhagen, reports several musical talents of the king “and what is possible only for a great lord to learn.” Heinrich Posthumus Reuß, *Reiseerinnerungen aus der Zeit von 1593–1616*, ed. Berthold Schmidt (Schleiz: Lämmel, 1890), 25.

⁶ King Christian IV visited Elisabeth for the first time in February 1595 to attend the baptism of Princess Hedwig of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel. In return, Duke Heinrich Julius attended the coronation ceremony of the king in Copenhagen at the end of August 1596, to which he was not accompanied by Duchess Elisabeth. Hilda Lietzmann, *Herzog Heinrich Julius zu Braunschweig und Lüneburg*

the king in person can be dated to 1595 and 1605 respectively: first, after his initial visit in February 1595, the young Danish prince returned to the Wolfenbüttel court of his brother-in-law in October of the same year. This second visit featured horseback stag hunts, fireworks, a tour of the city of Brunswick, and a stay at Gröningen castle near Halberstadt.⁷ Most certainly, Heinrich Julius had already introduced his recently hired chamber organist Praetorius⁸ to the king when Christian IV was shown the new, still-unfinished castle organ.⁹ The organ was considered an artistic marvel, equipped with 3000 pipes, 59 registers, and 26 pedals, which in total carried the hefty price tag of about 10,000 Reichsthalers.¹⁰ Just a few months later, in August 1596, Duke Heinrich Julius inaugurated the magnificent instrument with lavish performance testing, to which fifty-three famous organists from all parts of the Empire had been invited. Praetorius later extolled it as “a powerful work of art” that reproduced the sounds of all sorts of instruments: flute or barbiton, pipe or tambourine, battle horn or trombone, lyre or trumpets.¹¹ The organ was one of the Duke’s most renowned prestige

(1564–1613). *Persönlichkeit und Wirken für Kaiser und Reich* (Braunschweig: Selbstverlag des Braunschweigischen Geschichtsvereins, 1993), 26, 106, 14. There are no records suggesting the presence of Praetorius at these visits and at the oath-taking ceremonies in the city of Hamburg in October 1603. See Mara R. Wade, “Kulturtransfer durch Herzogin Elisabeth von Dänemark,” in *Herzog Heinrich Julius zu Braunschweig und Lüneburg (1564–1613)*, eds. Werner Arnold, Brage Bei der Wieden, and Ulrike Gleixner (Braunschweig: Appelhans Verlag, 2016), 272–82; on music as an integral part of the ceremonies at German courts in the late Renaissance see Jörg Jochen Berns, “Instrumenteller Klang und herrscherliche Hallräume in der frühen Neuzeit. Zur akustischen Setzung fürstlicher Potestas-Ansprüche in zeremoniellem Rahmen,” in *Instrumente in Kunst und Wissenschaft. Zur Architektonik kultureller Grenzen im 17. Jahrhundert*, eds. Helmar Schramm, Ludger Schwarte, and Jan Ladzardzig (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2006), 527–55.

7 Anonymous, *Verzeichnus der Reise / welche die Kön. May. Zu Denemarcken Norwegen Anno 1595. Zu etlichen Jhren anverwandten chur vnd Fürsten in Teutschlandt angestellet* (1595).

8 Praetorius was hired for the Duke’s court chapel around 1594/95. He refers to his occupational beginnings in Michael Praetorius, *Motectae et psalmi latini* (1607), ed. Rudolf Gerber, GA vol. 10 (Wolfenbüttel: Kallmeyer, 1931), VIII, and Praetorius, *Polyhymnia Caduceatrix & Panegyrica*, GA 17, XI.

9 Hauge, “Praetorius’s Connections to the Danish Court,” 40.

10 The largest pipes alone measured over nine meters and weighed more than 150 kilos. See Johann Georg Leuckfeld, *Antiquitates Gröningenses* (Quedlinburg: Calvisius, 1710), 80–86. On the organ, see Cristoph Albinus, *Sacrum magnificis laudibus reverendissimi illvstrissimi inter literatos potentissimi inter potentes literatissimi [. . .]*, (Wolfenbüttel: Konrad Horn, 1596), n.p.; Andreas Werckmeister, *Organum grüningense redivivum: oder kurtze Beschreibung des in der grüningischen Schlos-Kirchen berühmten Orgel-Wercks* (Quedlinburg: Struntz, 1705). To compare, the entire of budget of the Wolfenbüttel court in 1594 was 12,027 Reichsthaler, which paid for no fewer than 413 members of staff. Martin Ruhnke, *Beiträge zu einer Geschichte der deutschen Hofmusikkollegien im 16. Jahrhundert* (Berlin: Merseburger, 1963), 124.

11 Praetorius, *Motectae et psalmi latini*, GA 10, VII.

objects. A contemporary poet compared it to the seven wonders of the ancient world, such as the pyramids and the famous mausoleum of Halikarnassus.¹²

On his second visit to his sister's court, Christian IV spent the traditionally music-filled Christmas and New Year's season from November 1605 to January 1606 in Wolfenbüttel. The diplomatic purpose of his trip was to mediate in the conflict between Duke Heinrich Julius and the city of Braunschweig. That the duke presented the substantial number of one hundred Reichsthalers to the musicians from the Danish court is an indication of both the large size of the accompanying orchestra and the impression it made on the duke.¹³ The duke's donation was also a visible sign of acknowledgement of Christian's efforts as a promoter of music, who, since his official accession as King of Denmark and Norway, had gradually built up his court chapel to rank among the largest orchestras of the European princely courts. It included Irish and Scottish harpists, singers from the Netherlands and from the Imperial court in Prague, as well as English violinists and lutenists, such as the famous John Dowland, who had been engaged at the Wolfenbüttel court up to 1596.¹⁴ According to Arne Spohr, the exquisite, almost exotically diverse composition of the Danish court chapel was informed by a similar princely emulation to assemble prestigious cabinets of curiosities from worlds of art and nature fashionable at the time.¹⁵ Christian IV was probably inspired by his brother-in-law Heinrich Julius, who had built up his ensemble along similar lines. Praetorius also alludes to the international composition of the Wolfenbüttel *Hofkapelle* in the epistle dedicatory prefacing the *Motectae et Psalmi latini* of 1605.¹⁶

There are no records of gestures of conspicuous gratitude by the king to the musicians at the Wolfenbüttel Court in the form of monetary gifts in the Danish accounting books.¹⁷ However, the king showed the princely virtue of *liberalitas* (generosity) towards the arts by giving a commemorative coin to Praetorius. The contemporary term *Gnadenpfennig*, literally *penny of clemency*, is a clear understatement. For this "penny" was in fact a golden medal of high material and symbolic value. When Praetorius

12 Christoph Albinus, *Sacrum magnificis laudibus reverendissimi illvstrissimi inter literatos potentissimi inter potentes literatissimi* [. . .]. (Wolfenbüttel: Konrad Horn, 1596). Christoph Albinus extolls the almost transcendental effect of the organ's music on human hearing: "Angelicas audi quae Musica mulceat aures, | Orgia sunt, sanctis organa facta locis" (Hear how angelic music soothes the ear, | They are sensual revels, which are made by organs in sacred places).

13 Hannover, Niedersächsisches Landesarchiv, Hann. 75c A Nr. 36, fol. 268r.

14 Ole Kongsted, "Christian IV. und seine europäische Musikerschaft," in *Europa in Scandinavia. Kulturelle und soziale Dialoge in der frühen Neuzeit*, ed. Robert Bohn (Frankfurt a. M.: Peter Lang, 1994), 115–26.

15 Arne Spohr, "How chances it they travel?" *Englische Musiker in Dänemark und Norddeutschland 1579–1630* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2009).

16 Praetorius describes the court orchestra at Wolfenbüttel as a "*chorus*" composed of members from "various nations" (*diversis nationibus*). Praetorius, *Motectae et psalmi latini*, GA vol. 10 VII.

17 Hauge, "Praetorius's Connections to the Danish Court," 40.

commissioned a wood-cut portrait of himself for the edition of his *Musae Sioniae* (*Muses of Zion*) of 1605 it depicts the composer, who by 1605 had risen to the position of a court chapel master, wearing this kingly gift together with two other medaillons.¹⁸ The slightly higher Danish medallion is engraved with a picture of King Christian IV,¹⁹ while the two medaillons below it display the Duke and Duchess of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel. Their lower position also reflects their lesser status in the symbolic hierarchy of European princes (Fig. 20.1).

Since the later sixteenth century, such *Gnadenpfennige* were favoured as tokens of aristocratic representation and appreciation for subordinates. What the king rewarded Praetorius for exactly can only be subject to conjecture. Nonetheless, the valuable gift reflects Praetorius's rather extraordinary career, rising from an obscure organist and student of theology without a degree to become chapel master at the Wolfenbüttel court: indeed he was appointed, despite the fact that the position had already been held by Thomas Mancinus (died c.1612) and had thus by no means been vacant.²⁰

Within the triangular dynastic connection between the courts of Copenhagen, Wolfenbüttel, and Dresden, Duchess Elisabeth, Praetorius's benefactress, played a decisive role. Through her, Christian IV held political weight over the Dukes of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel, solidifying his sphere of political influence in North Germany and in particular in the *Reichskreis* of Lower Saxony, over which he presided as *Kreishauptmann* until his crushing defeat by Imperial forces in the so-called *Kejserkrieg* from 1626 to 1629. The Danish king mediated in the Duke's conflicts with the city of Braunschweig and directly handled government affairs after 1615 as part of his tutelage for the underaged heir. The greatest political coup of the so-called Danish Court Party,²¹ which comprised Duchess Elisabeth, her brother Christian IV, and her brother-in-law Duke Philipp Sigismund (1591–1623), bishop of Osnabrück and Verden and dean of Halberstadt Cathedral, together with Duke Friedrich Ulrich, was the toppling of the aristocratic Territorial Regiment, the stewardship of Anton von Streithorst and other members of the estates over the duchy.²²

18 Michael Praetorius, *Musae Sioniae I* (1605), ed. Rudolf Gerber, GA vol. 1 (Wolfenbüttel: Kallmeyer, 1928). The golden *Gnadenpfennige* have not been preserved. Praetorius's son of the same name later sold "golden chains, effigies and goblets" out of need, as he admitted in a letter to Duchess Sophia Elisabeth of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel of 17 January 1655. Wolfenbüttel, Niedersächsisches Staatsarchiv, 3 Alt 325, fols. 21r–22v, here fol. 21v.

19 See One-Mark coins from 1606 and 1607: <https://en.numista.com/catalogue/pieces80763.html>; <https://en.numista.com/catalogue/pieces80765.html>, <https://numimarket.onebid.pl/auction/1/cate-gory/12164/lot/366?lang=en>. All were accessed January 1 2019.

20 Gurlitt calls this appointment a "coup de force" by Duke Heinrich Julius. Gurlitt, *Michael Praetorius (Creuzbergensis)*, 135.

21 On the influence of the Danish Party, Gurlitt, *Michael Praetorius (Creuzbergensis)*, 145–48.

22 For a comprehensive account, see Julius Otto Opel, *Der niedersächsisch-dänische Krieg*, vol. 1 (Halle: Waisenhaus, 1872); Lietzmann, *Herzog Heinrich Julius*; for partial aspects, Oliver Auge,

As Mara Wade has shown, Duchess Elisabeth was the central agent in the exchange of matters of art between her court and those of her siblings.²³ It can be assumed that she helped Praetorius to establish contact with the Danish court, for he had become a personal favourite and confidante in the course of his tenure as organist and chapel master at the Wolfenbüttel court.²⁴ That the Duchess left Praetorius the significant sum of 500 Reichsthalers in her will of 11 February 1618 testifies to his special position at the court rarely matched by other musicians at the time.²⁵ Since the first biographical accounts of Praetorius in the early eighteenth century, there have been repeated claims that he had served as Elisabeth's official chamber secretary,²⁶ yet there are no records to support this assertion. Their relationship, which became particularly close in 1608/09 and continued up to at least 1618, must have been of a rather informal nature of trust, shared intellectual and artistic interests, and favours. As a devout Lutheran, Elisabeth shared her passion for music and pious contemplation with Praetorius, who had started out as a student of theology, thus following the professional footsteps of his father and other members of a family of Lutheran pastors. Elisabeth, who, according to Praetorius, "loved the psalms in her heart,"²⁷ also advocated decisively his calling to become a member of the convent of the secularized monastery of Amelungsborn, which was basically a sinecure.²⁸

"Werner Arnold / Brage Bei der Wieden / Ulrike Gleixner (Hrsg.), Herzog Heinrich Julius zu Braunschweig und Lüneburg (1564–1613). Politiker und Gelehrter mit europäischem Profil. Beiträge des Internationalen Symposions, Wolfenbüttel, 6.–9.10.2013. (Quellen und Forschungen zur Braunschweigischen Landesgeschichte, Bd. 49.) Braunschweig, Appelhaus 2016," *Historische Zeitschrift* 305, no. 3 (2017); Jill Bepler, "Practical Perspectives on the Court and Role of Princes: Georg Engelhard von Loehneys's 'Aulico Politica' 1622–24 and Christian IV of Denmark's 'Königlicher Wecker' 1620," *Daphnis* 32 (2003): 137–163.

23 On the duchess's role as a cultural transmitter between the cognate courts of Copenhagen, London, Dresden, and Wolfenbüttel, see Wade, "Kulturtransfer durch Herzogin Elisabeth von Dänemark."

24 On Duchess Elisabeth and Praetorius, see Margaret Boudreaux, "Support in Trying Times: Michael Praetorius and Duchess Elisabeth of Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel," *Choral Journal* 58/9 (2018): 24–31.

25 Wolfenbüttel, Niedersächsisches Staatsarchiv, 1 Alt 27 No. 675.

26 According to these, Praetorius was the author better known as prior of the monastery Ringelheim and chamber secretary of Duchess Elisabeth ("Cammer=Secret. Fr. Elisabethen"), even before his position as a "Capellmeister." Johann Martin Schamelius, *Naumburgisches Gesang-Buch* (Naumburg: Boßögel, 1717), 57–58. See also Johann Caspar Wetzel, *Hymnopoeographia, oder Historische Lebens=Beschreibung der berühmtesten Lieder=Dichter* (Herrnstadt: Roth-Scholzen, 1719), 315–16; Johann Gottfried Walther, *Musicalisches Lexicon oder musicalische Bibliothec* (Leipzig: Wolfgang Deer, 1732), 491; and Carl Günther Ludovici, *Grosses vollständiges Universal-Lexicon aller Wissenschaften und Künste* (Leipzig: Zedler, 1741), 149.

27 Praetorius, *Musae Sioniae I*, GA 1, XIV.

28 Duke Heinrich Julius approved the vocation on 6 September 1608. Duchess Elisabeth and chamber secretary Heinrich Hartwig negotiated the formalities and the details of Praetorius's official introduction with Abbot Antonius of Amelungsborn between 28 September and 8 October 1608. Wolfenbüttel, Niedersächsisches Staatsarchiv, 27 Slg Praetorius and Wolfenbüttel, Niedersächsisches

Praetorius knew who he had to be grateful to. He dedicated two of his major works to the Duchess, not her husband, his lord.²⁹ Especially in the *Musae Sioniae I* Praetorius consciously fashioned himself as a devoutly Protestant artist. With the inclusion of a portrait, personally chosen biblical sentences, a title woodcut, moral and religious mottoes, and symbols, this self-fashioning was unusually rich for a musician of his time. Praetorius combines these mannerist symbols of his persona with two short tracts in praise of music as an art: his own *Greetings to the Churchmen and Friends of Music (Ecclesiastis et Philomusis Salutem)*, and one essay by no one less than Martin Luther from 1538.³⁰ This motive of self-fashioning also informs his 1608 re-edition of *Βραβειον. Ehrendanck: oder Aller Edlestes Kleinloth (Crown of Victory: Honorary Thanks, or Most Noble Precious)*, which he dedicated to Duchess Elisabeth. The work mainly contained sermons by his brother Andreas Praetorius of 1584,³¹ to which he added two songs. The song “Mein Gott, mein Gott, o Vater mein” (“My God, my God, oh father mine”) particularly underscores through an acrostic “MICHAEL” and his *Symbolum* Praetorius’s personal identification with the Christological message of the text.

The dedications of *Musae Sioniae VI–VIII* to cloisters and schools in Lower Saxony, on the other hand, stand in the context of his calling to the convent of Amelungsborn. The dedicatees among princes and princesses are part of Elisabeth’s dynastic relations and the wider Danish royal family, such as her sister Hedwig (*Musae Sioniae II*), her brother-in-law James I of England and VI of Scotland (*Hymnodia Sionia*), and perhaps also Prince-Elector Johann Sigismund of Brandenburg (*Missodia Sionia*) whose sister, Anna Katharina of Brandenburg, was married to Christian IV. Yet why did Praetorius never dedicate any of his printed works to the Danish king himself?

The Muses of Zion

Early works by Praetorius preserved in the Royal Library of Copenhagen testify to the fact that the composer wanted to return the favour and present the king with a valuable souvenir of their encounter. The Wolfenbüttel court chapel master sent King Christian IV his first five works, at the earliest in the summer of 1607, shortly

Staatsarchiv, 4 Alt 3 Amelb. No. 5481; see also Gurlitt, *Michael Praetorius (Creuzbergensis)*, 168; Walter Deeters, “Alte und neue Aktenfunde über Michael Praetorius,” *Braunschweigesches Jahrbuch* 52 (1971): 107–08.

²⁹ The polychoral works of *Motectae et Psalmi latini* contained in a second edition of 1607 along with *Musae Sioniae I* are dedicated to Duke Heinrich Julius.

³⁰ Praetorius, *Musae Sioniae I*, GA 1, VII–XI.

³¹ Andreas Praetorius, *Ehrendanck: oder aller edlestes Kleinloth*, ed. Michael Praetorius (Wolfenbüttel: Fürstliche Druckerey, 1608).

after the publication of *Motectae et Psalmi latini* and *Musae Sioniae II–IV*.³² Peter Hauge has identified the white parchment cover and binding of the volumes as being of German-Dutch origin. The lilies and ornaments on the cover, he further claims, were most likely made sometime between 1610 and 1620.³³ Praetorius's gift-giving practice of sending prints immediately after publication to an addressee, however, point to an earlier date, sometime between 1607 and 1608.

Praetorius's gift-giving must be understood in the context of advertising and sales strategies of musical prints in the early seventeenth century.³⁴ As in the cases of book donations to the city-magistrates of Leipzig, Frankfurt/Oder, Danzig, Mühlhausen, Nuremberg, and Wismar, he sent out prints in close temporal proximity to their publication. Such gifts carried with them expectations by the donor to receive something in return, generally money. As it was normal for authors and composers to receive corresponding compensation from their addressees, these donations can rather be categorized as unrequested merchandise by our standards. Praetorius clearly followed this practice in the case of his debut works of 1607 and 1608.³⁵ However, the gifting of musical prints was not restricted to monetary purposes. As in Praetorius's donation to the Danish court, they could also serve as proof of the artist's mastery in composition, or as tokens of remembrance to sponsors marking special occasions.

Little is known about the cultural practice of hand-written dedications in complementary copies. As the copy of the *Syntagma musicum I* sent to the city of Nuremberg shows, even such more commercially intended "gifts" featured hand-written dedications by the author.³⁶ Hauge's claim that Praetorius's "'private' beautifully handwritten dedication" to King Christian IV was evidence of "a closer, more personal relationship"³⁷ must hence be treated with caution. Its wording rather reflects the conventional pitch of the contemporary panegyrics of princes genre (Fig. 20.3):

SERENISSIMO, POTENTISSIMO, AC Sapientissimo Principi ac heroi, D[omi]no Christiano. IV. [. . .]
Clementissimo meo regi ac Domino. hasce Musicarum compositionum meas primitias humilima
animj deuotione offero Michaël Praetorius C.

³² The eight partbooks are contained in Box A 19.3000. Det Kongelige Bibliotek København, Musiksamlinger, mu 6602.2131–35 U260; they are also available online, accessed October 18, 2019. http://www.kb.dk/da/nb/samling/ma/digmus/pre1700_indices/praetorius.html.

³³ Hauge, "Praetorius's Connections to the Danish Court," 44–45.

³⁴ Stephen Rose, "The Mechanism of the Music Trade in Central Germany, 1600–40," *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 130 (2005): 1–37.

³⁵ Gurlitt, *Michael Praetorius (Creuzbergensis)*, 167.

³⁶ "Inclutae REIPUBLICAE Norimberg. Bibliothecae donat. offert Auctor." (For the famous City-State of Nuremberg. Donated and presented to her library. The Author), Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München, 4 Mus.th.1249 b-1. Accessed October 10 2018. https://reader.digitale-sammlungen.de/de/fs1/object/display/bsb10527681_00002.html.

³⁷ Hauge, "Praetorius's Connections to the Danish Court," 33–49.

(To the most serene, mightiest, wisest ruler and hero, Lord Christian IV [. . .], my most clement King and Lord, I offer these, my first musical compositions, with humble devotion. Michael Praetorius Kreuzbergensis)

In the epistle dedicatory for Duke Heinrich Julius Praetorius identifies the magnificent polychoral *Motectae et Psalmi latini* as *primitias*.³⁸ Likewise, a “primitias” dedication is found prefacing the Latin “Muses of Zion” in *Motectae et Psalmi latini* in the Danish copy of the cantus voices. These particularly met the need for courtly magnificence and representation in Baroque aristocratic houses, to the extent that the gift symbolically stood not only for gratitude to Christian IV but also for his royal taste and artistic appreciation.

The term *primitias*, however, can also comprise Praetorius’s *Musae Sioniae*,³⁹ which was bound up with the *Motectae* in the Copenhagen copy (Fig. 20.2). Despite its Latin title, this series of works was written in German and published in various places: the *Musae Sioniae I* were printed in Regensburg in 1605/06, the *Musae*



Fig. 20.2: Book cover, Cantus part from the *Motectae et Psalmi latini* and *Musae Sioniae I–IV*, The Royal Danish Library (Det Kongelige Bibliotek), Copenhagen.

Sioniae II in Jena 1607, and the *Musae Sioniae III* and *IV* in Helmstedt 1607. The term “muses of Zion” blending classical with biblical imagery became a programmatic label for the monumental series of spiritual choir music, including the later *Musae Sioniae V–IX*, which Praetorius was to launch in the following years. These Christianized protectors of the arts are represented by the angels that populate all title-page woodcuts of his works.

Here, Praetorius utilized the motive of the new Jerusalem: the angelic muses symbolize the teleological and essentially divine character of music. The purpose of music, according to Praetorius, did not merely have an earthly purpose. It was made to furnish us for eternal life in divine grace,

³⁸ Praetorius, *Motectae et psalmi latini*, GA 10, VIII.

³⁹ Praetorius calls *Musae Sioniae I–IV* in *Urania* his “domahlige primitiae.” Michael Praetorius, *Urania* (1613), ed. Friedrich Blume, GA vol. 16 (Wolfenbüttel: Kallmeyer, 1935), VIII.

in which every saved soul would joyfully celebrate the creator through songs and the playing of instruments. The perfected sound of celestial music in a heavenly Jerusalem was thus the Christian-platonic ideal, which earthly music should seek to approximate. Besides the support of Duke Heinrich Julius and his wife, Praetorius's encyclopaedic musical-religious project was also promoted by her sister Princess Hedwig of Saxony, who, like Elisabeth, cultivated her Danish connections and served as a significant agent of aristocratic patronage. The second volume of the German *Muses of Zion* is dedicated to Hedwig and adorned by her royal Danish coat of arms.⁴⁰ Neither Danish princess used her husband's coat of arms. Instead, both Hedwig and Elisabeth favoured illustrations depicting the coat of arms of their nobler, royal dynastic origins.⁴¹ According to Mara Wade, both princesses shared clear religious intentions in their respective promotion of the arts. With Praetorius they supported "one of the composers most clearly identified with orthodox Lutheranism." Like her sister Hedwig, Elisabeth "embarked on a highly political and theological strategy for shaping the religious confession of her territories."⁴²

Hidden Messages inside a Wooden Organ

Aside from the commemorative coin and the donations of musical prints, there is a third item that testifies to Praetorius's connections to Denmark. During renovation works in 1692 a trilingual note by Praetorius was discovered hidden inside the organ at the castle of Frederiksborg near Hillerød. The wooden organ was another valuable gift to Christian IV by the Wolfenbüttel court. The *Zettel* is now lost but its content was copied in 1707.⁴³ To leave such "hidden" messages with information on the

40 Michael Praetorius, *Musae Sioniae II* (1607), ed. Rudolf Gerber, GA vol. 2 (Wolfenbüttel: Kallmeyer, 1939), VII.

41 See Elias Holwein, "Honestum pro patria", Virtuelles Kupferstichkabinett, Herzog Anton Ulrich Museum, E Holwein AB 3.11 This resource is online, accessed February 2 2019. <http://kk.haum-bs.de/?id=e-holwein-ab3-0011> (8.2.2019).

42 Mara R. Wade, "Widowhood as a Space for Patronage: Hedevig, Princess of Denmark and Electress of Saxony (1581–1641)," *Renaissanceforum* 4 (2008): 1–28.

43 Regarding the organ note, see Beate Agnes Schmidt, "Michael Praetorius manu propria. Persönliche Bekenntnisse und Wahlsprüche in Selbstzeugnissen," *Kirchenmusikalisches Jahrbuch* 100 (2016): 70–72, 90–91, Wilfred Elsner, "Ein 'Höltzern Orgelwerck' für Herzogin Elisabeth," in *Ruhm und Ehre durch Musik – Beiträge zur Wolfenbütteler Hof- und Kirchenmusik während der Residenzzeit*, eds. Jürgen Habelt, Christoph Helm, and Rainer Schmitt (Wolfenbüttel: Kulturstadt Wolfenbüttel e. V., 2013), 83–100, Tekla Schneider, "Die Orgelbauerfamilie Compenius," *Archiv für Musikforschung* 2 (1937): 8–76, Povl Eller, "Compenius-Orgelets historie," *Dansk Årbog for Musikforskning* 17 (1986): 7–51.



Fig. 20.3: Handwritten dedication to King Christian IV by Praetorius, Cantus part from the *Motectae et Psalmi latini* and *Musae Sioniae I–IV*, The Royal Danish Library (Det kongelige bibliotek), Copenhagen.

“Raptus amore Dei patiens durissima vinco
 Nulla salus mundo: dulcis Mihi Patria Coelum.”
 (Captured by the love of God, I conquer, despite the hardest suffering
 There is no salvation in this world: My sweet Home is Heaven.)

In *Musae Sioniae I* of 1606/07, Praetorius used a slightly different version of this motto for the first time in a printed work. It stands at the core of his self-image as a distinctively Christian musician and appears in all handwritten entries he left in

construction have a long tradition in organ-building.⁴⁴ The organ note contains production data as well as three chronograms referring to Praetorius’s design and the year 1609;⁴⁵ 7 October 1610 is given as the date of completion by organ builder Esaias Compenius. Its obverse is written in Latin, while its reverse in German and Danish. The Danish translation must have been made around the time of the organ’s transport from Schloss Hessen near Wolfenbüttel to Hillerød in August 1616. Duke Heinrich Julius is named as the commissioner of the organ (Figs. 20.4 and 20.5).⁴⁶

Praetorius states his personal *Symbolum* (motto) here:

⁴⁴ Praetorius mentions this practice of internally “hidden” messages, “Dingezeddel,” and letters as well as inscribed surfaces in organs in *Syntagma musicum II*. Michael Praetorius, *Syntagmatis Musici Michaelis Praetorii C. Tomus Secundus De Organographia* [. . .] (Wolfenbüttel: Elias Holwein, 1619), 109–13.

⁴⁵ The chronogram “VnICI nostrI reDeMtorIs” (VICIDMI = 1609) is given in the German and Danish translations as: “Im Jahr | In DeM wler ChrIstVs | Heer (meaning “Herr”) genennt seIn” and “aar effer | ChrIstVs DIIn eenIste Mester | fõtlS” (In the year we call Christ Lord).

⁴⁶ Praetorius dates the completion to 1612. Praetorius, *Syntagmatis Musici Michaelis Praetorii*, vol. II, 189.

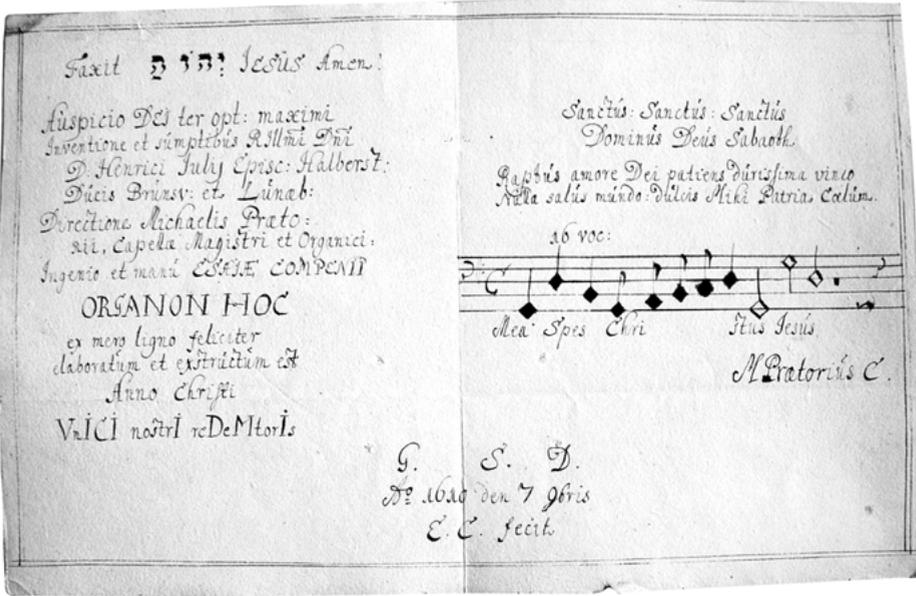


Fig. 20.4: Handwritten note by Praetorius found in the organ of Frederiksborg castle (front side), Copy from Peter Peterson Botzen (1707), The Danish National Archives, Copenhagen, Rentekammeret 2214.58.

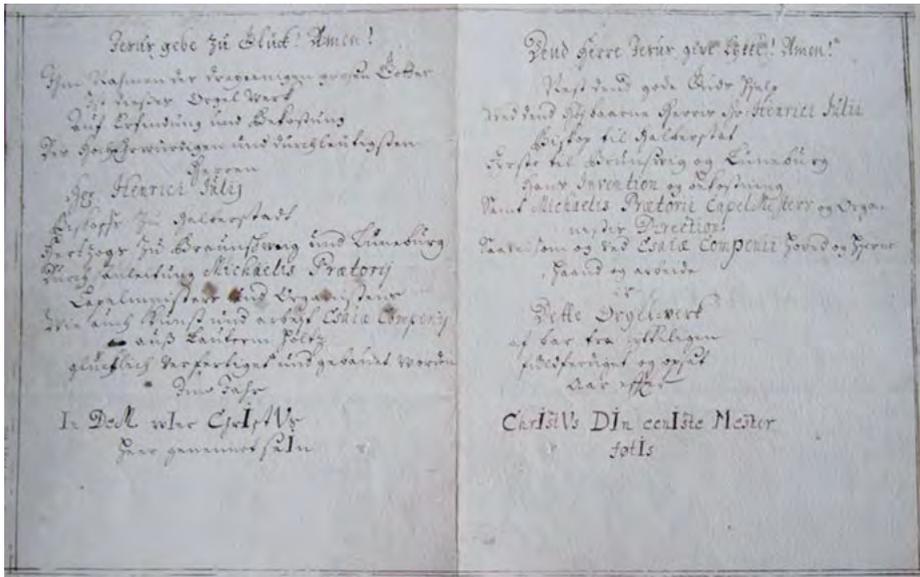


Fig. 20.5: Handwritten note by Praetorius found in the organ in Frederiksborg castle (rear side), The Danish National Archives, Copenhagen, Rentekammeret 2214.58.

various *Album Amicorum* (book of friendship, *Stammbuch, stambog*). Praetorius had used the motto since 1603 and continued to do so until 1619.⁴⁷

In some instances, the motto may be connected to the simple “Mea Spes Christus (Jesus)” canon composed of triads. Likewise, the phrases “Faxit יהוה Jesus Amen!” and “Sanctús: Sanctús: Sanctús Dominús Deús Sabaoth” recur continually in his *Stammbuch* entries, as well as in his works and especially on title-page woodcuts. Praetorius uses these phrases and statements to express the central themes of his musical world view. They condense key ideas and recurring themes of Lutheran writings on music, which often combine confessional-political aspects in the praise of music.

That Praetorius would propagate his creed on a note left in an organ underscores the importance of this instrument to him as both instrumentalist and musical theorist. He lauds the organ in his writings as a far more celestial than mundane instrument. The largest parts of his writings on music are devoted to its provenance, construction, and function, and he records arrangements and timbres of all the organs he had inspected in the Central and North German lands. Apart from the construction of the majestic representative Gröningen organ, he also assisted in the building of the wooden organ in Frederiksborg Castle, which he tended between 1605/06 and 1610/12 together with Esaias Compenius. It is one of the few existing organs of the late Renaissance preserved. Originally, this organ was built for the private chambers of Duchess Elisabeth in Castle Hessen near Halberstadt and certainly accorded with her personal wishes and taste in art.⁴⁸ With its 1001 pipes made of cherrywood, oak, walnut, maple, and pearwood – incorporating as well silver and ivory, contemporary slider chest techniques, and artistic inlays and carvings by Hermann van de Velde – the Frederiksborg wood organ is an exquisitely ornated piece of art and a very valuable status symbol. Despite its comparatively small size, it has an astounding compact resonance, the “strange/ gentle/ subtle sound and charm” which Praetorius could barely put in words.⁴⁹

For him, the organ in general was the “queen of instruments,” whose magnificent timbre would lift the hearts and the inmost devotion of men in today’s churches, as it had done previously in the temple of Jerusalem in the times of Kings David and

⁴⁷ Schmidt, “Michael Praetorius manu propria.”

⁴⁸ There was exchange between Duchess Elisabeth and Praetorius regarding organ-playing and construction. This is transmitted by Praetorius in paying the Hessian organist Georg Weisland for a repair job on her organ in early 1608. Wolfenbüttel, Niedersächsisches Staatsarchiv, 17 III Alt 68, fol. 76v; see also Gerhard Aumüller, “Esaias Compenius and his Family/Esaias Compenius og hans familie,” in *The Compenius Organ – Compenius-Orglet*, ed. Claus Røllum-Larsen (Hillerød: Det Nationalhistoriske Museum, Frederiksborg Slot, 2012), 118.

⁴⁹ On its disposition, timbre, and function as private chamber organ of Duchess Elisabeth see Praetorius, *Syntagmatis Musici Michaelis Praetorii*, vol. II, 141 (quoted), 89.

Solomon.⁵⁰ That the wooden organ from the Duchess's private chambers was chosen as a royal gift to Christian IV emphasizes not just the significance of their dynastic relations, but also its special symbolic value as an archetypal status symbol representing celestial music in the Lutheran understanding. Standing at the threshold, the organ sound was symbolically charged with a double eschatological meaning – it both resembled the music of the old Jerusalem temple and the perfect music of the New Jerusalem.

The reason for why this valuable possession was given away is stated by its maker, Elias Compenius, on a wooden block inside the organ: “The instrument remained at Hessen castle for over 5 years. It was donated by my gracious prince and lord, Duke Friedrich Ulrich, to His Royal Highness during the time of the second Braunschweig siege.”⁵¹

In 1615 Christian IV made an extended visit to Wolfenbüttel to help settle an atrocious conflict dragging on since 1589 between the dukes and the semi-autonomous city of Brunswick, which had recently flared up violently and was undermining the authority of the new Duke Friedrich Ulrich over his territory. The hereditary homage eventually paid to Friedrich Ulrich by the most powerful city within his lands, which had defied the authority of the dukes for many decades despite imperial decrees, was celebrated with magnificent solemnities in Brunswick on 6 and 7 February 1616.

Music and Politics: A Ducal Visit to Copenhagen

When Praetorius visited Copenhagen in May and June 1618, he was travelling in the retinue of Philipp Sigismund of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel, Duke and Prince-Bishop of Osnabrück and Verden. Duchess Elisabeth had entrusted him with a letter to her brother, Christian IV, which, however, has not survived. Evidently, it contained a message which had to be delivered by a person of trust.⁵² This exchange among members of the “Danish Court Party” must be understood in the wider context of Christian's ambitions to expand his sphere of influence in Northern Germany. Serving Christian's interests, Philipp Sigismund had secured the succession for the king's son Frederik II, later King Frederik III, to the

⁵⁰ Praetorius, *Syntagmatis Musici Michaelis Praetorii*, vol. II, 82.

⁵¹ “Alda hatt eß vber 5 Jahr gestanden, und in der andern Braunschwigischen [!] belagerung, von meinem gnedigen fürsten v[n]d hern, Hertzogk Friedrich Vlrich etc. Ihr König Maÿ: vorehret worden.” Mads Kjersgaard, “The Compenius Organ over 400 Years / Compenius-Orglet gennem 400 år,” in *The Compenius Organ – Compenius-Orglet*, ed. Claus Røllum-Larsen (Hillerød: Det Nationalhistoriske Museum, Frederiksborg Slot, 2012), 141.

⁵² Braunschweig Stadtarchiv, Sacksche Sammlung, HV 191: Music Volume 1, 189–90 (Elisabeth of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel to Praetorius, 26.4.1618).

bishopric of Verden in 1618. On 12 March 1619, Duke Frederik, barely nine years old, became Philipp Sigismund's Coadjutor (co-ruler) in Verden and was later appointed to rule it as Lutheran Prince-Bishop from 1623 to 1629.

The appointment was preceded by Philipp Sigismund's visit to Copenhagen with state ceremonies lasting a number of days from 22 May to 15 June 1618. A further aspect of the visit concerned Philipp Sigismund's support for Christian IV to become his successor in the Osnabrück bishopric.⁵³ The king knew how to display his gratitude. Philipp Sigismund received an almost royal reception opened by a military parade of horse- and footmen, "kettledrums and silver trumpets," which was followed by tournaments, displays of horsemanship, fireworks, banquets, and theatre plays. The celebrations were described by the royal court astrologer, theologian, and playwright Nicolaus Helvaderus (Niels Helvad, 1564–1634) in his famous *Silva chronologica*⁵⁴ and by the Icelandic travel writer, canon, and adventurer Jón Ólafsson (1593–1679). The latter was particularly impressed by the solemn reception in Valby Bakke. Three musical bands in the royal tent, one composed of 24 trumpeters with gilt instruments, another composed of trombone, crumhorn, and shawm players, and a choir of singers, provided almost uninterrupted music during the visit, alternating between trumpeters, instrumentalists, and singers with "herlig firstemmig Sang" (wonderful song for four voices).⁵⁵ The music was composed by the royal chapel master and student of the famous Venetian Giovanni Gabrieli, Mogens Pedersøn (1585–c.1623).⁵⁶

The visit of Philipp Sigismund and Praetorius to Copenhagen occurred during what Ole Kongsted calls the "authentic flowering of the chapel royal," when, following the Danish victory in the Kalmar War, the Swedes filled the king's coffers with contributions.⁵⁷ The fact that Praetorius brought musical instruments along to Copenhagen confirms the booming music culture of the day.⁵⁸ He would certainly have met musicians like Hans Nielsen, another student of Gabrieli and violin virtuoso Johann Schop. Thanks to Praetorius's recommendation and sponsored by a grant by the Elector of Saxony, Dresden violinist Ambrosius Götze was able to study with Schop in 1616.⁵⁹

53 Opel, *Der niedersächsisch dänische Krieg*, 1:60–61.

54 Nicolaus Helvader, *Sylva chronologica circuli Baltici, das ist: historischer Wald- und Umbzirck deß baltischen Meers oder der Ostsee* (Hamburg: Carstens, 1625), 302–03.

55 Jón Ólafsson, *Oplevelser som bøsseskytte under Christian IV*, ed. Julius Clausen, *Memoirer og Breve 1* (Copenhagen: Gyldendalske, 1905), 93.

56 Kongsted, "Christian IV. und seine europäische Musikerschaft," 115–26, especially 18.

57 Kongsted, "Christian IV. und seine europäische Musikerschaft," 122.

58 King Christian IV, note in his diary dated 14 June 1618: "Gav jeg Praetorius for nogle Instrumenter 224 Daler" ("I gave Praetorius 224 Daler for some instruments"), Christian Molbech, "Uddrag af K. Christian den Fierdes skrivecalendere," *Historisk Tidsskrift* 2/4 (1852): 251.

59 See the letter from Ambrosius Götze in Copenhagen to Elector Johann Georg, dated 15 March 1618, Dresden Sächsisches Hauptstaatsarchiv, 10024 Geheimer Rat, Loc. 7325/3, No. 115, fols. 304r–05r.

King Christian IV showed Prince-Bishop Philipp Sigismund his magnificent castles and gardens in Copenhagen, Kronborg, and Frederiksborg. His appointed successor Duke Frederik accompanied them both throughout the visit. These celebrations were meant to solidify the political connections between Denmark and members of the Guelph dynasty, which were also informed by shared confessional values and interests. In the previous year Denmark had celebrated the centennial jubilee of the Reformation in the manner of Wittenberg and the rest of Electoral Saxony. In his tract *Lutherus triumphans* written on this occasion, Copenhagen theology professor and Bishop of Seeland, Hans Poulsen Resen, had left little doubt about who the enemies of the true Christian church were. Resen thereby aligned himself with his Dresden colleague, court preacher Matthias Hoë von Hoënegg, in his polemical attacks against the Papists, that is Roman Catholics, Calvinists, and Muslim Turks.⁶⁰ The audience of a theatre performance at the conclusion of Philipp Sigismund's visit would thus have little difficulty in identifying who was meant by the enemies of Christendom in the play. Unfortunately, we neither know the text nor the title of this comedy written for this special occasion by Nicolaus Helvaderus. However, Jón Ólafsson later reported that the evil protagonists had been "the most frightful tyrants that ever existed, enemies of both God and Christendom, who were thrown into hell by a devil."⁶¹

In remembrance of these splendid celebrations he had witnessed, Praetorius sent the partbooks of the *Polyhymnia Caduceatrix & Panegyrica* of 1619 to Copenhagen, which are still preserved in the Royal Library.⁶² They contain concerts performed at the Centennial of the Reformation in Dresden in 1617 as well as pieces written for other solemnities typical for court life, such as meetings of princes, princely baptisms, and weddings. Pieces from the *Polyhymnia Caduceatrix & Panegyrica* were also performed in February 1616 during the magnificent celebrations marking the oath of allegiance celebrations in Brunswick as mentioned above.

60 Martin Schwarz Lausten, *A Church History of Denmark* (London: Routledge, 2016), 129–31; Jens E. Olesen, "Dänemark, Norwegen und Island," in *Dänemark, Norwegen und Schweden im Zeitalter der Reformation und Konfessionalisierung. Nordische Königreiche und Konfession 1500 bis 1660*, eds. Matthias Asche and Anton Schindling (Münster: Aschendorff, 2003), 85–92, especially 89: "His homage to Luther placed Resen in full agreement with German Lutheran orthodoxy, predominant above all in the Saxony Electorate and in Wittenberg University."

61 "De graesseligste Tyranner, der har existeret, baade Guds og Kristenhedens Fiender, som af en, der agerede Djaesvelen, blev kastet ind i dette Helvede." Helvaderus was himself involved as an actor in the performance, playing one of the godless who were having a good time in hell with wine and food. He received sixteen golden thalers for writing and performing in the comedy. Ólafsson, *Oplevelser som bøsseskytte under Christian IV*, 1:96–97.

62 Det Kongelige Bibliotek København, Musiksamlinger, U260, mu 6602.2631. Accessed February 12, 2019 http://www.kb.dk/da/nb/samling/ma/digmus/pre1700_indices/praetorius_polyhym.html. Works from the *Polyhymnia Caduceatrix & Panegyrica* had certainly not been premiered in Copenhagen. Praetorius would have mentioned the event for the record on the title page along with the other festive occasions.

In Praise of Music

The pieces of evidence for this German-Danish cultural transfer in forewords, aphorisms, and iconography⁶³ can be linked with themes of the Lutheran understanding of music as art with profound religious significance. In line with confessional-political policies of his Lutheran employers and sponsors, Praetorius combined his views on the importance of a varied and rich church music with an apologetic and polemical attitude towards a more restrictive understanding of spiritual music within the Protestant camp. He in particular fought positions advanced by Reformed theologians who objected to the use of instruments and to polyphonic vocal which was not written in the vernacular in church service. This Reformed emphasis on the simplicity and comprehensibility of music in church was already held by Huldrich Zwingli, but it became a bone of contention as a result of the colloquy held in Montbéliard between leading Lutheran and Reformed theologians, such as Jakob Andreae and Theodor Beza, in 1586.⁶⁴ Against the more restricted Reformed understanding of church music as “neither required nor prohibited” (adiaphora or indifferent), Lutherans sought to re-evaluate musical expression in a much greater artistic diversity than the characteristic monophonic singing of the psalms practiced in Reformed churches. This defence of spiritual music against alleged impoverishment and barbaric austerity was at the heart of Praetorius’s writings in praise of music, particularly in the *Syntagma musicum*. In general, the often satirical labels he coins for the critics and enemies of the art of music, such as *amosos* (unmusical), *misomosos* (anti-musical), and *zoili* and *momi* (critical killjoys) in these texts are used without any specific reference. Yet in the *Syntagma musicum I* he identifies these despisers of music as the Reformed Protestants or Calvinists.⁶⁵

Enemies of music could also be defined by stereotypes based on standards of civilization instead of religious criteria, such as the Ottoman Turks and other “barbarians” with their “rattling and crowing shawms” (“schnarrenden vnd kikanden Schalmeyen”). According to Praetorius, there is no music in places “where the Devil rules / since the godless are unworthy of it. However, music is always held in high esteem by the true Church.”⁶⁶

⁶³ On the title-page woodcuts and their iconography, see Ulf Wellner, *Die Titelholzschnitte in den Drucken Michael Praetorius Creutzbergensis* (PhD diss. Leipzig University, 2008).

⁶⁴ Diëtling Möller-Weiser, *Untersuchungen zum I. Band des Syntagma musicum von Michael Praetorius* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1993).

⁶⁵ Möller-Weiser, *Untersuchungen zum I*, 34; Michael Praetorius, *Syntagmatis Musici Tomus Primus* [. . .] (Wolfenbüttel: Johannis Richter, 1614/15), A2v; see also Schmidt, “Michael Praetorius manu propria;” Beate Agnes Schmidt, “‘Lauter Berenhäuterey’? Heinrich Schütz und das Lob der Musik,” *Schütz-Jahrbuch* 40 (2018): 21–45.

⁶⁶ “Da der Teuffel regieret / dann die Gottlosen sind deren nicht werth. Von der rechten Kirchen aber ist die Music zu jederzeit in hohem werth gehalten worden.” Praetorius, *Syntagmatis Musici Michaelis Praetorii*, vol. II, 83.

Whoever would not practice music, he claimed, was unprepared for the sole occupation of the souls in heaven, that is making music, and had thus little chance to be admitted in the first place. Those ignorant of music would very likely later find themselves in the “hellishly hot chapel,” where they would make a most terrible music as well as being deprived of the human voice, left only with the animalistic sounds of chattering teeth, howling, and bellowing.⁶⁷

For Praetorius, the idea of the perfect music of Zion unites three aspects of understanding. First, it denotes the main occupation of the chosen in heaven in the sense of the church fathers Theodoret of Cyrus and St Augustine (*De civitate Dei*: 22, 40, 5). Second, he uses it as a central point of projection in his praise of the perfectibility of all music in this world. In line with a characteristically Protestant understanding of human history, Praetorius claimed that music in the current age had almost approximated heavenly music and thereby recovered the purity of music among the ancient Hebrews. Third, this vision of the afterlife has a deeply personal meaning for Praetorius as expressed in his motto *Mihi Patria Coelum* (“My Fatherland is Heaven”).

In Lutheran thought the concept of a heavenly music formed a key inroad for themes from sacred history into more specific histories of music up to the late eighteenth century. Scholars writing in the genre had thus to integrate biblical history as well as questions about the Last Judgement and the end of the world into their histories. Between the creation and the end of the world, music in the Lutheran view of musical history does not appear static, on a constant plane, but rather “as *progressus* in the sense of advancement towards ever-higher musical quality.”⁶⁸ For Praetorius this approximation to the eternal music of the angels had recently progressed so rapidly “that it is almost unbelievable.” The secular idea of a constant perfection and refinement of the arts was taken from the civilizational models of humanist thought but connected to the narrative of sacred history. The refined music of his age was a “prelude and foretaste [. . .] of heavenly bliss,”⁶⁹ Praetorius claims. It almost equals that of the angels, as depicted on all his title-page woodcuts: in the first woodcut from 1607 (Fig. 20.6), the heavenly choirs in the upper half correspond in a very ordered way with the earthly choirs in the lower half; by contrast, on the woodcut from the *Polyhymnia Caduceatrix & Panegyrica* of 1619 (Fig. 20.7), the boundaries between more realist depictions of musical practice and biblical figures, heaven and earth, are blurred with a characteristically Baroque abundance. According to Praetorius, the models of this near-celestial music on earth are twofold: first, the Venetian polychoral style as the most modern form of “singing *per Choros*,” which was

⁶⁷ Praetorius, *Polyhymnia Caduceatrix & Panegyrica*, GA 17, VIII–IX.

⁶⁸ Bernhard Jahn, “‘Encomium musicae’ und ‘musica historica’: Zur Konzeption von Musikgeschichte im 17. Jahrhundert an Beispielen aus dem schlesisch-sächsischen Raum,” *Daphnis* 30 (2001): 505.

⁶⁹ “Vorspiel vnd Schmack [. . .] der Himmlischen Frewde.” Praetorius, *Urania*, GA 16, VIII.

“in truth, the proper celestial way of making music;”⁷⁰ and second, the organ as “the sole truly spiritual *Instrumentum Musicum*” because one can “alternate and vary as in a poly-choral setting more than usual than on any other musical instrument.”⁷¹

For Praetorius, the polychoral style represented the harmonious and polyphonic praise of God and its resonance on earth in terms of multi-layered tonal architecture and echo techniques. He traces the heavenly antiphony back to the prophecy of Isaiah (Isa 6:3). It also contains the Trisagion to the Holy Trinity: the “sanctus, sanctus, sanctus” of the organ note and title-page woodcut. For further proof of holy quality of the dual or polychoral style Praetorius points to Ps 87, in which King David would praise the alternating antiphony between heathens and Jews born again “as in sacred Zion,” and the vision of Ignatius of Antioch according to Cassiodorus’s *Historia tripartite*, as well as the choral singing then in practice in convents and cloisters.⁷²

On both title-page woodcuts, Praetorius groups the choir of the “chosen blessed” to the left side of Mount Zion and the choir of “heavenly cantors, cherubim, and seraphim,” among them King David, to the right. Their “shouts of joy” and their “many magnificent concerts” around the apocalyptic lamb, with cross-staff and Easter banner (Rev 14, see also Rev 4) cannot be anticipated on earth. However, the true believers can be prepared by singing spiritually like the *Musae Sioniae* – for the purpose of serving “there as blessed lay musicians” and,

gathered before his merciful throne in the new Jerusalem and heavenly Zion looking at him face to face and, with angelic and zionic songs of praise, in voices full of joy and heartfelt bliss together with all the holy cherubs and selected angelic choirs, being able to honour him, glorify him, and sing his praises.⁷³

The polychoral concerts of the muses in the heavenly Zion thus provide the inspiration for the “Musi Sionij Prætorianis” and lend their name to the *Motectae et psalmi latini* as *Musae Sioniae latini* and the German *Musae Sioniae*.

70 “dieweil die Art *per Choros* zu singen/ in Warheit die rechte Himmlische Art zu *musiciren* ist.” Praetorius, *Urania*, GA 16, VIII.

71 “Denn die Orgel allein ein recht Geistlich *Instrumentum Musicum* ist; [. . .] Do man vff zweyen/ vnd dreyen [. . .] *Clavieren* gar bequem/ artig vnd anmutig/ gleich als *per Choros* vmbwechseln vnd *varijren*, mehr als sonsten vff keinem *Instrumento Musico* geschehen kann.” Praetorius, *Urania*, GA 16, VIII. See also Praetorius, *Syntagmatis Musici Michaelis Praetorii*, vol. II, 82.

72 Praetorius, *Urania*, GA 16, VIII.

73 “Für seinem GnadenThron im neuen Jerusalem vnd himlischen Sion versamlet/ ihn von Angesicht zu Angesicht anschawen/ vnd mit Englischen vnd Sionischen Lobgesängen in volliger freuden Stimm vnd Hertzens Wonne/ sampt den heiligen Frongeisterlein vnd ausserwehlten EngelChorn ehren/ preisen vnd rühmen mügen.” Michael Praetorius, *Musae Sioniae V* (1607), ed. Friedrich Blume, GA vol. 5 (Wolfenbüttel: Kallmeyer, 1937), VI.



Fig. 20.6: *Motectae et Psalmi latini*, title woodcut, The Royal Danish Library (Det Kongelige Bibliotek), Copenhagen.



Fig. 20.7: Polyhymnia Caduceatrix & Panegyrica, title woodcut, The Royal Danish Library (Det Kongelige Bibliotek), Copenhagen.

Praetorius “desired,” he wrote

to take his *Musas* and *Gratias* not from *Pindus* or *Parnassus*, but from the sacred and majestic mountains of Zion on which God is praised and honoured as the eternal great and highest by his beloved cherubs, who are then the real authentic and wisest muses and graces, with the happiest manifold pealing of bells in crescendo.⁷⁴

With Johann Walter’s *Lob vnd preis der löblichen Kunst Musica* (*Tribute and praise of the commendable art of music*) of 1538 the eschatological theme of the heavenly choir (*Himmelskantorei*) had become a leitmotif of early modern Lutheran writings on music. It was part of a wider frame of apocalyptic motives key to Lutheran religious culture and thought.⁷⁵ Praetorius links the apocalyptic vision of heaven to Christology and his personal piety. On the woodcut that he commissioned for the *Polyhymnia Caduceatrix & Panegyrica* (Fig. 20.7) he is depicted opposite a crowd of musicians in heavenly Zion, which are placed at the feet of the crucified Christ on Mount Golgotha with the silhouette of the city of Jerusalem in the back. Christ’s cross becomes his own, which makes him a follower of the Saviour in his holy suffering. In line with Luther, Praetorius fashions himself as a humble imitator of Christ in his final moments on Mount Golgotha: “MIhI, in agone mortis, sVbsIDIo VenI ô ChrIste” (*Come help me in the agony of death, o Christ!*). The motive of the imitation of Christ receives a deeply autobiographical meaning because Praetorius takes stock of the fact that he was born in the small town of Kreuzburg (also written Kreuzberg or Creuzburg) near Eisenach. Though he only spent his early childhood in this town, he turns his place of origin into a part of his name by signing with the initial or the full spelling of M.P.C., that is Michael Praetorius Creuzbergensis. The latinized German *Creu(t)zbergensis* or Latin *Crucimontanus*, literally meaning originating from the mountain of the cross, infuses the factual statement about his place of birth with a highly religious significance. Praetorius links his earthly existence to Mount Golgotha, including his profession, for in some rarer instances the C. in his initials also stand for “Capellmeister” (chapel master).⁷⁶ For Praetorius, the Mountain of the Cross symbolizes his earthly life as a musician, which, as a “weighty procession and pilgrimage, week of crucifixion and torment” would soon be brought to an end. Like

⁷⁴ “Seine *Musas* vnd *Gratias* nicht von dem *Pindo* oder *Parnasso*, sondern von dem heiligen vnd herrlichen Berge Zion nennen wollen/ Auff welchem/ gleich wie der ewige/ grosse vnd höchste Gott von seinen lieben Engelein/ welche dann die wahre/ rechte vnd allerweiseste *Musæ* vnd *Gratiæ* seyn/ mit vielfeltigem erhohletem frölichem Geleute/ gelobet vnd geehret wird.” Michael Praetorius, *Musae Sioniae VII* (1609), ed. Friedrich Blume, GA vol. 7 (Wolfenbüttel: Kallmeyer, 1939), VII.

⁷⁵ On Lutheran eschatology, see Volker Leppin, “. . . mit dem künftigen Jüngsten Tag und Gericht vom sünden schlaff aufgeweckt”. Lutherische Apologetik zwischen Identitätsvergewisserung und Sozialdisziplinierung (1548–1619),” in *Endzeiten. Eschatologie in den monotheistischen Weltreligionen*, eds. Wolfram Brandes and Felicitas Schmieder (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2008).

⁷⁶ See Schmidt, “Michael Praetorius manu propria,” 82.

many of his contemporaries in Germany in the decades around 1600, Praetorius experiences the present as a “peculiarly dangerous time,” marked by war, disease and natural disasters. Like them, he reads these as a sign of God’s wrath invoking the words of Luther: “The Last Judgement and the end of the world is at hand.” Music and edifying songs of penance, however, could avert God’s punishment. In this, he wants to follow in the footsteps of “his Lord of the Cross (CreutzHErn), Jesus Christ” as his “Cross-Brother,” “until he enters the eternally triumphant church in heaven.”⁷⁷ This longing for heaven is reflected in his personal motto “Mihi Patria Coelum,” which recurs in the organ note, in the statement of *Musae Sioniae I*, and on the title pages of *Musae Sioniae II–IV*. In line with the late Renaissance and Baroque obsession with the anagram, Praetorius also chose this motto because of the consonance of its abbreviation M.P.C. with his initials, Michael Praetorius Creuzbergensis.⁷⁸

Praetorius identifies the magnificence of heavenly Zion as described in the prophecy of Isaiah and the Revelation by John as the model of church music – it was also the goal of his personal worldly *peregrinatio* as a composer and chapel master. He thereby combines the ideal of a heavenly choir (*Himmelskantorei*) with his praise of the progress or perfection in areas of music which are in particular rejected by the Calvinists as unsuitable for church service, such as the polychoral style and organ music. He claims that their perfection in his day would allow for a sensual glimpse of the grandeur of the celestial choir.⁷⁹ Music, Praetorius contends in the *Syntagma Musicum*, was next to theology in dignity as a divine gift, since it is an “image and likeness of heavenly music.” Because of its power to move, it has to be “taken more as of spiritual than a worldly essence,”⁸⁰ particularly in organ playing and in the antiphon of the angels, which anticipated polyphony.

Praetorius’s promotion of church music draws its scriptural authority from the invocation of the chapel of King David, the “most supreme chapel master.” Within the vision of heavenly music, Praetorius asserted, David was not just an individual saint-like model as a singer-priest playing the lyre on Mount Zion. The historical David had

77 Michael Praetorius, *Kleine und grosse Litaney*, ed. Friedrich Blume, GA vol. 20 (Wolfenbüttel: Kallmeyer, 1936), IX.

78 Central to the Christological motifs of his musical world view is Praetorius’s canon “Mea spes Christus,” which can be found on the Danish organ note as well as in his entries in various *Album Amicorum* (Stammbuch, Stambog). An alternative anagram playing with the initials of his name is “Mea sPES Christus.” See Schmidt, “Michael Praetorius manu propria,” 85.

79 Praetorius here refers to Girolamo Dirutas *Il Transitivo* (1593), see Praetorius, *Syntagmatis Musici Michaelis Praetorii*, vol. II, 88.

80 Praetorius, *Syntagmatis Musici Michaelis Praetorii*, vol II, 82. (“Von der dignitet vnd fürtrefflichkeit der Orgeln/ vnd wie dieselbige alleine vnd sonderlich zum Kirchen- vnd Gottesdienst gerichtet/ allen andern Instrumenten vorzuziehen sey.”). See Luther: “primum locum do Musicae post Theologicae,” WA 30/2,696; also Christoph Krummacher, *Musik als praxis pietatis: Zum selbstverständnis evangelischer Kirchenmusik*, Veröffentlichungen zur Liturgik, Hymnologie und Theologischen Kirchenmusikforschung 27 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1994), 14–33.

also presided over a magnificent chapel of 288 musicians in 24 choirs and 4000 “praise singers with stringed instruments,” thus fostering polychoral practice as well as the playing of the organ and other instruments.⁸¹ Praetorius invoked David’s chapel as *the* prime model for chapels at the princely courts of his day, thus addressing, in the first place, the Lutheran commissioners of the *Polyhymnia Caduceatrix & Panegyrica*, Elector Johann Georg of Saxony, Duke Friedrich Ulrich of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel, and Christian Wilhelm of Brandenburg, the Administrator of the Archbishopric of Magdeburg. Of course, Christian IV, who was also compared to David in the contemporary rhetorical genre of princely praise, would have very few difficulties in understanding the normative claim to follow the biblical king in his promotion of music.⁸²

Conclusion

Why Praetorius never dedicated one of his major works to King Christian IV remains unexplained. Like Heinrich Schütz a few years later, his work certainly formed part of the “cultural flow to and from Denmark,”⁸³ even though there is less evidence of the influence of Danish musical culture at the court of Wolfenbüttel than vice-versa. I have discussed the confessional-political and musical-aesthetic significance of the gifts and solemnities for Praetorius’s Danish relationships from the perspective of cultural transfer. The gifts to King Christian IV include significant objects such as the unique wooden chamber organ in Fredericksborg and the preponderant voluminous polychoral concerts which, from Praetorius’s Lutheran perspective, were both associated with the celestial music of angelic choirs. In more practical terms, the heavenly choir of the singing and instrument-playing Muses of Zion served as an apologetic model in the defence of vocal and instrumental church music against misguided reforms. For Praetorius, King Christian IV, and many Lutherans of their time, Zion denoted a spiritual yet also practically relevant utopia, impacting princely politics, charity, and the arts. This utopia comprised three main dimensions of time: the biblical past of the covenant with God, the current rule of Christ in heaven, and the apocalyptic future of God’s eternal rule after the last redemption. To imitate the model of the lyre-playing musician-prince was to take the path to this everlasting kingdom.

⁸¹ Praetorius, *Urania*, GA 16, VI–VII.

⁸² Mara R. Wade, *German Court Culture and Denmark: The “Great Wedding” of 1634*, Wolfenbütteler Arbeiten zur Barockforschung 27 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1996).

⁸³ Bjarke Moe, “Italian Music at the Danish Court During the Reign of Christian IV – Presenting a Picture of Cultural Transformation,” *Danish Yearbook of Musicology* 38 (2010/2011): 141.

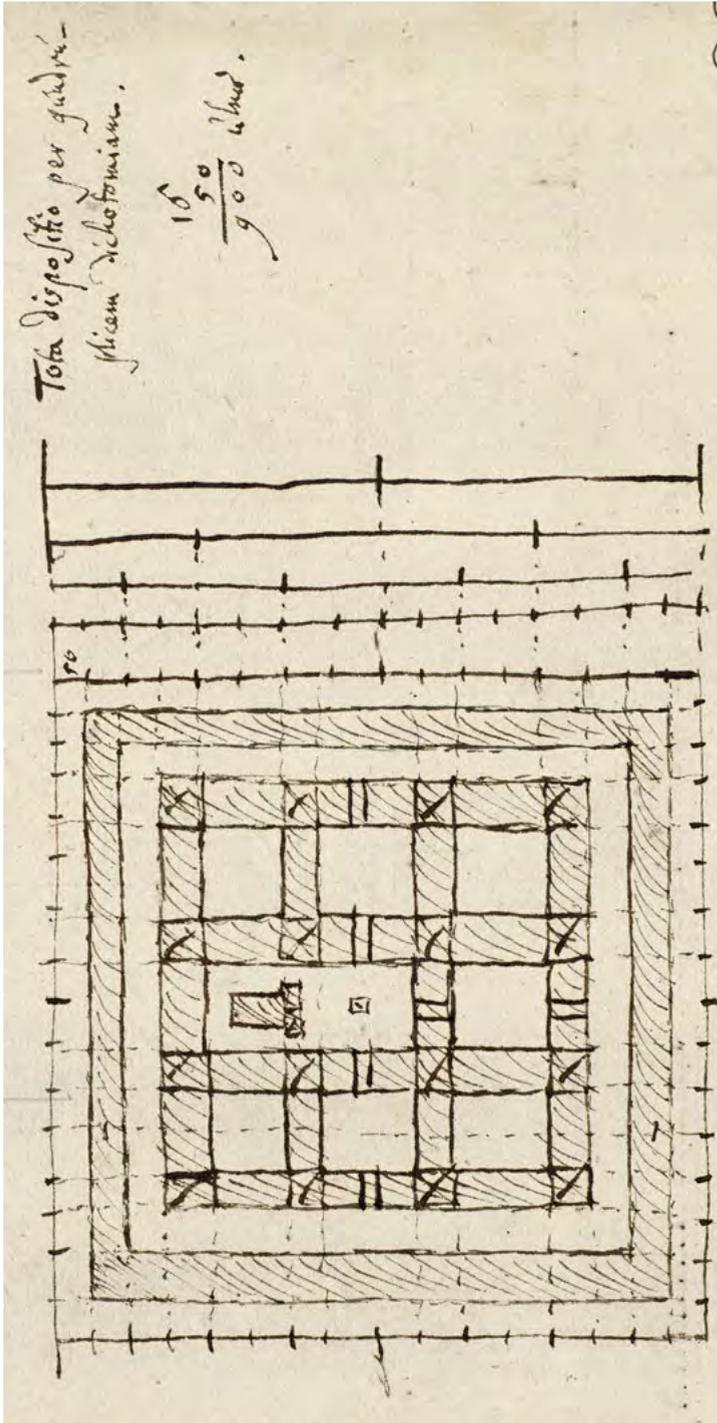


Fig. 21.1: When Nicolaus Goldmann wrote *Tota dispositio per quadruplicem dichotomiam* (Every disposition is a fourfold dichotomy), he made a drawing of how this disposition principle of the fourfold dichotomy could be translated into architecture. The line to the far right is divided into two. This is the first dichotomy. To the left, the second line is divided into four, making up the second dichotomy. The third line is divided into eight, and the fourth into sixteen, representing the smallest unit in the design of a building. A particularly intriguing point was Goldmann's insistence that the proportional relation between the smaller and the larger parts – rather than its accordance with some preconceived, underlying grid – was the primary reason for its symmetrical perfection and beauty. For Goldmann, the most perfect expression of that architectonical principle was the temple of Jerusalem. Nicolaus Goldmann, *Elementa architecturae*, Leiden 1658. p. 22. Ms Thott 267 2°.

Joar Haga

Chapter 21

Consecrating the New Jerusalem in Tranquebar

This article considers what the heavenly city may have meant for the first Lutheran missionary endeavour. When the Danish king sent German Pietists from Halle as missionaries to Tranquebar, to the king's trade station in India, the missionaries named their mission church "New Jerusalem." The choice of name is intriguing because it points to an ambivalence that characterized the conception of the enterprise. By presenting some material from the missionaries, I ask in what sense their activity among the Tamil was understood as taking part in the realization of the promised city, the New Jerusalem. Although the Pietists were reluctant to interpret worldly structures as identical with the heavenly reality, their millennial outlook harboured hopes for a concrete realization of the kingdom of God. This ambivalence points to a major tension within the Jerusalem code itself: to what extent did the eternal city "up there" extend into the temporal spheres "down here"?

Inspired by mercantilism, Denmark–Norway chartered the Danish East India Company in 1616 under Christian IV (r. 1588–1648), and became a colonial power by the possession of Tranquebar. When Frederick IV (r. 1699–1730) ninety years later sent missionaries to Tranquebar, they represented a new export article from Scandinavia, namely the Pietist attempt to include the people on far shores abroad in the worldwide church. Bartholomeus Ziegenbalg (1682–1719) and Heinrich Plütschau (1676–1752), his colleague, were spiritual disciples of August Herman Francke (1663–1727) in Halle, and were recruited from Germany.

On 11 October 1718 Ziegenbalg held his inauguration sermon for the newly built church, New Jerusalem, in Tranquebar. It was the birthday of the Danish king Frederick IV and the event marked the beginning of a new aeon.¹ The new church was partly designed by the German architect Leonard Christoph Sturm, a pioneering architect with a profound interest in the representations of New Jerusalem on

¹ Jeyaraj claimed that the church is viewed as the mother of all Protestant churches in India. Daniel Jeyaraj, *Bartholomäus Ziegenbalg: The Father of Modern Protestant Mission. An Indian Assessment* (New Dehli: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 2006), 116.

earth.² It took the place of another church, which Ziegenbalg and his congregation had left after twelve years, which also bore the name “New Jerusalem.” The name New Jerusalem, the divine city of the Book of Revelation, marked the difference to the old Zion, the name of the old church at Tranquebar. This article addresses what the name of the heavenly city meant to the missionary endeavour, and in what sense was the missionary activity among the Tamil understood to be a part of the realization of the promised city, the New Jerusalem.

In order to answer this question, I will turn to how the Pietist movement understood New Jerusalem. There was an ambivalent attitude towards the concrete realization of Jerusalem within the Pietist tradition itself; the Pietists could accentuate both a New Jerusalem that was *already* at hand – at least in its inception – and they could accentuate a *not yet*. On the one hand the teacher of the missionaries, August Herman Francke, underlined that his great project of a “universal seminar” was not a *rem publicam platonicam*, existing merely in the imagination.³ His large venture, the famous orphanage, was not a utopia – it had a real place in Halle as *already* a beginning, a “pledge,” for the great Reformation of church and society.⁴ On the other hand, the Pietists strongly emphasized the antithesis between spirit and matter.⁵ This tension made an identification of the kingdom of God with concrete worldly or human structures difficult for the Pietists.⁶ New Jerusalem could simply not be realized, partly because it was embedded in human structures and as such was bound to “the works of human hands.” In 1718, when the second New Jerusalem church was

2 Cf. Claus Bernet, “Sturm, Leonhard Christoph,” in *Biographisch-Bibliographisches Kirchenlexikon* (Nordhausen: Verlag Traugott Bautz, 2001).

3 Wolfgang Breul, “August Hermann Franckes Konzept einer Generalreform,” in *Geschichtsbewusstsein und Zukunftserwartung*, eds. Wolfgang Breul and Jan Carsten Schnurr (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2013), 78. Cf. the verdict of Eric Gritsch: “Halle had become to Francke a new Jerusalem.” Eric W. Gritsch, *A History of Lutheranism* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2002), 148.

4 “Das Hallesche Waisenhaus wurde zum Synonym für die konkrete Errichtung des Reiches Gottes als Angeld für eine Erneuerung von Kirche und Gesellschaft.” Peter Schicketanz et al., *Der Pietismus von 1675 bis 1800*, vol. 1 (Berlin: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 2001), 88.

5 The sceptical attitude towards the external reality is found everywhere. Francke wrote, for example, in his *30 Rules for a Good Conscience*, that the company of others “is a chance to sin” (Rule 1). One should take care so that “nobody disturbs your inner peace” (Rule 2). The external contact with the godless is not possible to avoid, but it is important to enter into contact with them only if they are in need or if there is “hope for betterment” (Rule 12). Particularly telling is Rule 24, where laughter is not entirely condemned: one can be delighted over divine things, in an *internal* delight. A. H. Francke, *Dreissig Regeln, zu Bewahrung des Gewissens und guter Ordnung in Gesellschaft* (Nürnberg: Raw’schen Buchhandlung, 1832). Cf. Wolfgang Martens, “Officina Diaboli. Das Theater im Visier des Halleschen Pietismus,” in *Zentren der Aufklärung 1.Halle. Aufklärung und Pietismus*, ed. Hinske Norbert (Heidelberg: Lambert Schneider, 1989), 189.

6 Francke’s modern biographer, Friedrich de Boor, sees Francke’s historical significance exactly in his ability to connect a *spiritualistic* waiting for the sign of the times and an *activist* labour in God’s work. Friedrich de Boor, “Francke, August Hermann (1663–1727),” TRE 11,315–16.

consecrated, Ziegenbalg underlined the words from Acts 7, that God “dwelleth not in temples made with hands.” There was in the embedded Pietist anxiety about the world as a place of temptation⁷ a concern for the deceptive power of the external. This was not because of its inherently evil essence but because of its possibility to destroy the (good) will.

This ambivalence between *already* and *not yet* is the point of departure for this chapter. It asks whether the New Jerusalem church in Tranquebar was a signal light of a possible realization of the heavenly city. Did the missionaries affirm the assumption that the New Jerusalem church – as the epitome of missionary effort – represented the Kingdom of God breaking into the world? Or were they rather reluctant to make such claims, placing its realization in the afterlife?

The Background of Tranquebar as a Mission Station

In his standard account of mission history, Kenneth Scott Latourette remarked that King Frederick IV of Denmark “had for some reason come to feel an obligation to see that missionaries were sent to the non-Christians touched by Danish colonies and trade.”⁸ In 1705, Frederick IV had sent two Lutheran missionaries to Tranquebar with the order to “teach the heathens who live in our territory and in the neighbouring regions the holy doctrine as it is given in God’s word, Daniel Cyranka in the symbolic books and in the Augsburg confession and to bring them the message of salvation [. . .].”⁹

The king’s interest in mission activity has been quite a riddle for historians to explain. As an absolute king with mistresses and polygamous relations, he did not seem to be particularly close to the culture of Pietism. In addition, the Lutheran theologians in Copenhagen had grave doubts about the legitimacy of mission work. The Gospel had *already* been declared all over the world by the Apostles, according to leading theologians such as Niels Hemmingsen (1513–1600) and Hans Resen (1561–1638). They had explained that the Gospel had been declared twice before Christ’s arrival. First, it had been preached in the Garden of Eden, to Eve after the fall of man, as a promise that the snake should crush the head of the snake. Second, the Gospel had been declared as a promise to Noah, as part of the pact. Third, after the arrival of Christ, the apostles had preached the Gospel in Jerusalem and everywhere in

⁷ One “Versuchungs-Wüste”, as Francke said in one of his sermons. Cf. Johann Anselm Steiger, “Versuchung III. Kirchengeschichtlich”, TRE 35,60.

⁸ Kenneth Scott Latourette, *A History of the Expansion of Christianity*, vol. 3 (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1970), 278.

⁹ Cf. the translation of the text found in the Danish chancellery by Frederick IV of Denmark, “Royal Appointment and Instructions to the First Missionaries,” in *Halle and the Beginning of Protestant Christianity in India*, eds. Andreas Gross, Y. Vincent Kumaradoss, and Heike Liebau (Halle: Verlag der Franckeschen Stiftungen zu Halle, 2006), 1337.

the world. Hence, the Gospel had already been universally preached and no further mission was necessary.¹⁰

The king was probably influenced by his court preacher F. J. Lütkens, who suggested the names of the missionary candidates.¹¹ In addition to sending missionaries to Tranquebar, in 1714 the king also founded a Collegium to promote missionary work. The foundation of the *Collegium* was disseminated in a small publication, which also had some remarks concerning Tranquebar. Why would the Danish king send missionaries to India? The answer was King Frederick's care [omsorg] for Christ's Gospel. Apparently, it had "lead to the results that were visible to the whole world through the reports of the Halle Mission: the preaching of the Gospel for the heathens in India."¹²

The political ideology in Denmark made mission work plausible to some degree. As a Lutheran king, Frederick IV was responsible for both the worldly and the spiritual well-being of all his subjects. When the royal appointment – cited above – stated that the missionaries should preach to the heathens "in our territories," this was in line with the standard Lutheran interpretation. The new element was the addition to carry out missions "in neighbouring regions," because it broke with the confined area of royal rule, the realm of power.¹³

Danish Presence in Tranquebar

The idea of mission was not a part of the original plan for extending Danish rule to India. Denmark–Norway had gained a foothold at the Coromandel coast in the 1620s in order to partake in the wealth that came from the east, as part of the mercantile

10 Jens Glebe-Møller, "Det Teologiske Fakultet 1597–1732," in *Københavns Universitet 1479–1979*, ed. Svend Ellehøj (Copenhagen: Gads Forlag, 1980), 196–97. See also Jens Glebe-Møller, "The Realm of Grace Presupposes the Realm of Power: The Danish Debate about the Theological Legitimacy of Mission," in *Halle and the Beginning of Protestant Christianity in India*, eds. Andreas Gross, Y. Vincent Kumaradoss, and Heike Liebau (Halle: Verlag der Franckeschen Stiftungen zu Halle, 2006). This was more or less a standard view of the Lutherans on the continent, as well. Cf. Matthias Pohlig, *Zwischen Gelehrsamkeit und konfessioneller Identitätsstiftung. Lutherische Kirchen- und Universalgeschichtsschreibung 1546–1617* (Tübingen: Mohr, 2007), 398.

11 As provost of Berlin, Lütkens had been a close colleague of Spener, and in 1692 Lütkens had been in a commission evaluating the controversial work of Francke. Cf. Daniel Cyranka and Andreas Wenzel, "'Das eigentliche Portrait des seligen Aarons' – Der indische Prediger Aaron (1698/99–1745) auf Bildern des 18. Jahrhunderts," in *Pietismus Und Neuzeit* 35 (2009), 152.

12 "§. VI. Ey heller er det dennem ubevist / som glæder sig ofver Evangelii Løb / eller i det øfrige ere begierlige efter at viide / hvad der skeer i Verden / hvis sig imidlertid har tilldraget i samme Verk / efterdi det ligger for all Verdens Øyne forfatted udi de Ostindiske i Trycken udgangne og continuerede Merkværdige Beretninger." Johan Georg von Holsten, *Kort efterretning om nærværende Anstalt i Dannemark fil Hedningenes Omvendelse* (Copenhagen: Johann Sebastian Martini, 1715), 4.

13 Cf. Glebe-Møller, "The Realm of Grace Presupposes the Realm of Power".

politics of King Christian IV, who wanted to take part in the lucrative trade that East India represented.¹⁴

The king had founded the first Danish East India Company in 1616, and challenged Portuguese claims to trade monopoly with India. The local prince, Raghunatha Nayak of Tanjore, was interested in striking a trade agreement with the Danes, probably wishing to balance the foreign powers. Raghunatha granted them permission to build “a stone house” in Tranquebar and collect rent from the village land. In return, the Danes should pay a yearly tribute to the Nayak.¹⁵ Although religious freedom was secured in the treaty, there were no regulations concerning possible conversions or mission activities.¹⁶

In line with the other European powers establishing themselves on the Indian coast, military fortifications were erected and the castle “Dansborg” was built. However, one should probably not regard the small trade station of Tranquebar as a large-scale demonstration of Danish colonial power. When the Nayak Raghunatha died and a more hostile Nayak assumed power, the Danish colony was saved by the Indian merchant Achyatappa Chetti and his connections to the Dutch trade company and Indian political rulers. The whole endeavour was “a common project for many Indian actors and a small group of envoys from the kingdom Denmark–Norway.”¹⁷

Religion in Tranquebar

The space that emerged in Tranquebar was both multicultural and multireligious. Hindus and Muslims were a natural part of the community, but Roman-Catholic Christians were also received and given the opportunity to erect their own church within the limits of Tranquebar. In 1700, it was even reported that the trade company

14 In the audience room at Fredriksborg castle one can also behold today how the dream of treasures from the East kindled the imagination in Copenhagen. Four paintings from the 1680s depict the continents at that time. The woman of Asia is draped in expensive clothes, holding flowers and incense in her hands. It gives an impression of the “Danish dreams about the glorious things in the east.” Søren Mentz, Niels Brimnes, and Esther Fihl, “Indernes verden 1600–1750,” in *Danmark og Koloniene: Indien: Tranquebar, Serampore og Nicobarerne*, ed. Niels Brimnes (Copenhagen: Gad, 2017), 18. For the economic disaster which the first years in Tranquebar represented, see Ole Feldbæck, “Den danske asienhandel 1616–1807. Værdi og volumen,” *Historisk Tidsskrift* 15, no. 5 (1990), 323.

15 Esther Fihl, “Shipwrecked on the Coromandel: The First Indo-Danish Contact, 1620,” *Review of Development & Change* 14, no. 1–2 (2009), 20.

16 Daniel Jeyaraj has translated the treaty into English. In the third article it states: “We are committed always to defend and favour the subjects of the King of Denmark in the practice of their faith, called the Augsburg Confession, and we shall never tolerate that they be oppressed because of their faith.” Jeyaraj, *Bartholomäus Ziegenbalg*, 263.

17 Esther Fihl and Svane-Knudsen Asger, “Tranquebar etableres 1620–30,” in *Danmark og Koloniene: Indien: Tranquebar, Serampore og Nicobarerne*, ed. Niels Brimnes (Copenhagen: Gad, 2017), 74–75.

paid the salary of the Portugese priest.¹⁸ However, the sole intention of the Danish East India Company was to do commercial work, and to act accordingly.¹⁹ When the missionaries from Halle arrived in 1706, the company feared that their religious activities would damage the trade activities. The commander, Johan Hassius, considered Ziegenbalg a millennialist, “a Thomas Müntzer, that eventually would ignite a revolution,”²⁰ and he even put the missionaries in jail a few times, due to what he considered revolutionary behaviour.²¹

Indeed, Hassius’s remark about the missionaries’ heterodox doctrine was not without foundation. One problematic aspect was the political implication of their activity, as the Tranquebar mission was not restricted to care for the spiritual life of the Indians. The missionaries understood their mission as more than merely saving souls – in line with the Pietist ideology from Halle they were concerned with the entire life of the converts.²² They reflected the millennial component that was part and parcel of the Pietist package. It was not only Hassius who was sceptical about the new culture brought by Ziegenbalg and Plütschau – Bishop Bornemann who ordained the Halle theologians had also been sceptical and had only accepted them after the king had intervened on their behalf. Negative assessments were published in polemic pamphlets years after their journey to Tranquebar.

One of the most significant pamphlets was published in 1715 under the pseudonym Christianus Aletophilus, portraying the story of the mission critically.²³ The author remarked sarcastically that the missionaries’ presentation of the first New Jerusalem church as a miracle [Wunderwerck] attracted very little money. According to Aletophilus,

18 Niels Brimnes and Helle Jørgensen, “Lokalsamfundet Trankebar,” in *Danmark og kolonierne: Indien: Tranquebar, Serampore og Nicobarerne*, ed. Niels Brimnes (Copenhagen: Gad, 2017), 132.

19 Interestingly, most of the capital of the company came from Jewish and Reformed investors. Therefore, the spread of the Lutheran church was hardly considered as one of its main targets, to say the least. Brimnes and Jørgensen, “Lokalsamfundet Trankebar,” 138.

20 Wilhelm Germann, *Ziegenbalg und Plütschau: Die Gründungsjahre der Trankebarschen Mission* (Erlangen: Deichert, 1868), 114.

21 The conflict between the secular government and the missionaries are often interpreted as a conflict between strong personalities. It was rather a structural conflict, where the missionaries understood themselves having an authority that rested on a royal decree. For the secular government, however, they ultimately represented a threat to trade. Cf. Arno Lehmann and Bartholomäus Ziegenbalg, *Alte Briefe aus Indien: Unveröffentlichte Briefe von Bartholomäus Ziegenbalg 1706–1719*, ed. Arno Lehmann (Berlin: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 1957), 396. Cf. also J. F. Fenger, *Den Trankebarske missions historie* (Copenhagen: Reitzel, 1843), 43–47.

22 Anders Nørgaard, “The Mission’s Relationship to the Danes,” in *Halle and the Beginning of Protestant Christianity in India*, eds. Andreas Gross, Y. Vincent Kumaradoss, and Heike Liebau (Halle: Verlag der Franckeschen Stiftungen zu Halle, 2006), 173.

23 Printed in Fenger, *Den Trankebarske missions historie*, 329–58. Fenger claimed that the professor of theology, Hans Bartholin, was the real author of the critical account.

however, labour was very cheap, and the commander Hassius had supplied a substantial number of the bricks.²⁴ Therefore, a main target of the critique was of a theological nature – that the signs of a celestial intervention and Francke’s idea that “God himself was building” were hardly tenable, but had worldly causes instead.²⁵

One of the most interesting theological problems was a product of the absolutist government itself: how could a minister in the church be rightly called to his work? The Lutheran concept of vocation presupposed a congregation that called a person to the public ministry of the Word, and it was arranged as a defense against self-proclaimed prophets who had seen the light. This concept was not only a result of the religious controversies of the 1520s in Germany, but was also used as a guard against Roman Catholic ecclesiology. In spite of the principle that “the congregation nominates its clergy,” power increasingly resided with the king in Copenhagen during the seventeenth century.²⁶ In theory this situation was explained by the king acting as a “father” of the congregations, sending out clergy in their name.

The sending of missionaries created a new situation. Orthodox Lutherans saw the danger of Copenhagen becoming a new Rome, where the king would send out pastors without the consent of the congregations.²⁷ When the absolute king sent out two missionaries who rested their authority on an inward calling, however, Roman Catholicism and spiritualism seemed to converge with the king’s Caesaro-papal command structures and the missionaries’ dubious personal experiences. The king solved this problem by referring to his *cura religionis*, the king’s fatherly care for his own subjects. In the formal instruction of missionaries, no reference was given to the so-called Great Commission of Matt 28:18–20 “[. . .] Go ye therefore, and teach all nations [. . .].” Instead, the missionaries were sent as clergy to the king’s *finēs tranquebargiensēs*. As Anders Nørgaard has noted, the word *finēs* can also be translated as “neighbouring regions,” in addition to “boundaries.”²⁸

²⁴ “Was machen sie nicht vor Wesens von dem Bau der neuen Kirche, Jerusalem genannt, von welcher noch Viele in dem Gedanken stehen, es sei derselbigen Erbauung ein Wunderwerk und eine extraordinaire Begebenheit; denn sie wissen nicht, dass dieselbige, weil sie sehr klein ist, nicht mehr als 160 Rth. zur Erbauung gekostet habe; denn die Materialien und die Arbeitsleute kann man in Ost-Indien sehr wohlfeil haben [. . .].” Fenger, *Den Trankebarske missions historie* 345.

²⁵ Commenting on the success of the Halle institutions, Francke claimed “dass Gott selbst mit im Werck sey.” Cf. Breul, “August Hermann Franckes Konzept einer Generalreform,” 78–79.

²⁶ After the introduction of absolutism in Denmark–Norway in 1660, changes were made in the way ministers were called through a series of royal rescripts. In short, ministers went from being chosen by the congregations and local authorities, to a full integration in the royal government. Cf. Oluf Kolsrud and Kristen Valkner, *Presteutdanning i Noreg*, Scandinavian University Books 21 (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 1962), 162.

²⁷ Anders Nørgaard, “The Mission Instruction,” in *Halle and the Beginning of Protestant Christianity in India*, eds. Andreas Gross, Y. Vincent Kumaradoss, and Heike Liebau (Halle: Verlag der Franckeschen Stiftungen zu Halle, 2006), 1277–78.

²⁸ Nørgaard, “The Mission Instruction,” 1279.

Therefore, the missionaries were sent to the Danish colony, but their missionary activity was not confined to that area.

Hope for Better Times

In addition to being outside the normal lines of authority, the Pietist missionaries had a new understanding of history. They turned away from the apocalyptic view of history of imminent return, where the *parousia* (second coming) of Christ could break into history anytime, as the orthodox Lutherans had taught.²⁹ Instead, Christ would postpone his second coming in order to make sanctification possible, and make conversion to Christianity attractive for Jews and heathens.³⁰ The main figure of Pietism, Philipp Jacob Spener, had underlined the “hope for better times.”³¹

Therefore, in the time between the present and the return of Christ, there was not merely Luther’s expectation of an imminent return, but the Pietists hoped for a radical *betterment*, a time when Christians could prepare themselves for the kingdom of God. These utopian aspirations ran contrary to traditional Lutheranism. Already in the Augsburg Confession of 1530, Melanchthon had condemned those who promoted so-called “Jewish opinions” that “the godly will take possession of the kingdom of the world” before the resurrection.³²

The traditional view could be designated as Augustinian.³³ Surely, there had been theologians that had challenged such a view of history,³⁴ but the Lutheran

²⁹ The literature is immense. See for example Robin Bruce Barnes, *Prophecy and Gnosis: Apocalypticism in the Wake of the Lutheran Reformation* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1988); and Volker Leppin, *Antichrist und Jüngster Tag. Das Profil apokalyptischer Flugschriftenpublizistik im deutschen Luthertum 1548–1618* (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 1999).

³⁰ Schäufele underlines that both premillennialism and postmillennialism contributed to postponing the end of the world to a more distant future. Wolf-Friedrich Schäufele, “Geschichtsbewusstsein und Geschichtsschreibung um 1700,” in *Geschichtsbewusstsein und Zukunftserwartung in Pietismus und Erweckungsbewegung*, eds. Wolfgang Breul and Jan Carsten Schnurr (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2013), 43.

³¹ As Krauter-Dierolf has shown, on the one hand Spener was anxious to distance himself from millenarian interpretations, while on the other hand he did not reject that the “glorious Kingdom of Christ” was at hand. Heike Krauter-Dierolf, *Die Eschatologie Philipp Jakob Speners: Der Streit mit der lutherischen Orthodoxie um die “Hoffnung Besserer Zeiten”*, Beiträge zur historischen Theologie (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2005), 51–53.

³² Irene Dingel and Bastian Basse, *Die Bekenntnisschriften der evangelisch-lutherischen Kirche*, Vollständige Neued. ed. (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2014), 112–13.

³³ Augustine, after he had rejected millennial views around AD 400. Cf. Robert A. Markus, “History,” in *Augustine through the Centuries*, ed. Allan O. S. A. Fitzgerald (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1999), 433.

³⁴ Cf. Johannes Wallmann, “Zwischen Reformation und Pietismus. Reich Gottes und Chiliasmus in der lutherischen Orthodoxie,” in *Verifikationen. Festschrift für Gerhard Ebeling*, eds. Johannes Wallmann, Wilfried Werbeck, and Eberhard Jüngel (Tübingen: Mohr, 1982); and Walter Sparr, “Zeit-

theologians as a group were sceptical of any idea that could justify a realization of New Jerusalem before the world came to an end. One problem was simply that there was no time left, as Luther's apocalyptic world-view had created an expectation of an imminent return of Christ. The world was expected to last some six thousand years, and would perhaps come to an end tomorrow.³⁵ Another reason was that the traditional anthropological imagery of a "battle" within Christian persons – until the end – between spirit and flesh precluded any optimistic idea of qualitative progress.³⁶

The chiliastic ideas that Spener and Francke promulgated³⁷ can be seen on many levels of their work. Both the more lofty ideas of the Halle Institute as the germ cell of a "general reformation of the world"³⁸ and the more concrete export of the school system had utopian aspects. Indeed, in Denmark, too, Francke's institutions in Halle were understood as "a pedagogical Jerusalem."³⁹

The aspirations to create a better world did not lead to dreaming and speculations for the missionaries. Entering a new culture, they had to learn both Portuguese and Tamil. Following biblical practice, they drew lots about who should study the languages and Ziegenbalg was chosen to become a student of Tamil. From his study of the language from the Tamil Brahmins and high-caste teachers, Ziegenbalg acquired an in-depth knowledge of the local culture and religious beliefs. As a result, he published many works, among which his book on *Genealogy of the South-Indian Gods* is the best known.

The acquired knowledge was used specifically for missionary purposes. When the commander Hassius made an effort to recruit the missionaries for school work, they turned the question around and asked if Hassius would not help *them* in their mission efforts.⁴⁰ Their understanding of their divine calling – and therefore zeal – for saving Indian souls from eternal damnation on the path to true morality was

Ordnung'. Der antichiliastische Haupt-Schlüssel über die hohe Offenbarung S. Johannis von Caspar Heunisch (1684)," in *Frömmigkeit, Bildung, Kultur. Theologische Aufsätze 1: Lutherische Orthodoxie und christliche Aufklärung in der frühen Neuzeit* (Leipzig: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 2012).

35 Gustav Adolph Benrath, "Geschichte/Geschichtsschreibung/Geschichtsphilosophie VII/1. 16. bis 18. Jahrhundert," in TRE 12,630.

36 Bengt Häggglund, *De Homine: Människouppfattningen i äldre luthersk tradition*, vol. 18 (Lund: Gleerup, 1959), 399.

37 Claus Bernet, "Expectations of Philadelphia and the Heavenly Jerusalem in German Pietism," in *A Companion to German Pietism, 1660–1800*, ed. Douglas H. Shantz, Brill's Companions to the Christian Tradition 55 (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 141.

38 "[. . .] zur Beförderung des gantzen Wercks des HErrn, und zu einer rechten universal-Verbesserung." A. H. Francke, *Der grosse Aufsatz* (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1962), 49. See also Chapter 2 (Walter Sparn), vol. 3, 55–73.

39 Charlotte Appel and Morten Fink-Jensen, *Da læreren holdt skole: tiden før 1780*, Dansk skolehistorie 1 (Aarhus: Aarhus Universitetsforlag, 2013), 166.

40 Nørgaard, "The Mission's Relationship to the Danes," 168–69.

unequivocal.⁴¹ The metaphor of light and darkness played an important role. When the king wanted to hear Ziegenbalg preach, the latter chose the words of the Acts of the Apostles 26:17–18. Here, St Paul was sent to heathens “[t]o open their eyes, and to turn them from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan unto God [. . .].” Ziegenbalg was convinced that they contained a message for him and his missionary service.⁴²

The missionaries saw the place they entered as a *pagan* place and could show little appreciation for local religious customs. Their monotheistic faith created a feeling of cultural superiority which also implied intolerance. On one trip, Ziegenbalg destroyed the stone god-heads of a local temple in a kind of prophetic fervour, and he refused to remove his shoes when he visited a local Sufi master.⁴³ In a letter to a friend in Germany, written shortly after his arrival in Tranquebar, Ziegenbalg claimed that the magnitude of the heathens’ blindness “cannot be mentioned.” On a trip in the area, Ziegenbalg saw a pagoda with thousands of idols and was astonished “why the otherwise clever Malabaric people could cling to their futile idols.” Nevertheless, he retained the hope that this practice stood only on sand, and would easily fall “when God will have his time.”⁴⁴

Conversely, the Pietist mentality was also well designed for self-criticism in respect to their own culture. The name of Christ was a source of shame for the indigenous people, Ziegenbalg wrote, due to the alleged low moral standard of the Westerners.⁴⁵ Already in October 1706, in a letter to Franck, Ziegenbalg had changed his attitude and claimed that the Malabaric people were very wise and rational people – they wanted to be converted by wisdom. According to him, they were “far more directed towards the future life, than were the atheist Christians.”⁴⁶ Their ability to criticize

41 Israel Selvanayagam, “Encountering the Hindus: The Legacy of Ziegenbalg,” In *Halle and the Beginning of Protestant Christianity in India*, edited by Andreas Gross, Y. Vincent Kumaradoss, and Heike Liebau (Halle: Verlag der Franckeschen Stiftungen zu Halle, 2006), 903.

42 Jeyaraj, *Bartholomäus Ziegenbalg*, 37.

43 D. Dennis Hudson, *Protestant Origins in India: Tamil Evangelical Christians, 1706–1835*, Studies in the History of Christian Missions (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2000), 17–20.

44 “Die grosse Blindheit der Heiden ist nicht auszusprechen. [. . .] Ich war den 18. August mit des Commandanden Pferd ein wenig ins Land hinein und kam zu einer Pagode, um welche viel tausend Götzen herumstunden und vor deren Thür zwei mächtige grosse Teufel waren, also dass ich mich billig verwunderte, dass die sonst klugen Malabaren so hartnäckig an solchen ihren nichtigen Götzen desto leichter fallen werde, wenn Gott hierzu seine Zeit ersehen haben wird.” Lehmann and Ziegenbalg, *Alte Briefe aus Indien*, 35.

45 For example from a letter dated 25 September 1706 Ziegenbalg wrote that “the name of Christ is so hated and despised among them [the Malabaric people] due to the annoyingly and disgraceful behaviour of the Christian. Hence, they [the Malabaric people] believe that there are no more evil people [the Christians] in the world.” Ziegenbalg, *Alte Briefe aus Indien*, 40.

46 “Es sind aber diese malabarischen Heiden ein sehr kluges und verständiges Volk, welche da mit grosser Weisheit wollen gewonnen werden. [. . .] Sie sind von dem zukünftigen Leben weit kräftiger überzeugt als die atheistischen Christen.” Ziegenbalg, *Alte Briefe aus Indien*, 44.

both Indian religious customs and European ethical standards strengthened the mission's own *raison d'être* as an instance of reform and renewal.

School and Church

The missionaries started the work to erect their own mission church soon after their arrival in Tranquebar. The Danish and German population held their services at Zion Church, but the missionaries were not allowed to use it. Already in August 1707, however, they were able to move into the humble New Jerusalem church inside the confines of the city. The commander had allotted a place for them in the Indian quarter, and they had succeeded in building a church. In Ziegenbalg's diary, he remarked that for the consecration of the first New Jerusalem church, they gathered thousands of people from all the nations, and the report gave an overwhelmingly positive account:

Today, our church was consecrated in the name of the Trinity and given the name Jerusalem. 6 o'clock in the morning, colleagues were preaching in Portuguese and in the afternoon, I gave a sermon in Malabaric. Many thousands of Malabars, Moors, Portuguese, Germans, and Danes were present. God gave me a particular gift, namely to speak joyously in their own language. The consecration stirred up the whole town.⁴⁷

As the text of his sermon, Ziegenbalg chose the text from Ps 122:6: "Pray for the peace of Jerusalem: they shall prosper that love thee." The centrality of this Jerusalem-text for the missionaries is seen by the fact that the copper plate handed over by the church foundation a decade later, had the same verse engraved in Danish.⁴⁸

Along with missionaries, the first five converts – those who had been baptized in May the same year – followed them into the new church. One year later, there were over 100 converts in the congregation. In a letter to Francke dated October 1707, he told him that "already 3 have been baptized in our new Jerusalem." Many signs of progress are reported by Ziegenbalg and the effect of New Jerusalem in Tranquebar can easily be interpreted as the dawn of a new age. One man had been freed from temptation [Anfechtung] of the Devil; the new faith had helped him to overcome it. In addition, his sick child became healthy after the baptism, and as a result the

⁴⁷ "Heute wurde im Names des dreieinigen Gottes unsere Kirche eingeweiht und ihr der Name Jerusalem gegeben, da denn des Morgens früh um sechs Uhr bei einer großen Frequenz von meinem Collegen eine portugiesische Rede und Nachmittags von mir eine malabarische Rede gehalten wurde: da denn etliche tausend Malabaren, Mohren und Portugiesen, Deutsche und Dänen zugegen waren. Gott erzeigte mir sonderliche Gnade, dass ich mit einer großen Freudigkeit in der gleichen Sprache reden konnte. Diese Einweihung machte die ganze Stadt rege." Germann, *Ziegenbalg und Plütschau*, 71.

⁴⁸ Jeyaraj, *Bartholomäus Ziegenbalg*, 152–53.

whole town was full of joy.⁴⁹ By describing these signs, Ziegenbalg balanced very carefully between the possibility of perceiving his missionary effort as *the* realization of the glorious kingdom of God and viewing it merely as a sign of a particularly blessed work.

For a modern reader the reported numbers may seem quite overwhelming, prompting the question of why the Indian people of Tranquebar would convert to Pietist Christianity. The sources suggest a number of reasons, some of a more economic and strategic nature. However, in the public debate with local learned men, the different doctrinal aspects of the religions were compared and discussed, and some converts cited their spiritual searching as a major cause for their baptism.⁵⁰ For the missionaries, this was the most important cause. Ziegenbalg compared their situation to that of the people of Israel when they were enslaved in Egypt and wrote: “God had finally heard their groaning.”⁵¹

Indeed, the structure of their narrative resembled Israel’s exodus from Egypt. Before Ziegenbalg and Plütschau could lead the converts into the New Jerusalem church, they had encountered many obstacles in pursuing “the holy work.” Ziegenbalg wrote that their work had happened under the “cross and temptations,” with “fierce resistance and hard trials.”⁵² He mentioned their tireless work with language and catechism instruction in detail, even the number of hours per day. However, the fruit of their labour was evident and was clearly a sign of progress as Ziegenbalg saw it: “The more the number of Christians increased, the more the missionaries’ efforts increased and in addition, the more God’s grace and power in our soul and bodies increased.”⁵³

The last obstacle for the missionaries was to build a church, according to Ziegenbalg. He saw the difficulties of raising the house of God in a dramatic light, and it was possible to interpret it as the dark forces of Babel resisting the progress of the New Jerusalem: “When the Devil noticed it [the plan to build a church], he used

49 “[. . .] 3 in unserm neuen Jerusalem getauft worden und auch ein paar getraut und kopuliert, dadurch die ganze Stadt in Freude gesetzt wurde, zumal weil die eine Mannsperson, ehe als sie getauft wurde, überaus grosse Anfechtung vom Teufel hatte, aber ihn gleichwohl durch den Glauben überwand. Dessen Kind gleichfalls nach der Taufe frisch und gesund wurde, da es doch vorher auf (den) Tod krank darniederlag.” Lehmann and Ziegenbalg, *Alte Briefe Aus Indien*, 69.

50 Brimnes and Jørgensen, “Lokalsamfundet Trankebar,” 143.

51 “[. . .] das doch unsere Christliche Religion auch unter den Heyden möchte fortgeplantzet werden / so hat GOtt endlich ihr Seufzen erhöret [. . .].” Bartholomäus Ziegenbalg, *Ausführlicher Bericht [...] ertheilet / den 22ten Augusti 1708* (Halle: Wäysen-Hause, 1710), 6.

52 “Vor allen Dingen muss ich bekennen / dass gleichwie dieses heilige Werck unter grossem Widerstand und unter sehr vielem Creutz und Anfechtung seinen Anfang genommen / es auch bishiehero nicht anders als unter heftigem Widerstand und allerley harten Prüfungen können fortgeführt werden [. . .].” Ziegenbalg, *Ausführlicher Bericht*, 6.

53 “Jemehr sich nun die Zahl der Christen vermehrte / ie mehr vermehrte sich auch unsere Arbeit / und je mehr sich unsere Arbeit vermehrte / je mehr vermehrte sich auch die Gnade und Kraft GOTTes an unser Seele und Leibe [. . .].” Bartholomäus Ziegenbalg and Johann Gründler, *Achtzehende Continuation des Berichts derer königl. dänischen Missionarien* (Halle: Wäysen-Hause, 1724), 7.

all his force to prevent such an intention.” The missionaries, however, were not deterred, and raised the church in the midst of the Malabars for 250 perdous. It was consecrated on 14 August 1707 and named New Jerusalem. “God has blessed this Jerusalem so far, and filled it with new Christians from the heathens to the point that there is almost no room left. This is a sign, indicating that God soon will give aid to an expansion.”⁵⁴

In another report, however, Ziegenbalg reflected on the sceptical attitude towards external worship that characterized Pietism. A true Christian service for Ziegenbalg and his readers of the news from East India was first and foremost located internally, in the heart, impossible to see with the external eye. The concrete church building was therefore a challenge and in need of an interpretation. Still, as a practical missionary, Ziegenbalg saw the importance of public worship:

[. . .] in spite of all obstacles God has not forsaken us in our confidence in him. Indeed, we know – by the grace of God – that an evangelical worship of the New Testament is an internal and invisible affair. The external Temple cult, that so much of Christianity has fallen into again, is not certain. Still, God is a God of order. He does not want his children to pray and worship him internally at home, he wants to be worshipped and honoured both externally and publicly.⁵⁵

When Ziegenbalg commented on the mission strategy, the work among the youth was of paramount importance. “If one aims to do something among the heathens that will have a lasting effect, then most of the plans must be directed at the youth.”⁵⁶ One of the efforts the missionaries made was to provide free education. This was arguably the core of Francke’s Halle-project from the start: a theologically grounded and pedagogically actionable concept of upbringing, “to instruct the children to true divine bliss [Gottseligkeit] and Christian wisdom.” As a result, religious education became the dominant tenor of the movement.⁵⁷ In one of Francke’s

⁵⁴ Ziegenbalg and Gründler, *Achtzehende Continuation des Berichts derer königl. dänischen Missionarien*, 7–8.

⁵⁵ “[. . .] gleichwol hat uns GOTT in unserm Vertrauen nicht stecken lassen. Zwar wissen wir durch GOTTES Gnade wol / dass der Evangelische GOTTES-Dienst des neuen Bundes fürnemlich aufs innere und unsichtbare zu führen sey / und es mit dem äusserlichen Tempel-Wesen / auf welches man es in der Christenheit hin und wieder leyder hauptsächtlich ankommen läst / gar nicht ausgemachet sey; Jedoch aber weil Gott ist ein GOTT der Ordnung; und von seinen Kindern nicht allein innerlich und daheim / sondern auch äusserlich und öffentlich wil angebethet und verhret seyn [. . .].” Bartholomäus Ziegenbalg, *Fortsetzung der Merckwürdigen nachricht aus Ost-Indien* (Berlin: Pape, 1708), 6.

⁵⁶ Cited from Heike Liebau, “Faith and Knowledge: The Educational System of the Danish-Halle and English-Halle Mission,” in *Halle and the Beginning of Protestant Christianity in India*, eds. Andreas Gross, Y. Vincent Kumaradoss, and Heike Liebau (Halle: Verlag der Franckeschen Stiftungen zu Halle, 2006), 1182.

⁵⁷ “[. . .] die Kinder zur wahren Gottseligkeit und Christlichen Klugheit anzuführen.” Cited from Udo Sträter, “Das Waisenhaus zu Glaucha vor Halle,” in *Kinder, Krätze, Caritas. Waisenhäuser in der frühen Neuzeit*, eds. Claus Veltmann and Jochen Birkenmeier (Halle: Franckeschen Stiftungen, 2009), 78.

earliest treatises, *Von der Erziehung der Jugend zur Gottseligkeit*, he underlined that the *cultura animi*, the care of souls, had two components – will and reason. It was paramount for Francke that the “natural self-will [Eigenwille] should be broken” in order to bring the will under obedience. A common mistake was, according to Francke, to merely care for reason.⁵⁸ Obedience was necessary for making the soul elastic enough for the formation of the new society.

The missionaries in Tranquebar were influenced by the same ideas. They were very interested in the discussion of how education could be developed, and took part in a correspondence about pedagogical concepts with English missionaries.⁵⁹ In a letter to the English chaplain in Madras, the missionaries in Tranquebar described their educational practice in detail.⁶⁰ It was first written in Portuguese, but later translated into English and printed in London.⁶¹ It was obvious, they wrote, that “the general Good of any Country or Nation depends upon a Christian and careful Education of Children in Schools.”⁶² The Tranquebar missionaries saw it as their calling, “that Men may be turned away from their abominable Idolatry unto the Living God [. . .],”⁶³ and the school was an important instrument for that purpose. When they explained the order of a typical day at school for the older boys, its extremely tight schedule mirrored their construction of the ideal society:

6–7 am: catechism and prayer with a missionary
 7–9 am: a chapter is read from New Testament, with breakfast in between.
 9–11 am: classes with repetition. The oldest pupils are introduced to Malabarian poetry, in order to demask their “abominable doctrines”, namely their alleged idolatrousness.
 11–12 am: lunch
 12–1 pm: rest
 1–2 pm: reading Portuguese
 2–4 pm: writing
 4–6 pm: arithmetic
 6–730 pm: catechetical meeting, where they discuss the morning instruction of the missionary.⁶⁴

58 A. H. Francke, “Kurzer und einfältiger Unterricht, wie die Kinder zur wahren Gottseligkeit und christlichen Klugheit anzuführen sind,” in *A.H. Francke's Pädagogische Schriften*, ed. Gustav Kramer (Langensalza: Hermann Beyer, 1885), 19.

59 Heike Liebau, *Cultural Encounters in India* (London: Routledge, 2018), 379.

60 Interestingly, the letter was originally printed in Portuguese on the mission's printing press in Tranquebar.

61 Jeyaraj, *Bartholomäus Ziegenbalg*, 172.

62 Bartholomäus Ziegenbalg and Johann Gründler, *A Letter to the Reverend Mr. Geo. Lewis* (London: J. Downing, 1715), 1.

63 Ziegenbalg and Gründler, *A Letter to the Reverend Mr. Geo. Lewis*, 2.

64 Ziegenbalg and Gründler, *A Letter to the Reverend Mr. Geo. Lewis*, 4–6. The 1709 school regulations are printed in Liebau, *Cultural Encounters in India*, 380. An early report of the school regulation can be found in a letter from Ziegenbalg to the Court Preacher Lütken in Copenhagen, dated 22 August 1708. Cf. Lehmann and Ziegenbalg, *Alte Briefe aus Indien*, 73–74.

An interesting glimpse in the learning of gestures was given by Ziegenbalg in a letter to F. J. Lütkens in Copenhagen, dated 22 August 1708. He had taken eight children into custody in his own house, given them food and clothing, and employed two teachers [*praeceptors*] to train them. When he described the order of the day, Ziegenbalg mentioned that the children should start the day by prayer, falling on their knees together with the teachers. He added that all parents who wanted to join the congregation would have their school expenses and living costs paid for, in order to “educate them by our own hands, and among them find people who can contribute to the expansion of the Christian religion.”⁶⁵

The connection between concrete pedagogical measures and the strategic goal of a future expansion of Christianity was clearly a reflection of Francke’s idea of a cell that could grow in society. It differed in one important sense, however, as Halle was a project within an old Christian culture, whereas in Tranquebar, it was more than a reformation, but rather was the growth of Christianity itself.

The New Jerusalem Church

The first New Jerusalem church was too small and impractical for the congregation of the Halle missionaries. The church which they later built was also called “New Jerusalem,” inaugurated in 1718. It was designed by architect Leonard Christoph Sturm (1669–1719), one of the proponents of *Architectura Sacra*, and a drawing of the church can be identified as from as early as 1711 (Fig. 21.2a-b).⁶⁶ Instead of treating aesthetical religious theory of art as the subject matter of architecture, the theoreticians who promoted *Architectura Sacra* merely proposed biblical subjects, such as the Ark of Noah, the Temple of Solomon, the Temple of Ezekiel, and the New Jerusalem.⁶⁷

Sturm was heavily influenced by the work of the Dutch Nicolaus Goldmann (1611–65), a jurist, mathematician, and architectural theorist, who wrote the treatise *Architectura sacra* some time before 1660, although it remained unpublished. Goldmann’s *Anweisungen zu der Civil-Bau-Kunst* was published posthumously by Sturm

65 “Ich habe mit meinem Collegen zu der Jugend eine dermassen grosse Liebe, so, daß wir beyderseits beschlossen, alle Kinder, so da mit ihren Eltern zu unserer Gemeinde treten möchten, frey zu unterhalten, um daß wir sie desto besser nach unser eigenen Hand erziehen können, und unter ihnen stets solche Leute finden mögen, so da künftig zur Ausbreitung der Christlichen Religion können gebraucht werden.” Lehmann and Ziegenbalg, *Alte Briefe aus Indien*, 79.

66 Bernet, “Sturm, Leonhard Christoph”, *BBKL* XIX (2001), 1349-1369.

67 Claus Bernet, “Gebaute Apokalypse”: *Die Utopie des himmlischen Jerusalem in der frühen Neuzeit* (Mainz: Phillip von Zabern, 2007), 219.

in 1696, and Sturm included large parts of the *Architectura sacra* in his publication. At the core of Goldmann's theory was the idea that architecture was given by God, and that its main expression was the Temple of Solomon. Goldmann believed that the vision of Ezekiel had finally been realized in Solomon's building.⁶⁸ Even the architectural insights of the heathen Roman Vitruvius were taken from that temple, Goldmann claimed.

In his description of the inventors of architecture, Goldmann claimed that

the invention of the art of architecture was given by the hand of the Lord directly [rühret ohne Mittel her]. That is how David gave witness to his son Solomon, after he had given him the pattern or model of the arch, the Temple, the main room and the chambers, namely that he had received everything from the hand of the Lord, in order that he should understand all the model's works.⁶⁹

The direct transmission from God of such divine architecture secured for the realized buildings their rank as being the most perfect. In Sturm's publication, Goldmann referred to the disappointment that the old men felt by the sight of the second Temple, how they wept, because they had seen the old Temple, the one that had been constructed according to the heavenly plan.⁷⁰

When the Greeks built Constantinople for the Emperor, they had spoiled their opportunity to recover the art of construction [Bau-Kunst], however. They draped the buildings with too many ornaments, Goldmann wrote, and as a result, they appeared feminine and prostitute-like.⁷¹ The ornamentation was one of the main vices of the time⁷² which, according to Goldmann, was allegedly transported back to Rome, as

68 Jeroen Goudeau, "The Matrix Regained: Reflections on the Use of the Grid in the Architectural Theories of Nicolaus Goldmann and Jean-Nicolas-Louis Durand," in *Architectural Histories* (2015), 3.

69 "Die Erfindung der Bau-Kunst / rühret ohne Mittel her / von der Hand des Herren; dann also bezeuget David seinem Sohn Salomon / nach dem er ihme das Muster oder Vorbild der Lauben / des Tempels / des Obersaaes / und der Kammern gegeben hat / dass er alles empfangen habe / von der Hand des Herrn / damit dass er verstünde alle Wercke des Vorbildes." Leonard Cristoph Sturm, *Nicolai Goldmanns vollständige Anweisung zu der Civil-Bau-Kunst* (Braunschweig: Heinrich Ketzlern, 1699), 2–3.

70 Sturm, *Nicolai Goldmanns vollständige Anweisung* 3.

71 The whore was a favourite image – particularly in its New Testament Apocalypse feature – for the fallen church among the Pietists, particularly in the radical wing. See for example the extreme use by Friedrich Breckling, *Mysterium Babylonis & Sionis* (Amsterdam: 1663), 19; See also Chapter 17 (Otrified Czaika), 303–05.

72 "Nachdeme der Römer Gebäue kümmerlich auffgeführt waren / seyn durch des Keyzers Constantini Entrüstung / die vortrefflichsten Kunstwercke abgebrochen / und in seine neue Stadt Byzanz, welche er Constantinopel / oder neu Rom / genennet hat / versetzt worden. Durch diese Übung gelangten die Griechen wiederum zur Bau-Kunst: Aber diese Griechen haben sich so undanckbahr gegen diese Kunst erwiesen / dass sie dieselbe / durch allzu viel Schmücken / ganz weibisch und hurisch gemacht haben: Welches Laster der damahligen Zeiten Beschaffenheit zu zuschreiben ist." Sturm, *Nicolai Goldmanns vollständige Anweisung*, 4.

seen in, for example, the triumphal arch of Constantine. Consequently, the new aesthetic ideals that Sturm promoted were quite austere, stripped of decorations and embellishments.⁷³ For Goldmann, the Temple of Ezekiel was a grid system and the square quad was the organizing principle (Fig. 21.1).

Sturm's plan of the New Jerusalem church in Tranquebar reflected not only Goldmann's ideals, but also his fundamental preoccupation with the square as the systemic core. The church was almost a copy of the principles of Goldmann.

The Sermon [Einweihungs-Predigt]

Ziegenbalg held the consecration service of the second New Jerusalem church on 11 October 1718, and it was reported in the Halle accounts.

His sermon started with a prayer. Ziegenbalg told the triune God about what was to happen, namely a consecration with prayer, holy hymns, preaching, and the holy sacrament. "You would look upon us and bless our undertaking."⁷⁴ Immediately after the report that God indeed would bless the house, Ziegenbalg assured both God and his congregants that "we know very well, that you do not need to dwell in a building built with human hands."⁷⁵ Nevertheless, the church should be protected from "worldly and domestic use," and dedicated solely to *spiritual* use.⁷⁶ "Spiritual" was defined in a traditional Lutheran way, as the preaching of the Gospel and the administration of the sacraments.

A key reference in the sermon was from Isa 66:1 where it is said that "the heaven is my throne, and the earth is my footstool." This verse relativized the particularity of the church as the place where his glory dwelled, and emphasized even more the instrumental quality of the concrete building – it was a house with a peculiar goal [Zweck],

⁷³ The sceptical attitude towards bells and whistles can be discerned on a literal level as well. For example, in the preface of the *Civil-Bau-Kunst*, when Sturm wished to state that he would express himself straightforwardly, he wrote: "I will tell you, without the pomp and glitter of oratorical prose" [ohne alle Oratorische Schmincke]. Leonard Cristoph Sturm, preface to *Nicolai Goldmanns vollständige Anweisung zu der Civil-Bau-Kunst* (Braunschweig: Heinrich Ketzlern, 1699), XVII.

⁷⁴ "Du wollest also von deinem Heiligthum auf uns herab schauen, und unser Vornehmen segnen!" Ziegenbalg and Gründler, *Achtzehende Continuation des Berichts*, 292.

⁷⁵ "Wir wissen zwar wohl, daß du zu deiner Wohnung kein Gebäude, die Menschen Hände aufführen, vonnöthen hast [. . .]." Ziegenbalg and Gründler, *Achtzehende Continuation des Berichts*, 292.

⁷⁶ "wir weihen anietzo in dem Namen des dreyeinigen Gottes diese Kirche ein; durch welches Einweihen wir dieses Gebäude von allem weltlichen und häuslichen Gebrauch absondern, und es allein zu dem Gebrauch geistliche Handlungen widmen [. . .]." Ziegenbalg and Gründler, *Achtzehende Continuation des Berichts*, 294.

that people may hear the word and “would feel your powerful presence in their hearts, and the divine grace and heavenly blessing could be for salvation of their souls.”⁷⁷

The old house was not big enough, but too narrow, due to the fact that “the gospel always needs more space,” as Ziegenbalg emphasized. “Oh! Let your glory in this house be greater than the former.”⁷⁸ This was immediately qualified as something more and different than an *external* building becoming larger. Of prime importance was his conviction that “more conversion” was needed in the land of the heathen – that is, a true conversion and salvation of the souls of the heathen, because the congregation knew that a conversion of a single soul was more important than the erection of a large external church building.

Ziegenbalg elaborated on the motive of *ex oriente lux* [light from the east], the reference to Christ as coming with the morning light, conquering the dark forces of the heathen place: “In these latter days, may the dark Orient become bright through the expulsion of the condemned paganism and through the erection of the true Christianity.” For Ziegenbalg, therefore, the conversion of the indigenous Tamil people was the main intention, although such a task was not easy. “May we Christians not be an obstacle to the conversion of the heathens.” (Fig. 21.3).⁷⁹

He proceeded to explain the name of the church, giving several reasons for the name “New Jerusalem.”⁸⁰ In the Old Testament, Ziegenbalg explained, Jerusalem was the place where God had revealed “most of the richness of his grace and mercy” to the Jewish Church [!]. In addition, Jerusalem was the place of gathering for all of Israel’s tribes. It was the place where God had his stove and his fire. In fact, the Lord himself had said: “I want to dwell in Jerusalem,” as Ziegenbalg stated with reference to the book of Zachariah.⁸¹ In the New Testament, however, the Gospel “sounded” from Jerusalem into the entire world, according to the Gospel of Luke 24.⁸² Ziegenbalg

77 “[. . .] dein Wort zu hören, deine kräftige Gegenwart an ihren Herten fühlen, und deiner Göttlichen Gnade und himmlischen Segens zu ihrer Seelen Heyl theilhaftig werden mögen.” Ziegenbalg and Gründler, *Achtzehende Continuation des Berichts*, 292–93.

78 “Und da solcher Gemeinde das vorige Versammlungshaus zu enge worden, so machtest du deinem Evangelio immer mehrern Raum [. . .] Ach! Laß denn nun die Herrlichkeit dieses letzten Hauses grösser werden, denn des ersten gewesen ist [. . .].” Ziegenbalg and Gründler, *Achtzehende Continuation des Berichts*, 293.

79 “Laß es zu diesen letzten Zeiten in disem finstern Orient licht werden, durch Vertreibung des verdammlichen Heydenthums, und durch Anrichtung des wahren Christenthums. Laß uns, die wir Christen sind, und in diesen” Ziegenbalg and Gründler, *Achtzehende Continuation des Berichts*, 293–94.

80 “Und weil es gebräuchlich ist, dass man einer ieden Kirche bey ihrer Einweihung einen Namen gebe, so geben wir auch dieser Kirche einen Namen, nemlich NEU-JERUSALEM: zu welcher Benennung wir unterschiedliche Ursachen haben.” Ziegenbalg and Gründler, *Achtzehende Continuation des Berichts*, 295–96.

81 “Gott selbst saget Zach. 8,3. Ich will zu Jerusalem wohnen.” Ziegenbalg and Gründler, *Achtzehende Continuation des Berichts*, 295.

82 “[. . .] dass aus selbiger [Jerusalem] die Verkündigung des Evangelium aller Welt verkündigt werden.” Ziegenbalg and Gründler, *Achtzehende Continuation des Berichts*, 295.

paralleled the situation of the first apostles to their own work. In the beginning of their missionary activity, there were only five baptized members of the Jerusalem church (the first church). Now, however, through the blessing of the Lord, as Ziegenbalg emphasized, the congregation had so many listeners that a new church was necessary. By interpreting the rapid growth of baptized members as the fruit of good works, Ziegenbalg could state: “We have the childish trust in God, that God, through his blessing, has increased the numbers of heathens.”⁸³

They wanted to keep the name of the church, which had changed from the Zion to the New Jerusalem Church in order to show the harmony and union between Zion and Jerusalem. Further, it was important that everyone could acknowledge that “one walks in one spirit and one mind,” because “unity is the most powerful tool to destroy the kingdom of Satan and to erect the kingdom of Christ.”⁸⁴ However, as this church was built for those who by God’s word were gathered from the heathen to the congregation of Christ, Ziegenbalg pronounced, he had chosen a text about *conversion* of the heathen. He proceeded to describe the futility of pagan worship, with the key text from Rom 1:25: they had “worshipped and served the creature more than the Creator.”⁸⁵

It was important for Ziegenbalg to stress that conversion did not mean solely a conversion *from* heathen existence, but a conversion *to* God. An “internal change of the heart” was needed. It was not enough to leave the *external* horror of the heathen existence; one was called to fight the *internal* horror of the heart. The converts needed to learn to acknowledge the essence of their sinful existence, and be led to a certain psychological state of mind – Ziegenbalg pleaded for a “divine sadness” [göttlichen Traurigkeit] with a contrite and sorrowful heart. He mentioned the “war of penance” [Buss-kampf] that characterized a true Christian. Through this war, they should eradicate all the rooted paganism from their hearts, stand up against sin, and enter the state of grace.

The last part of the sermon concerned the time of conversion. Ziegenbalg underlined that the conversion of the heathen had *already* happened, but it had *not yet* been fulfilled.⁸⁶ In the Old Testament, conversion concerned only a few non-Jews. In the New Testament, conversion had a much broader scope, according to

83 “Wie wir denn das kindliche Vertrauen zu Gott haben, daß er diese Jerusalems-Gemeine von Jahr zu Jahr durch seinen Segen aus den Heyden vermehren werde.” Ziegenbalg and Gründer, *Achtzehende Continuation des Berichts*, 295.

84 “[. . .] daß diejenige erfreuliche Harmonie, die zwischen Zion und Jerusalem gewesen, auch unter diesen beyden Gemeinen alhier sey; damit iederman erkenne, man wandle in einem Geiste und in einem Sinn, welche Einigkeit das kräftigste Mittel ist, das Reich des Satans zu zerstören und das Reich JESU CHRISTI anzurichten.” Ziegenbalg and Gründer, *Achtzehende Continuation des Berichts*, 296.

85 Ziegenbalg and Gründer, *Achtzehende Continuation des Berichts*, 300–01.

86 “Wir müssen also sagen, dass solche Bekehrung der Heyden theils schon geschehen sey, theils aber noch geschehen solle.” Ziegenbalg and Gründer, *Achtzehende Continuation des Berichts*, 307.



Fig. 21.4: The new Jerusalem Church, Tranquebar, India, with the monogram of King Christian VI of Denmark above the entrance. Erected 1718, renovated 2006.

Ziegenbalg: a rich mercy, and a general call to “all the peoples.” The Apostles preached in Asia, and many people had the chance to hear the Gospel. However, it was long after the time of the Apostles until Germany, Denmark, Norway, and Sweden were converted from paganism to Christianity. Ziegenbalg’s point was that such “conversion of the heathen” continued, because there were many heathen people in the world. The universal promise of all people praising God was thus both fulfilled and unfulfilled. Christians, whose forefathers had once converted, should not keep conversion for themselves, Ziegenbalg emphasized.⁸⁷ The heathen must be given the chance to convert, and the church gave ample opportunity to do so.

Ziegenbalg concluded his sermon with thanks to King Frederick IV, whom he portrayed as an ideal Christian ruler. Through his mission initiative, the king had

⁸⁷ “[. . .] dass wir es für eine hohe Wohlthat erkennen, dass unseren heydnischen Vorfahren die Gnaden-Mittel zu ihrer Bekehrung angetragen worden, müssen wir uns auch mit allem Fleiss dahin bemühen, wie durch uns auf einigerley Art und Weise den ietzigen Heyden zu ihrer Bekehrung Anlass und Gelegenheit gegeben werden möge.” Ziegenbalg and Gründler, *Achtzehende Continuation des Berichts*, 315.

started a movement and prompted other people to do the same.⁸⁸ Ziegenbalg was not afraid of exclamations: “Ah! Bless your New Jerusalem, may many children be born there,”⁸⁹ before he extended prayers for blessings over the house of the king. He ended by praying that “all those gathered in the earthly Jerusalem” may one day be gathered in the heavenly Jerusalem, where “the host of the church triumphant will sing and praise with incessant rejoicing and exultation.” (Fig. 21.4).⁹⁰

Conclusion

In this chapter, the New Jerusalem church in Tranquebar has been interpreted as a central sign for the first Lutheran mission activity. A main finding is its creative ambivalence: the kingdom of God is *already* at hand and simultaneously *not yet* fulfilled. In line with chiliastic expectations of the Pietists, the church could be seen as a realization of the promised city. At the same time, the remaining sinfulness and external structure pointed in another direction.

88 “[. . .] dass du hier und da in Europa unter Hohen und Niedrigen viele Wohlthäter erwecket, die durch ihre Mildthätigkeit, durch Gebet, Rath und That, dem hiesigen Bekehrungs-Werk die Hand gereicht haben.” Ziegenbalg and Gründler, *Achtzehende Continuation des Berichts*, 317.

89 “Ach! segne dieses dein Neu-Jerusalem, und lass dir viele Kinder darin geboren werden!” Ziegenbalg and Gründler, *Achtzehende Continuation des Berichts*.

90 Ziegenbalg and Gründler, *Achtzehende Continuation des Berichts*, 320.

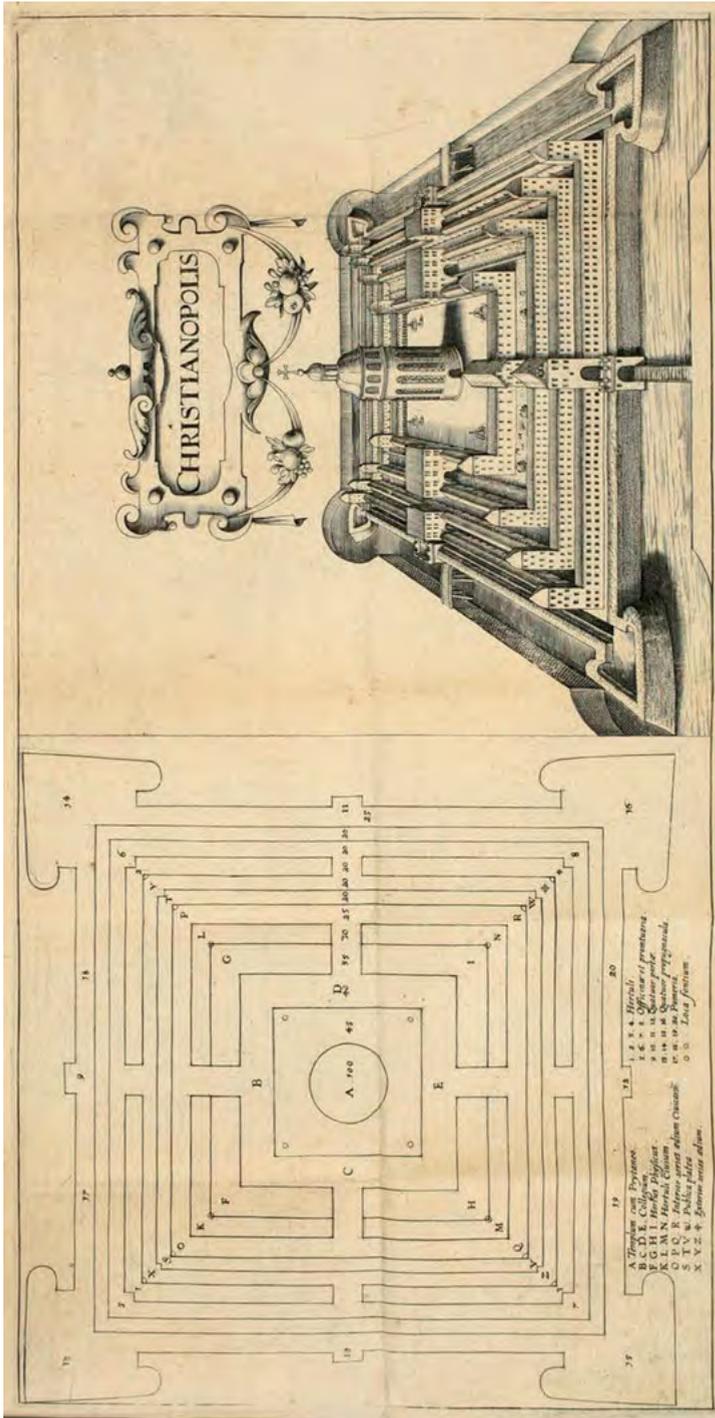


Fig. 22.1: Visualization of the ideal city of Christianopolis. Johan Valentin Andreae, *Reipublicae Christianopolitanae descriptio*, woodcut 1619.

Walter Sparn

Chapter 22

Future Jerusalem? Johann Valentin Andreae's Vision of Christianopolis

Introduction

The Thirty Years' War (1618–48) was a religious and political disaster which had repercussions far beyond the Empire. Sweden's involvement coincided with the start of its infamous *Great Period* [Stormaktstiden] and the Danish king was affected through his possession of land in Northern Germany. Denmark's direct involvement from 1625 lasted until their defeat in 1629. In this dire situation, attempts at reform were manifold, and some of the most significant were formulated as projections of ideal societies, as future Jerusalems. One of them was Johann Valentin Andreae's *Christianopolis* from 1619, perhaps the most famous among the Protestant utopias. The literary genre raised the question of how far Andreae intended to initiate this idea in the existing society and church. Andreae, a theologian from Württemberg, had an interest in both the practical and the spiritual side of Christianity, and he fostered close relationships with millennialists, who were expecting a reign by the pious for 1000 years. Andreae's vision of *Christianopolis* as a perfect society portrayed a profound contrast to the reality of the upheaval, and served as a Protestant counter-model to the Jesuit Tommaso Campanella and his vision of a *Civitas Solis* [city of the sun]. The framework of *Christianopolis* – its storyworld, so to speak – was salvation history, where the true citizens renounced the world, followed Christ in faith and life, and oriented themselves towards the heavenly fatherland. Even if the mature Andreae broke away from the most radical aspects of his youth, he should be seen as a representative of a profound apocalypticism. Andreae expected and hoped for Christ's second advent, he believed in the consummation of the old world and time, and he waited for new Jerusalem to come down from heaven.

A Challenging Author in Hard Times

In 1619, the Strasbourg publishing house Zetzner placed an anonymous book on the literary market entitled *Rei publicae Christianopolitanae descriptio* [Plan of the republic Christianopolis]. The motto taken from Ps 84:11–12 praised wellbeing in the house of God. In the dedication, the author began by addressing the theologian Johann Arndt

(1555–1621) as “father in Christ” and proceeded to interpret his new city, the Christianopolis, as a “colony” of the “Jerusalem” built by Arndt:

This new city of ours acknowledges and respects you, because it is a small colony that has its source in the great Jerusalem that you built with your ingenuous spirit, against the wishes of the sophists [. . .].¹

Every reader knew that the author referred to Johann Arndt’s widespread *Vier Bücher vom wahren Christentum* [Of true Christianity] (1605–10), a work widely disputed because of its spiritualistic heterodoxy.² At the time of its publication, most readers probably assumed that the author of *Christianopolis* was Johann Valentin Andreae. In 1619, Andreae was Diaconus (second pastor) in Vaihingen, a town in the duchy of Württemberg in Southern Germany. He was known as an open defender of Arndt’s “golden booklets,” as it were. In 1615 he had published in Latin a summary of Arndt’s work (*Christianismus genuinus* [Authentic Christianity]), and in 1619 he published in German a poetic summary of the first two books. In addition, Protestant literati knew him as a (half-anonymous) author of texts of linguistic and literary complexity and of high moral and religious claims as well. The texts included *Herculis Christiani luctae* XXIV [The struggle of a Christian Hercules] (1615), the comedy *Turbo* (1616), a collection of satires in *Menippus* (1617), an analysis of human virtue and vice in *Mythologia Christiana* [Christian mythology] (1618), a double novel on a badly straying *Peregrinus* [The pilgrim] and a restituted *Civis Christianus* [The Christian citizen] (1618/1619), and a double *Invitatio Fratemitatis Christi* [Invitation to Christ’s brotherhood] in the year of the centenary of the Reformation (1617).

One of the writings from Andreae’s hand caused an enormous response among Protestant intellectuals sympathetic to theosophy, hermetical ideas, chiliasm, alchemy, or paracelsism – it triggered a public debate nurtured by almost 1,000 publications. It is considered as one of the manifestos of the Rosicrucian Brotherhood. Due to the lofty literary form of the Rosicrucian writings, debates centered on whether actual – and not merely fictive – reforms of society were possible. Andreae’s responsibility for the manifestos of this (fictive) order was not clear, however.³ They appeared anonymously: *Fama Fratemitatis, Deß Löblichen Orden des Rosenreutzes, an alle*

¹ “Haec nova Civitas nostra Te agnoscit, & respicit, nam cum ex magnam illam Hierosolyma, quam ingenti Spiritu, invitis sophistis extruxisti, minuta colonia deducta sit [. . .].” Johann Valentin Andreae, *Reipublicae Christianopolitanae Descriptio* (1619); *Christenburg, das ist: ein schön geistlich Gedicht* (1626), ed. and trans. by Frank Bohling and Wilhelm Schmidt-Biggemann, *Gesammelte Schriften* 14 (Stuttgart-Bad Cannstatt: Frommann-Holzboog, 2018), 86–429, cit. 86, 87, 87, 88. Johann Valentin Andreae, *Christianopolis*, trans. Edward H. Thompson (Dordrecht: Kluwer, 1999).

² Contextualized analysis in Hermann Geyer, “Vier Bücher vom wahren Christentum,” in *Programm einer spiritualistisch-hermetischen Theologie* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2001).

³ Basic information in Wilhelm Kühlmann, “Rosenkreuzer,” in *Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart* (RGG), vol. 7 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2004), 634–35; Renko Geffarth, “Rosenkreuzer,” in *Enzyklopädie der Neuzeit* (EdN) 11 (Stuttgart: Metzler, 2010), 395–98.

Gelehrte und Häupter Europae geschrieben [Fame of the Brotherhood, the laudable Rosicrucian order, written to all learned and noble men of Europe] (1614), and the explicative *Confessio Fraternitatis* [Confession of the Brotherhood] (1615). The manuscripts had been in circulation since 1611. Andreae had written them before 1610; at that time he was studying in Tübingen and communicating intensely within a circle of young intellectuals striving for a general reformation of society. The first print of the *Fama* included a translation of the satirical tract on *Generali Riforma* of the Italian anti-Machiavellist T. Boccalini (1612). Strangely enough, Andreae never admitted his authorship explicitly. On the contrary, from 1615 he distanced himself from the idea of an elitist brotherhood, in a way even in *Die Chymische Hochzeit Christiani Rosencreutz* [The Chymical wedding of Christian Rosenkreutz] (1616). In the year of the publication of *Christianopolis* he also published *Turris Babel* [The Tower of Babel]. In this book, Andreae launched his definite critique of the Rosicrucian concept of universal reform, particularly its elitist elements. Andreae's development from the esoteric Rosicrucian brotherhood opened a path for embracing more plausible models of general reform. Yet, he retained other parts of the Rosicrucian project, such as thorough educational, socio-political, and religious reform to achieve a real and perfect Christian society. *Invitatio* (1617), *Christianopolis* (1619), *Christianae societatis imago* (1620), and *Christianae amoris dextera porrecta* (1620) elaborated the program in several formats.

Andreae's vision of Christianopolis contrasted sharply with the reality of Christian Europe, which during his lifetime experienced a period of utmost political and religious turmoil. Religious diversity was made manifest through the confessionalization of Europe. The changes of doctrine, cult, and culture had profound dynamic effects for religious and social life. Since the end of the Council of Trent (1564), Protestants had shaped the definite constitution of the Anglican Church (1559), the actual separation of the Reformed (Calvinist) from Lutheran Protestantism (Palatinate 1563), and the Lutheran Formula of Concord (1577). The destructive element of this process was the increasingly close tie of religious authority and political power. The developing Early Modern states strove for a powerful position among each other and absolute sovereignty within their territory. The means of strengthening their own position were not only dynastic, but economic and political, and controversial theology was also of extreme political interest. Protestants felt increasingly threatened by a militant counter-reformation enacted by the papal, Spanish, and imperial powers. A widespread apocalyptic disposition around 1618 was intensified by many extraordinary events like comets, floods, or monstrous creatures.⁴

⁴ Heinz Schilling, "Weltgeschichte eines Jahres," (München: Beck, 1617; reprint, 2017); Robert von Friedeburg, *Luther's Legacy: The Thirty Years War and the Modern Notion of 'State' in the Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006); Hartmut Lehmann, *Das Zeitalter des Abolutismus: Gottesgnadentum und Kriegsnot* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1980).

After 1600, the political situation worsened in France and England, and especially in Germany where the antagonism between Emperor and Princes was superseded by not just one but two confessional antagonisms. Indeed, the reformed Palatine elector organized a Protestant military defense “Union” (1608), to which the Catholic side under the Leadership of Bavaria reacted with a “Liga” (1608) glossing over the intention to extinguish the Protestant heresy, by war if necessary. However, Saxony refused to enter the Union, strictly loyal to the Emperor. A number of aggressions of both sides and the rebellion of the Protestant nobility of Bohemia (Prague Defenestration 1618), replacing the Habsburg Ferdinand II by the Palatine Frederic V, son-in-law of the English king (1619), opened the door to a religious-political war. The defeat of Frederic V, the expulsion of all Protestants from Bohemia (1621), the defeat of the Protestants in the Danish war (1625–30), and the Imperial Edict of Restitution (1630) brought Protestantism to a near catastrophe.

Religious and Intellectual Milieu

Around the turn of the seventeenth century, mainstream Lutheran academic theology was moving in a direction where theological learning developed according to the standards of Neo-Aristotelian methodology, aiming for *accurata theologia*.⁵ However, Andreae and many other Lutherans sought a completely different direction. Instead of the revival of scholasticism, they were interested in *mysticism* and piety as a way to cope with the religious-political uncertainties and threats on the eve the Thirty Years’ War. Andreae⁶ was born in 1586 as the son of a Württemberg minister and grandson of Jacob Andreae, one of the theological architects of the Lutheran *Formula Concordiae*. From his father he inherited an interest in mechanical arts, alchemy, and medicine, both Galenic and Paracelsic. In 1602 he matriculated in the Faculty of Arts of Tübingen University; in addition to the regular curriculum he was introduced by David Magirus into *mathesis* including physics and astronomy in greater depth (MA 1605). He could not finish his theological studies before 1614, as he had been relegated from 1607 to 1612 because of a pamphlet against the chancellor of the University. His theological mentor, Matthias Hafenreffer, convinced him to continue, who combined Lutheran orthodoxy with para-scholastic philosophy, modern languages, mathematics in the study of nature, and history in the studies of politics. During these years, Andreae acquired a broad encyclopedic knowledge and widened

5 Cf. Walter Sparn, “Method,” in *Brill Companion to Lutheran Orthodoxy*, eds. Joar Haga and Sascha Salatowsky (Leiden: Brill, forthcoming).

6 Detailed biographical and doxographical account in Martin Brecht, *Johann Valentin Andreae (1586–1657)* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2008).

his horizon by voyages through Catholic Italy and France and Calvinist Switzerland; in Calvinist Geneva he observed seemingly successful social discipline.

Andreae was part of a close group of similar-minded intellectuals in Tübingen. He documented his mental and psychic profile in several autobiographical essays,⁷ so we know about his influential role of the above-mentioned group of close friends cultivating alternative and reform-oriented thought at the fringe of university and church. This group was suspiciously observed by the officials. Andreae, however, regarded himself as a *peregrinus*, alien to the world, as *cosmoxenos*. Among his friends, Tobias Hess (1568–1614) and Martin Besold (1577–1638) were most the important for Andreae. Educated as a lawyer, Hess also practiced as physician correcting scholastic medicine by Paracelsian principles. He adhered to apocalypticism – he expected the Last Judgement by 1620 in its chiliastic (millenniarist) version, expecting a “Third Age” – and to Kabbala, Lullism, and cryptography. Andreae received intense stimulation from Hess’s existential piety and passionate curiosity, and he honoured Hess with a published poetic memorial. Besold was a productive jurist and a polymath as well; he owned a large encyclopedic library also used by Andreae. Besold’s thinking was based on theosophy, and his piety had deep roots in late medieval mysticism. Nonetheless, a problem remained for the Lutheran mystics – there was a confessional indifference to mysticism, caused partly by its tendency to import spiritualist heterodoxy. Besold, however, solved the dilemma by converting to Roman Catholicism in 1630.

His friends in the Tübingen group vigorously supported Johann Arndt, who in return cited from Andreae’s *Theca gladii Spiritus* and Besold’s *Axiomata philosophico-theologica* (co-edited 1616). Common to them all are two vital concerns, namely perfection and unity. First, there is the perfection of the Reformation, that is the completion of doctrinal reform by a full *reformatio vitae* according to the Gospel, implying a very critical attitude to the established church bodies which were organized as confessionalized, but were morally and politically dubious state-churches. Second, there is sincere Christian faith and rational knowledge, that is theology and philosophy should not be divided into two by autonomous realms alien to each other. They rather should correlate in a common horizon of divine wisdom, which was originally bestowed on Adam and now can and should be restored by the cooperation of practiced faith and non-scholastic, experience-oriented learning. Arndt’s four books of Scripture, Life, Conscience, and Nature name the sources of a culture of knowledge, in which ‘science’ and ‘humanities’ are two aspects of one whole. This concept of wisdom was not at all marginal at Andreae’s time, but rather one of several options; another was the concept of the experimental acquisition of knowledge

⁷ Johann Valentin Andreae, “Vol. 1.1 (Texts Unpublished)” in *Gesammelte Schriften*, ed. and trans. by Frank Bohling and Beate Hintzen (Stuttgart: Frommann-Holzboog, 2002); Johann Valentin Andreae, “Vol. 1.2 (Texts Published)” in *Gesammelte Schriften*, ed. and trans. by Frank Bohling and Beate Hintzen (Stuttgart-Bad Cannstatt: Frommann-Holzboog, 2002).

deciphered in mathematical language – in the end the more successful. Andreae himself defended the sapiential concept of science and scholarship with the pathos of Protestant freedom in *Veri Christianismi Solidaeque Philosophiae Libertas* (1618).⁸

In order to understand Andreae's progress from Rosicrucianism to other forms of general reform, two further friends should be mentioned. One was Wilhelm von der Wense (1586–1641), in Tübingen since 1612, lecturing in mathematics together with Besold (published as *Collectanea Mathematica* by Andreae, 1614). In his later obituary Andreae ascribed to him the idea of constituting a "Christianopolis." Wense on his part could refer to the other friend, Tobias Adami (1581–1643). During his voyage through Greece, Palestine, and back via Italy Adami had made friends with Tommaso Campanella (1568–1639), at that time imprisoned in Naples. Campanella gave several manuscripts to Adami, among them *Civitas Solis* (first draft written in Italian, 1602) and poems, some of which were translated and published by Andreae.⁹ German Protestants knew Campanella vaguely as a dangerous Papist, but nothing by printed evidence, as Adami only published *Civitas Solis* in 1623. Already in 1620 Besold had translated and published Campanella's tract on the Spanish monarchy as a military agent in an eschatic universal theocracy under the Pope representing Christ the monarch (*Von der Spanischen Monarchy* 1620). Andreae had already discussed this tract in the *Mythologiae* (1618). In 1619, the militant counter-reformer Kaspar Schoppe had adapted Campanella's plan in an appeal for holy war against Protestants, heathens, Jews, and Muslims (*Classicum belli sacri*, 1619). Although Protestant Europe was deeply shocked, Besold added to the second edition of 1623 a sober analysis of *Civitas Solis* discussing arguments for and against it; the latter arguments included both Lutherans' and Jesuits' axiomatic rejection of political-religious prophecy whatsoever.

Campanella's texts represented the Catholic-Hispanic version of the chiliasm of the early seventeenth century.¹⁰ Already in his *Mythologiae* (1618) Andreae had attacked the (not yet published) *Monarchia Hispanica*. Preceded and followed by the shorter texts mentioned above, his utopian vision¹¹ of a *civitas electa*, the *Christianopolis* of 1619, was the first Protestant counter-model of a perfect Christian society (See Fig. 22.1).

⁸ Johann Valentin Andreae, "Vol. 7" in *Gesammelte Schriften*, ed. and trans. by Frank Bohling and Beate Hintzen (Stuttgart-Bad Cannstatt: Frommann-Holzboog, 1994).

⁹ Johann Valentin Andreae, "Welsche Sonette," in *Geistliche Kurtzweil* (Straßburg: L. Zetzners Erben, 1619).

¹⁰ Andreae, *Christianopolis*, 31.

¹¹ Andreae seems not to use this terminology, but, of course, he participates in the European tradition of imagining the future, cf. Frank E. Manuel and Fritzie P. Manuel, *Utopian Thought in the Western World* (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1979); Hans R. Velten, "Utopie," in *Enzyklopädie der Neuzeit* 13 (2011), 1160–67; Miguel A. R. Avilés, *Utopian Moments: Reading Utopian Text* (London: Bloomsbury, 2012).

A Near-to-perfect Society on its Pilgrimage to Heaven

The short dedication to J. Arndt at the beginning of *Christianopolis* is followed by an introduction orienting the reader about the situation from which the book starts. One observation notes that there are two types of agents in the state: fierce traditionalists and reformers. Reformers tolerate much but desire emendations and propose moderate corrections. As a traditionalist, Andreae mentions the (papal) Antichrist, and as a reformer he names the “undefeated hero” D. Luther. The present situation seems to be the same as before, however: superstition and hypocrisy in the church, immorality and tyranny in politics, barbarism and sophism in the academy – Christians only by name. As present reformers the reader finds the German theologians Johann Gerhard (1583–1637), Johann Arndt (d. 1621), and Martin Moller (d. 1606), indeed leading men in the piety movement in the third generation of Lutheranism. The triad of tyranny, sophism, and hypocrisy, also used by Campanella, often occurs in Andreae’s writings. Still, Campanella’s name is not mentioned, and Andreae only refers to Thomas More. Andreae refers to More explicitly when he characterizes his *nova respublica* on the one hand as *ludicrum*, a funny play, and on the other hand it is an example of “Christian security.” The *ludicrum* of the Christianopolis contrasts with the *ludibrium* of the *Fama*, that is the alleged secret and omniscient (Rosicrucian) brotherhood. Andreae, referring implicitly to Wense, criticizes those plans and transforms them by his own vision.

The introduction leads to the report of a sea passage under the flag of the Cancer [an emblem for conversion to clear insight]; the “I” of the report is allegorical for every Christian pilgrim. The 100 [symbolic] chapters start in Chapters 1 to 3 with the occasion of the journey and the wreckage of the “ship of fantasy” on the “Academic sea” [!]; he lands alone at the island of *Capharsalama* (place of peace [indicating Jerusalem]). Situated far away in the Antarctic (given dates hint to an island on Martin Behaim’s world globe), it is rather small but shows a paradise-like agriculture and a splendid city to be found nowhere else on earth. In chapters 4 to 6 the stranger is handed over to guards for an examination of his religious and moral severity, his physical constitution, and his *cultura ingenii*. He confesses to knowing nothing but striving for what he was asked, and passes the exam.¹² Three guides

¹² Here the author sums up his program: “Volebat ex me, sed blandissimis verbis, scire, quid didicissem mihi imperare, fratri servire, Mundo rebellare, morti consentire, spiritui obsequi, quid in coelo terraeque contemplatione, naturae perscrutatione, artium instrumentis, linguarum nomenclatore, omnium rerum harmonia saperem, quid cum Ecclesiae societate, Scripturae compendio, coeli patria, Spiritus schola, Christi fraternitate, Dei familia haberem commercii?” Andreae, *Christianopolis*, 124–26. The pilgrim often reports the realized program, e.g. in matters of pre-eminence: “. . . hic nonnisi virtutis praerogativa est eo ordine, ut devotionis in Deum maximum pretium, exinde temporum morum, post ingenii subacti, demum roboris humani sit; et quo quisque Dei voluntati propinquior, eo regendis aliis aptior credatur.” Andreae, *Christianopolis*, 160.

(their names from the Old Testament) help him to learn in detail about the plot of ground and the architecture of the city (chapter 7). There are four concentric quadrangles of 700 feet in outer lateral length, with rows of three-floor houses and many towers with halls; a quadratic marketplace and a church in the middle, which also serves as the council hall (inserted engravings of the view and the plot of ground are not quite exact). Four fountains provide fresh water, while sanitary facilities for waste water and excrement secure physical healthiness. Moving from the outside to the middle we find the areas of nutrition, education, and contemplation; amidst all this 264 apartments house about 400 persons.

Chapters 8 to 13 describe agriculture and stock farming on the Eastern side, mills and bakeries on the South side, butcheries on the North side, and “practical physics” (metals, minerals) on the Western side. There are all kinds of handicraft, which is highly esteemed, with textile work that is being done by women. Work does not need much time, about six hours, because it corresponds to the will of God and is done voluntarily and without salary; as well, it is near to the arts and gives much opportunity for silent spiritual contemplation. Chapters 14 to 25 deal with public order. All inhabitants meet three times a day for public prayer, and the families take their meals in their apartments, although the same food for all is distributed centrally; all economy including public works is centrally planned and supervised. However, no division of princes and subjects takes place – nobility is strictly virtue, and superiority just give examples of best practice. Correspondingly, virtue is its own remuneration and punishments are superfluous: Christian liberty tolerates no commandment and no menace¹³; although sometimes coercion of the flesh is useful. Public authority allots the family apartments, furnished strictly functionally; crockery is placed in an orderly manner, and men and women respectively wear the same clothes. To avoid darkness, they illuminate the city overnight – for security, but also for the self-distinction from the dark world of outrages.¹⁴

More important is the inner constitution of the polis. It is represented by a council of three persons (also “princes”) coopting a group of advisors (also “senators”, described by allegories and named with Old Testament figures), in chapters 26 to 38. The council is itself a religious practice, and guarantees religion based on the Nicene Creed [!], justice based on the Ten Commandments (also considered as natural law), and erudition; their interpreter is rhetoric. Religion is the task of the first councillor, a priest, who unlike the Pope reigns solely spiritually by preaching, catechizing, and meditation; his wife is “conscience,” his daughters are “truth” and

¹³ “. . . libertas Christiana ne praecepta quidem, nedum minas fert, sed in Christum suum libere fertur.” Andreae, *Christianopolis*, 162.

¹⁴ “O utinam lychnus cordis nostri crebrius accenderetur: non toties conaremus Dei lucidissimos oculos fallere, nunc dum Mundum tenebrae excusant et in turpissima quaeque solvunt, dum quorum cum pudet caecitatem iis obtendit. Quid faciet, cum sole Christo reverso caligo omnis despelle-tur apperabitque foeditas eius, quam tot involucris obtegit?” Andreae, *Christianopolis*, 180.

“frankness;” a deacon assists in practical matters. The judge looks rigorously after weights, measures, and correct calculations, he is married to “ratio” and is assisted by an economic expert; this order is a prelude of eternal life. The third councillor is a scholar, responsible for erudition (*eruditio, scientiae humanae*); his wife is the unvarnished and chaste “truth.” The acme of his wisdom is the crucified Christ, he makes citizens the disciples of the Holy Spirit, and he refers nature and culture to the church in the hope of augmenting science in heaven. The chancellor, whose wife is “temperance,” interprets the councillors and hereby acts in the society like Christ in the universe: “Everywhere God sounds, Christ speaks, the Spirit breathes, man is erected, nature is commanded, Satan gnashes his teeth, the World laughs, death becomes tame, heaven opens.”¹⁵

The hub of Andreae's perfect state is the education and formation of all citizens, in contrast with the actual reality of schooling of his time. The pilgrim first describes twelve arched halls hosting materials (chapters 39–50). The tour starts in a universal library, which does not serve arrogant human knowledge, however; Holy Scriptures and the book of life and Christ are esteemed much more highly. The armoury belongs to education as well, demonstrating human cruelty. Citizens wear weapons for sentry duty and self-defense only, and rely more on spiritual weapons of virtue. The archive provides true reports of events, laws, practices, and exemplary persons, with no fake biographies like elsewhere. It follows the printing press – an ambivalent medium, which they use here mainly for religious literature. A huge treasury is for external use only, for example taxes to the Emperor, financing guests, legations, or mercenary soldiers [!]. The laboratory – abhorring alchemical quackery – explores, purges, and intensifies the powers of nature. It provides medicine for the pharmacy, which on its part is a compendium of nature, but in practical use, not in abstract theory. The same applies to the theatres for anatomy and natural history and, referring to political history, for painting. The tour ends at the collection of optical instruments such as the telescope and the astronomical theatre.

Second, the pilgrim is made familiar with the education of the young, precious and eternal treasure of the state, for God, nature, reason, and the common welfare (chapters 51–81). Auditoria (in the first floor) are ample and festive, while teachers are most honoured mature persons of authority, integrity, industry, and liberality. From the age of six, children learn and live at school, cultivating mind and body in three classes (prepubescent, pubescent, postpubescent). Boys are in class in the morning, girls in the afternoon instructed by women no less erudite than the men. Leisure activities are mechanical, such as textile arts; punishments are deprivation of meals, additional work and, if necessary, blows and (rarely) detention. Eight auditoria house eight fields of knowledge, each corresponding to the age of pupils: first,

¹⁵ “Ita Deus undique resonat, Jesus colloquitur, Spiritus spirat, homo erigitur, naturae imperatur, Satan frendet, Mundus ridet, mors mitescit, coelum panditur.” Andreae, *Christianopolis*, 220.

grammar and classical languages, rhetoric, and other languages; second, dialectic, metaphysics, and theosophy [!]; third, arithmetic, geometry, and mystical numbers (a biblical numerology resembling Kabbala); fourth, musicology, instruments, and choral singing; fifth, astronomy, astrology, and Christian heaven [!]; sixth, physics, history (“the narration of human tragedy”), and church history; seventh, ethics, politics, and Christian poverty (“joyous self-abandonment”); and eighth, theology (hermeneutic and homiletic study of the Holy Scripture), theological practice in prayer and contemplation, and (evaluation of biblical) prophecies. On the same floor lie rooms for medicine (diagnostic, chirurgic) and jurisprudence (interpretation, notary). These are not very important because the citizens live healthfully and they never litigate. On the second and third floors are the apartments for the young, strictly supervised by adult men and women.

The visit ends at the centre of Christianopolis, the Church. First, the pilgrim reports the ecclesial features (chapters 82–87), describing the building as magnificent and beautiful in architecture (round, centered, bright), furniture (pulpit, altar, two semi-circles of seats for the congregation, that is the princes and senators; images of salvation history), and use (services, non-theatrical ceremonies in white clothes, sacred comedies). He praises a church which has called ministers who abhor earthly benefits, and rather sacrifice their lives for the congregation’s salvation, praying for “inner movements of the heart,”¹⁶ and are familiar with the charisma of the Holy Spirit. Besides prayers, hymns, and often vocal and instrumental music, services include the preaching of the life of Christ throughout the year (by the priest) and catechizing (by the deacon), which is in no way alien from “our” Augsburg Confession: “they don’t criticize our religion but our morals.”¹⁷ The pilgrim admires the vivid emotions and gestures of the assembled – fooling around or sleeping are offences. They practice Trinitarian infant baptism and celebrate the Lord’s Supper often, devoutly and elegantly. Church discipline is highly esteemed and is realized by private confession (possibly to friends) and absolution or excommunication – the latter means civil expulsion.

The report finally covers the social institutions and their policy (chapters 88–100). Marriage is a sacred act [not a sacrament] uniting virtuous and well-educated young people. Their life is sure and easy since they are kindly and seriously helped by other couples and there is little occasion for adultery (the worst crime). A wife is highly honoured within the boundaries of a neat and cultivated household, serving her husband and bringing up two or three children, with sexual activity focusing on procreation. Whereas maids and wet nurses are exceptional, widows regularly help the families and are examples of devoutness and diligence; orphans are provided for by public care. Acts of state take place in solemn, albeit rare conventions in the magnificent council

16 “. . . vocationis coeleste simul et Christianum nuntium advenit, quod interno cordis motui correspondet et in officii spiritualis confidentiam suspicit.” Andreae, *Christianopolis*, 350.

17 “. . . nec enim religionem nostram, sed mores improbant.” Andreae, *Christianopolis*, 354.

hall at the top of the temple; spiritual counselling of twenty-four senators (pastors, judges, teachers) is supported by a gallery of the best princes and judges. The administration has to look after the gardens, water supply, and baths. The state as father of all citizens cares perfectly for elderly people, strangers, the poor (there are no beggars, that is those who are utterly needy), and the sick. This means the best medical treatment, well-equipped hospitals, the best food, and personal care by women and widows; it is likewise important that all citizens respect, help, and comfort the needy mentally, emotionally, and bodily, thus restoring their Christian courage (*fortitudo Christiana*). Mentally ill and malformed persons are embraced in a likewise benign manner – God does the same with us all.¹⁸ It is undoubted that citizens who live well also die well, and all who die well will live someday. Therefore, dying is a public performance of a transition to sleep – no reason for lament. Burial (in white and with face visible, hymns but no address) and the cemetery (beautiful, outside of the city) correspond with Christian orientation toward the afterlife.¹⁹

Christianopolis: A religious-political Heterotopy

Although Andreae knew Thomas More's *Utopia*, he did not use the term for *Christianopolis*. He locates this city on a faraway island but expresses the hope that others will follow him and visit it; the citizens live very differently from the world outside but they instruct visitors truly and obligingly. The description and geographical location of the city is allegorical, of course; nevertheless, it claims realism in a way – the praise of ideal Christians and an ideal Christian society supports the critical impact of how the author complains of the evil reality outside Christianopolis, that is, in his own world. Therefore, we may read *Christianopolis* as a religious-political heterotopy, to use a term of M. Foucault, characterizing a place or space which has a double relation to other places. The inner world of Christianopolis is different from other cities and is not substantially related to them – it might be an illusionary utopia. However, the author imagines Christianopolis as a possibly real alternative to the societies in the world outside – it is not a Platonic idea. This raises the question of how far Andreae intended to initiate changes in the existing society and church. While some institutional elements like the family and in particular the religion of Christianopolis can be identified in his contemporary reality, Andreae gives no advice for viable routes to socio-political improvements; he even

¹⁸ “Id enim ratio iubet, ut quibus natura fuit iniquior humana societas benignior esse velit; nam et nos Deus non quales vult habet, sed quales sumus infinita mensuetudine et longanimitate sustinet.” Andreae, *Christianopolis*, 402.

¹⁹ “. . . cum omnino constet, quisquis vitae beatæ consequendæ habet desiderium, ei nobiscum quidem credendum, toto vero coelo aliter vivendum.” Andreae, *Christianopolis*, 408.

lowers jurisprudence, an instrument for such changes. In order to answer the question, it is useful to look at Andreae's predecessors, More and Campanella.²⁰

More's *Libellus vere aureus nec minus salutaris quam festivus de optimo reipublicae statu deque nova insula Utopia* (1516)²¹ documents a severe social critique in the context of humanism, similar to that of his friend Erasmus (*Querela pacis* 1517). Objects are monasticism, the death penalty, mercenary-lansquenets, robber beggars, and in particular the suppression of peasants by proprietors. To avoid all this, the state organizes greater families and overall groups, the leaders of which are elected annually. Life unfolds completely centralized, including frugal food and identical clothing. There is no private property and no money; the (very plain) laws need no juridical treatment. Work is obligatory for every individual, albeit only six hours a day, but there are also slaves; free time serves spiritual and corporal health. Crimes deserve forced labour, not a (useless) death penalty; armed force is mobilized against enemies from the continent. Obviously, Andreae took up some features of More's utopia, perhaps even the quadrangle ground plot of the city (More counts fifty-four cities on a considerably larger island). He probably thought of Albrecht Dürer's ideas of urban architecture, which to some extent was realized by Andreae's relative H. Schickard in the Black Forest city Freudenstadt in 1599. Like More's cities, Andreae's Christianopolis has nothing to do with the architecture of the eschatic Jerusalem.

The difference between both, however, is very clear in terms of education, specifically sciences, and religion. Whereas More imagines a formation according to the humanist view of Greek intellectual culture, Andreae represents the methodological and encyclopedical development since the Reformation including nature as a field of legitimate curiosity, and he strives for a religious finalization of arts and sciences in a Christian perspective. More thinks of a religion of nature and of natural religion in the sense of rational beliefs and moral activity; there are only a few (male and female) priests, and a plurality of positive confessions is tolerated. In full contrast, the religion of *Christianopolis*, Lutheranism, is bound to a specific salvation history with Jesus Christ as centre and goal, and a professional clergy is responsible for practical and intellectual maintenance of Christian faith.

Campanella's *Civitas solis: Idea reipublicae philosophicae*,²² which Christianopolis responded to, is a report from an island today known as Ceylon, one of the supposed

20 Cf. Otfried Höffe, ed., *Politische Utopien der Neuzeit. Thomas Morus, Tommaso Campanella, Francis Bacon* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2016); Thomas Leinkauf, *Grundriss der Philosophie des Humanismus und der Renaissance (1350–1600)*, vol. 1 (Hamburg: Felix Meiner, 2017), 928–38; Andreae, *Christianopolis*, 51–61.

21 Thomas More, *Libellus vere aureus nec minus salutaris quam festivus de optimo reipublicae statu, deque noua insula Vtopia* (Leuven, 1516). Reprints include Basel (in German), 1524; New Haven: E. Surtz, 1964.

22 Tommaso Campanella, *Civitas Solis. Idea Reipublicae Philosophicae* Frankfurt, 1613; reprints include Altenburg [in German], 1789; Torino: N. Bobbio, 1941). Concise introduction Martin Mulsow,

locations of paradise. Sun City, located on a mountain, is built in seven circles with double walls around each circle, representing seven planetary orbits, that is the universe. A round vaulted temple stands in the middle, crowned by a lantern; decoration, lusters, and an altar again use cosmological symbols. The state is governed solely by priests: the highest sun-priest “Metafisico” is assisted by three regents, allegorized as “Pon” (power), “Sin” (wisdom), and “Mor” (love), ministering three “primalties.” The first is responsible for warfare and (early) military training. The second cares for the seven branches of the mechanical arts, free arts, and sciences (including astrology) – encyclopedical paintings on the seven walls demonstrate the extension comprehensively. The (severe) education of the young, which focuses on mathematics and natural sciences, physical training, and public services, is oriented by that knowledge. The third minister is responsible for social and moral affairs, for example for optimizing the population by eugenic methods, and for excluding every form of private property, the root of selfishness and unsocial behaviour – proprietors are robbers. In Sun City, therefore, there is no money; apartments, clothing, even women and children are common property, distributed and cared for centrally. Obviously, Andreae took over basic elements of Campanella’s vision, in particular the constitutional form of the commonwealth and the theocratic centralism characteristic for socio-political practice.

Nevertheless, in crucial aspects Andreae takes a position different from, or even contradictory to Campanella’s concerns. First, as measured by Sun City, the basis for a real missionary and military expansion of the Spanish-Catholic monarchy on a global level, Christianopolis is a defensive place, rather small and powerless, not actively missionary, and is subject to the Emperor, to whom it pays taxes, and following the Protestant doctrine of the double reign of God, the worldly and the spiritual. Thus, Christianopolis represents the vision of an elitist society of learned and pious Christians conveying guidelines for leading members of the three estates in the actually existing Lutheran territories. Second, religion in Christianopolis has little in common with religion in Sun City. Here we have a highly speculative syncretism of natural religion and Trinitarian or rather triadic metaphysics – however, it is well applicable in heathen colonies outside Europe. Certainly, the walls of Sun City show a picture of Jesus Christ and his apostles at an honourable place, representing “supermen as it were;” salvation history is a formal tradition. Third, the strictly public role of marriage and absence of family privacy in Sun City differ substantially from Christianopolis, where marriage is matched by individual virtues (perhaps even beauty) and infants have an intimate place in family apartments, in which after all the crockery is private property. Andreae’s sacralization of matrimony is typical for

“Tomasso Campanella,” in *Großes Werklexikon der Philosophie*, ed. Franco Volpi (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1999) 258–64.

post-reformation orthodoxy; the norms for the councillors' families mirror the praiseworthy pastors' families in wealthy Lutheran cities.

Christianopolis: A Prelude to Future Jerusalem

Andreae's heterotopic Christianopolis has basic features in common with political utopias of early modern Europe like that of More and Campanella. They are three: a strictly theocratic constitution; the crucial role of public religion; and perfectly organized education effecting social discipline.²³ Other important features of Christianopolis are specific and relate to the political and the religious conditions and intentions of Andreae: a (differentiated) confessional position; a (proto-)pietist religion of an elite; and apocalyptic (though not chiliastic) dynamics.

1. One characteristic of *Christianopolis* is its confessional standpoint, clearly that of Lutheran Orthodoxy as defined by the Book of Concord (1580), the doctrinal basis of his own Church. This position, however, is relativized to a certain degree. Andreae does not use substantial arguments of the Formula of Concord; he ascribes the status of a valid confession to more common documents like the Nicene Creed or the Augsburg Confession, and here he does not touch upon controversial aspects within Protestantism. In chapter 76 he distances himself in a way from "school theology": the professors in Christianopolis warn their pupils that in the Christian cause at present nothing is fully elaborated, and all should be related to practical piety. In addition, they avoid using sectarian names and, although they love to be called Lutherans, nevertheless they are claiming to be Christians.²⁴ A combination of cloistral community (centralism) and Imperial city (division of work between church and government), the city of Christianopolis mirrors the defensive situation of Protestants threatened by the Counter-Reformation trying to overthrow the political and religious order of the Augsburg Peace. One of the purposes of Christianopolis was to strengthen the Protestant party in the Empire now moving towards war.

23 In a way, this applies also to Francis Bacon's *New Atlantis* (1627): The island state bears the name "Salem" and runs a scientific institution called "House of Salomon" and "College of the Hexaemeron." Bacon's objective, however, is not a new social and religious order, but rather a new methodological and organizational type of science and the advancement of knowledge and technical use of nature, i.e. the improvement of the human condition. The independence of this application-oriented science alters the functions and the correlation of state, religion, and education deeply. Cf. Jean-Cristoph Merle, "Bacon (Francis)," in *Großes Werklexikon der Philosophie*, ed. Franco Volpi (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1999), 130–34.

24 ". . . nihil in his rebus adhuc in Christiano negotio plene effectum, omnia ad pium apparatusum facere; factionum insuper nomina ut quae maxime vitant nec nisi invitissimi ea imponunt et ut Lutherane audire ament, Christiani tamen esse contendunt." Andreae, *Christianopolis*, 330.

When war became a reality which might likely be lethal for Protestantism, Andreae published in German an allegorical poem of forty chapters of fifty verses each: *Christenburg* (1626).²⁵ Following prayer and dedication to a pious prince, the first half gives an allegorical account of the history of the Reformation, presents the military power of the (morally wicked) Antichrist papistic Habsburg on the one hand, the appeasement policy of the Christenburg leaders on the other, and laments the defeat of well-equipped but careless Christenburg. The second half of the poem reports the rescue of evangelical freedom: an old pious reformer converts citizens to activities for a perfection of the Reformation, that is the fortification of the city by all virtues converging – God and Christ's cross shelter them. While they pray and fast, the army of the besieger is confused and disabled by God's immediate action, and falls apart. In the apocalyptic polemics of *Christenburg* Andreae enters the political stage; as a prophecy he anticipates a radical turn of the military situation, like Jakob Böhme and Jan Amos Comenius did at the same time. Indeed, Andreae gave up his "Lutheran" loyalty to the Emperor and turned to the Lutheran Gustav Adolf, the "lion from the North." Like Protestant unionists John Dury, Samuel Hartlib, and Comenius, he supported the Swedish entry into the war. Even after Gustav Adolf's death, he praised him in poems and by an antipapal pamphlet (1633).²⁶

2. A purpose, too, of *Christianopolis* was to promote the perfection of Luther's Reformation in Christian conduct of life corresponding fully to Christian faith as restored in the sixteenth century. Therefore, a second characteristic of Christianopolis is that theocracy is focused on the reign of Christ (on God's side) and what we may call protopietist religiosity (on the human side). The social cement holding citizens together are not primarily the institutions (legal and medical are not important anyway). Fundamental is the almost fully internalized social discipline based on a shared piety, which is characterized by freedom and joy. Christian faith here is, of course, also dogmatical belief (*notitia*) – much more, however, it is moral willingness (*assensus*) and authentic emotions (*affectus cordis, fiducia*). This is the reason why social conflicts and personal disharmonies are rare in Christianopolis; if any, they are due to the "flesh" still resisting the "spirit" and can be repented of and forgiven. In principle, however, all Christians in Christianopolis are born-again Christians²⁷; therefore, the dramatic process of getting into faith ("justification") does not play a significant role. The city is in thus an egalitarian society, differentiated adequately by an aristocracy of virtues. A society of religious-moral virtuosos is (as a whole) an elite, and lives, as heterotopy, at the same time in the present world and opposite to it.

²⁵ Andreae, *Reipublicae Christianopolitanae Descriptio*, 14, 431–512.

²⁶ Texts edited and translated by Frank Böhling and Wilhelm Schmidt-Biggemann, "Vol. 17," in *Gesammelte Schriften*, eds. Frank Böhling and Wilhelm Schmidt-Biggemann (Stuttgart-Bad Cannstatt: Frommann-Holzboog, 2016).

²⁷ *Renati* was used as a dogmatical term since the Formula of Concord, art. VI: De tertio usu legis.

Andreae himself added to *Christianopolis* another two short tracts concerning Christian reform: *Christianae societatis imago* and *Christianae amoris dextera porrecta* (both 1620). Andreae reduces his goal: no longer a city-state, but an elitist group of reformers, and he changes the constitution – not aristocratic but monarchic. Therefore, he drafts the organization of the group in detail; it would be able to form the motivating and orienting centre of an ever spreading reform movement. As in *Christianopolis*, the framework is salvation history, which means renouncing of the world, following Christ in faith and life, and orienting oneself toward the heavenly fatherland. The second tract adds an invitation to a Lutheran company of friends, a “consensus of the good in Christ,” who claim their Christian freedom and are devoted to radical *praxis pietatis* by fleeing from the world and converting to heaven and Christ. Here we can speak of a herotopian reform group as well. During the 1620s Andreae tried to realize such a society of friends: members should be old friends (T. Adami, v. Wense, Chr. Besold), but also reform-oriented theologians like J. Arndt, J. Gerhard, J. Saubert (Nürnberg), M. Bernegger (Straßburg), and J. A. Comenius, and “pious” princes – in particular the learned Duke August of Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel, with whom Andreae had corresponded since 1630. Another text promoting this ideae, *Verae unionis in Christo Jesu specimen*, written in 1628, was published in 1642.²⁸ Interestingly, John Hall translated the texts of 1620 into English instigated by S. Hartlib in 1647 – *Christianopolis*, of course, also exerted some underground effect in England, although it was translated into English only in 1916 [!].

3. Andreae’s *Christianopolis* was a radical initiative, but not in a chiliastic (millenarist) sense. The third characteristic of both *Christianopolis* (city) and *Christianopolis* (book) is the particular apocalyptic setting. There is no doubt that the world-view of Andreae was apocalypticism: the expectation of and hope for Christ’s second advent, consummation of the old world and time, and the New Jerusalem coming down from heaven. In addition, he participated in the specific German-Lutheran version of apocalypticism, in which the Holy Roman Empire of the German nation (being the annex of the “fourth monarchy,” Dan 7) was part of the order of times.²⁹ The religious-political turbulence at the beginning of the seventeenth century intensified both the hope for and the fear of the catastrophic end of times. In this situation chiliasm, which had been damned by all Protestant churches since the Augsburg Confession (Art. 17), came up again, openly in England, as well as in a more indirect way (interpreting biblical books) in German Lutheranism.³⁰ Now, concerning both versions of (salvation-)

²⁸ Andreae’s texts mentioned here have been edited and translated by Frank Böhling; Johann Valentin Andreae, “Vol. 6,” in *Gesammelte Schriften*, ed. Frank Böhling (Stuttgart-Bad Cannstatt: Frommann-Holzboog, 2010).

²⁹ Cf. the introduction to this volume and Chapter 15 (Marius Timmann Mjaaland), 282–297.

³⁰ Donald R. Dickson, *The Tessera of Antilia: Utopian Brotherhoods and Secret Societies in Early Seventeenth Century*, Brill’s Studies in Intellectual History 88 (Leiden: Brill, 1998); for a short overview

history, *Christianopolis* takes a markedly moderate position. In *Christenburg* of 1626, it is true, Andreae will perform strictly catastrophically in respect to miraculous apocalypticism; in 1619 he refers to apocalypticism only indirectly and it is allegorically mitigated as a “pilgrimage to heaven.” In addition, nowhere is this pilgrimage direct political action – on the contrary, it is even less revolutionary. Rather, *Christianopolis* offers an alternative to the chiliastic interpretations of the religious-political situation on the eve of the Thirty Years' War. Andreae tries to channel, as it were, chiliastic energies to a Protestant elite who are reforming religious and social life completely, yet separately – it might have an analogous effect outside of it. In many ways, Andreae's work pointed towards the changes and reforms that are usually associated with Pietism.

There is a distinction between the revolutionary and the evolutionary fiction of Jerusalem in the seventeenth-century discourse of the future. Herotopian *Christianopolis*, however, does not fit into the opposition of revolutionary and evolutionary, because Christianopolis does not anticipate the future Jerusalem by evolution. Under the conditions of this world, it corresponds to the world to come. It is, as Andreae says, “a prelude to heaven.” The vigorous practice of piety indicates that faith in heart and conscience is the present place of the Jerusalem to come. This “inner Jerusalem,” as the tropological interpretation says, comprises no chiliasm – it nevertheless performs chiliastic potential: Christianopolis is a deliberately organized and best-equipped educational project. Andreae explained it again, without heterotopian claims, in the dialogue *Theophilus* (1622).³¹

It is the pedagogical impact that made Christianopolis interesting for the next generation of reformers. All of them had a so-called subtle chiliasm [*chiliasmus subtilis*] in mind, not the rude chiliasm [*chiliasmus crassus*] of the fanatics. They wanted to reform the inner life, not force change by outer revolt. This applies first to J. A. Comenius, who throughout his life saw himself as a pupil of Andreae, and applies thereafter to the reform efforts of the Dukes August of Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel and Ernst (“the pious”) of Sachsen-Gotha, but also initiators of the Royal Academy. Chiliastic Lutheran pietism remembered Andreae: through Philipp Jakob Spener and August Hermann Francke, founder of the innovative pedagogical

see Walter Sparr, “Apokalyptik,” in *Enzyklopädie der Neuzeit* 1 (Stuttgart: Metzler, 2005), 491–97; Hans-Peter Großhans, “Chiliasmus,” in *Enzyklopädie der Neuzeit* 2 (Stuttgart: Metzler, 2005), 681–87.

31 This text, regarded as a testament by Andreae, was not allowed to be printed, because it defended J. Arndt and questioned the centrally organized church discipline in Württemberg; only in 1649 was it printed under the patronage of Herzog August, on the basis of J. A. Comenius's copy of the (meanwhile lost) manuscript. Now edited in Johann Valentin Andreae, “Vol. 16,” in *Gesammelte Schriften* (Stuttgart-Bad Cannstatt: Frommann-Holzboog, 2002).

universe of Halle. Finally, *Christianopolis*, published only once, was translated into German in 1741² and 1751.³² Blended again with ‘Rosicrucian’ ideas, Andreae’s heterotopy of “Bildung” was also interesting for the Enlightenment as represented by G. W. Leibniz, G. E. Lessing, and J. W. Goethe.

Summary

Johann Valentin Andreae’s *Christianopolis* was the first full-scale Protestant vision of an ideal city. His ideas of reform were built into the city and reflected the aspirations that existed in a world full of turmoil and instability. Even if similar versions of Jerusalem were known in the Middle Ages and to some degree in Early Modern literature, new elements can be seen both in the utilization of Thomas More’s genre and the role of apocalyptic and chiliastic thought. One can hardly ignore the preparatory role it had for Pietism. The direct effect of Andreae’s work on Scandinavia is perhaps difficult to measure, but similar ideas can be observed at least on many levels. Some of the main tenets of *Christianopolis* can be traced to the architectural efforts in Sweden in city-planning in the 1620s and Christian IV’s cities in Denmark–Norway. Perhaps the greatest long-term influence of Andreae’s vision on Scandinavia was its ability to channel reform energy into an imaginative space of the perfect city.

³² *Reise nach der Insul Caphar Salama und Beschreibung der darauf gelegenen Republic Christiansburg* [. . .], ed. David Samuel Georgi (Esslingen: Christian Schall, 1741; reprint, Richard van Dülmen, Stuttgart: Calwer Verlag, 1972).

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